THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN CONDUCT

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Whenever a new method is introduced into science one of the inevitable results is a bringing out of all the old material and submitting it to reexamination by the new procedures, a recasting of the old formulas in the new molds, in short, an examination of all of the positions hitherto attained and their revaluation on the basis of the newer concepts. Many of the concepts which had always been taken for granted and used uncritically in the process of reasoning must now be submitted to critical scrutiny to see just where they stand in relation to the new order of things and whether their previous use has been altogether warranted.

Such a concept is that of "individual" as it has been used in the domain of psychopathology. What constitutes an "individual" and what defines and limits the "individual" has never been formulated because it was so obvious that the questions never were asked, and so the concept "individual" has gone the broad and easy way toward static concreteness and must needs be rescued, shaken up, rejuvenated, born again in a more plastic state so that it can be moulded and made to fit, in a useful way, into the new structure that is being raised.

The necessity for this has arisen as a result of the introduction of the genetic concept into practical psychopathology. This genetic concept, while it has been recognized for a long time by psychologists as well as by biologists in general, has only lately come to have an actual place in the workaday world of the practicing psychiatrist and so has only recently been in a position to necessitate a revalua-

tion of the concepts used by the psychiatrist. Pathological mental symptoms can not seek their explanation in the history of the development of the mind unless the concept "individual" is given a much different and much broader meaning than that implied in the life history of a single person that begins at birth and ends at death.

My thesis is that the usual distinction between individual and environment is largely artificial, that the concept "individual" as implying this distinction has had a distinct history, an evolution, and that the distinction which does arise in this way is broken down by introversion as is particularly well shown in the introversion type of psychoses, dementia praecox.

The history of the development of the feeling of self, the slow differentiation of the "I" from the "not I" has been written by the psychologists of the child. Many examples could be taken from the literature to show that the child for a long time has no clear idea of the distinction between "self" and "not self," that in fact this distinction has to be learned de novo by innumerable experiments, many of them painful, for at first there is absolutely no such distinction in the child's mind.

Preyer's\textsuperscript{1} boy as late as nineteen months of age when told to "Give the shoe," picked it from the floor and handed it to him, but then when told to "Give the foot" tried to pick that up with both hands and hand it to him in the same way that he had the shoe. Thus he failed at this late date to appreciate what belonged to him and what did not. He attempted to hand his foot to his father as he had his shoe; he treated it in the same way as if it were not a part of himself.

Professor Hall\textsuperscript{2} mentions a baby as staring steadily at its hand and then trying to grasp the hand looked at with the same hand. Miss Shinn's\textsuperscript{3} niece "tried to flourish her arm and go on sucking her thumb at the same time, and could not imagine what had suddenly snatched the cherished thumb away."

The distinction between "self" and "not self" has to be slowly and painstakingly worked out as the result of innumerable experiences. Quite characteristically the creeping infant carries every-

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
thing it grasps to its mouth irrespective of what the grasped object may be. The mouth is a primitive organ of touch of great value. Now the type of experience the baby gets from putting, say a rubber ball, in its mouth is very different from the type of experience which results when it sticks its foot in its mouth. The rubber ball and the foot lie on the floor in front of it. If it grasps the rubber ball and carries it to its mouth the result is a series of touch sensations in the mouth, but if it is the foot that is grasped and carried to the mouth, while there is also a series of touch sensations in the mouth, there is an added series of touch sensations in the foot. It is by such experiments which focus two or more sensory qualities in one experience that the distinction between self and environment is gradually built up, that the concept of self is slowly integrated. In the above cited experience two qualities of touch sensations are integrated, in the same way the sight of the moving hand is integrated with the joint and muscle sensations which bring about the motion, the sensation of touch with the motor sensations which have moved the hand to the touched object, the sensations of sound and of sight, touch and taste, motor sensations, and so on indefinitely through an increasingly complex series of integrations the ego-concept is laboriously constructed: an increasingly complex series of conditioned reflexes in the sense of Pawlow.

The distinctly animistic characteristics of the child world are well known and can be seen every day in the activities of children at play. Burnam⁴ has especially called attention to the child’s creation of imaginary personages with whom they hold conversations and how too even inanimate objects take on living characteristics. He cites examples: the tracks of dirty feet on the floor are flowers, the creaking chair is talking, the shoemaker’s nails are children he is driving to school, examples that, as we shall see, have their deadly parallel in the psychoses.

Despite the great number and varied character of the experiences that make for the construction of the ego-concept there always remain serious gaps, defects in the structure. There are certain portions of our bodies that are never adequately included in our conscious concept of self, such portions, for example, as the back of the head, and the region between the shoulder blades. Other portions fail to get into the scheme less obviously.

We are familiar with the small boy who carefully polishes the

front part of his shoes and leaves the heels untouched and who likewise absolutely neglects the back of his head when brushing his hair. One should read Miss Shinn's description of her niece, who, in bending over backwards, accidentally hit the back of her head on the floor and by so doing really discovered, for the first time, the back of her head. I think, too, our personal experiences with hysterics will show that those hysterical conversions which lie closest to conscious awareness affect preferably those portions of the body that have been pretty thoroughly integrated in the concept of self. The glove and stocking anesthesia, for example, the various paralyses, etc., are all of regions of the body that are well known, which amounts to saying are easily visible and so more readily brought under psychological control. The paralyses and anesthesias of hysteria are not confined to anatomical areas of nerve distribution, as is well known, but affect a certain portion of the body as it is pictured in the mind of the patient.

These mental schemata, as they are called by Head and Holmes, are the mental representations of our body to ourselves and the vividness of the several parts may be taken as an indication of their degree of integration in the conscious concept of self. The hands and feet are clearly represented, though perhaps the sole of the foot not very clearly, the arms and legs are both clearly thought of though by preference the front aspects particularly of the upper arm and thigh, the dorsal aspects of which are difficult to see. The arm, for example, is thought of, visualized, as stopping at the shoulder where hysterical palsies also stop, although this point does not correspond to any anatomical limitation of nerve or even muscle supply. The front of the torso is thought of almost exclusively, while the head, although very definitely integrated, tends to be largely represented by the face as it would appear in a mirror. These differences in degree of integration probably act as determiners in various symbolic displacements. "Get thee behind me, Satan," is probably partly determined by the desire to get the evil idea out of mind, that is, in a position where it cannot be seen, in relation to a poorly integrated part of the body and so try and bring about its disappearance—nonexistence. Evil is thought of, therefore, as coming from behind, approaching from the rear, unseen, unheard, stealthily and by subterfuge. Here we see an effort at evasion of biologically distinctive and socially tabooed fixations and

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the antipathic reaction against them, viz., homosexuality and anal eroticism. So a patient develops his psychosis as a result of being set upon from behind by a gang of men on horseback who attacked him and left him unconscious. Per contra, in those states in which the body is felt to swell up and become greatly enlarged the head often partakes of this feeling most acutely, while in the familiar verlegung nach oben the highly integrated state of the head is, perhaps, one reason why the transposition proceeds to it rather than stopping at some less well integrated intermediary point. The familiar feeling of losing the mind may be similarly, in part, determined.

Just a few words regarding certain other, less important, aspects of the problem. Who shall say just at what point the food that is taken into the gastro-intestinal tract, and the interior of the gastro-intestinal tube is not within, but strictly speaking without, the body; who shall say at just what point this food loses its quality as environment and becomes a part of the individual? Similarly with the interplay of gases in the pulmonary vesicles. While at the surface of the body, temperature, hydrostatic, and electrical conditions prevail which gradually merge into the encompassing environment, and constitute a borderland territory. Sharp lines of demarcation there are none.

The interplay of forces between the individual and the environment is, of course, constant and never-ending. The effects of foods, drugs, heat and cold, sunlight, sounds upon the individual; and to reverse the direction the effect of the mechanic upon the particular bit of material he is at work upon are examples, while at the social level the influence of a person upon those about him, and still more remotely of a public speaker or writer radiates in ever wider circles and often outlasts the span of man’s bodily life, while the germ plasm hands down actual material particles to succeeding generations to stop—who shall say where?

The indeterminateness of the relation, individual-environment, is testified to by common customs, ways of feeling, and expressions. A gift from a friend long since dead is cherished because it is felt somehow to contain or to have been a part of the dead person in life, while we go away from a strange city carrying with us an impression of it upon our memory.

We may find among primitive peoples similar types of confusion between the “self” and the “not-self” as we found in the infant.
In Melanesia⁶ if a man wounds his enemy with an arrow he and his friends will chew irritating leaves and drink hot juices, and they will keep the bow that shot the arrow near the fire, and if they have been able to get hold of the arrow itself they will put it in the fire. These practices will surely cause the wound to become inflamed and the enemy to die by the principles of contagious magic. Similarly if his friends recover the arrow they will keep it wrapped in moist, cool leaves and so cause the inflammation to leave the wound.

Among the Betsileo of Madagascar⁷ the nobles of the tribe are attended by men called ramanga whose functions are to eat all the nail-parings and lick up all the spilt blood of their noble masters so that sorcerers may not get possession of them and so, on the principles of contagious magic, work harm to them. Among the tribes of Moab⁸ a childless woman will borrow the robe of a woman who has borne many children that she may acquire the fruitfulness of its owner. The primitive man also regards his name as a part of himself which he protects with elaborate care from becoming known to his enemies.⁹ Cursing an enemy by name becomes, therefore, a potent means of injury, while to mention one’s own name freely is a dangerous practice, for each time one’s own name passes the lips the owner parts with a vital bit of himself.

Primitive man may be thus said to be relatively undifferentiated, in his way of thinking, from his environment. His personality is diffuse, spread out all over the world of things, has not yet been integrated and at all clearly defined. One of the very best illustrations¹⁰ of the intimate association and the lack of differentiation between man at primitive cultural levels and the forces of nature is seen in the way in which they treat their divine kings. The ruler of the tribe, a godman, is at the very center of the forces of the universe and anything that he does may influence the world for good or for bad, as the case may be. He is therefore hedged in by an enormously complex system of taboos which control his every act. Now it is obvious if he is in such close association with nature, and

⁹ Frazer: Taboo, Chap. VI, Tabooed Words.
that the whole welfare of the tribe depends in this intimate way upon him, that he must not be permitted to get sick or grow old and feeble, for if he gets sick or grows old and feeble then the forces of nature will fail, the tribe will be in danger of epidemics, droughts, poor crops, and the like, and so to prevent such dire catastrophe the divine king is killed in the prime of life and in the fullness of his health that his spirit may be passed on unimpaired in strength to his successor.

Examples might be indefinitely multiplied. Enough have been given to illustrate the first part of my thesis that the usual distinction between individual and environment is largely artificial and that the concept "individual" as implying this distinction has had a distinct history, an evolution.

Now the point I want to make is that we see a return to these more primitive methods of reaction in the psychoses, not that we find exactly the same ideas, but that we find the same mechanisms, the same types of reaction, the same ways of relating one's self to the world that we find among primitive men. The few examples that I have given of the psychology of primitive man shows that he feels himself constantly under the influence of his surroundings. No symptom is more common in the praecox patient than the symptom of being influenced by the forces in his environment. The environment from being something upon which we expend our energies, something which is outside of ourselves, something which we have to deal with and often to mold and shape according to our wishes; this environment becomes in the praecox patient suddenly filled with mysterious meanings, it invades him at every point. He feels strange influences come in upon him from all sources, sources that he frequently cannot define, and sources when he does define them remind us of the world of primitive man, peopled with its myriad of spirit forms and with little or no distinction between the animate and the inanimate. Voices speak to the praecox patient, they come from the trees, and even from animals, for birds and dogs talk to him. Thus a patient hears voices talk to him from all sorts of sources. He hears the clock talking, the radiator talking; he can hear the creaking wagon as it goes by, talking; and even people's footsteps and the watch speak to him. He hears the human voice talking through the birds, leaves of the trees, flowers and various inanimate objects. He is disturbed by visions, and all sorts of magical things—electricity, wireless telegraphy, thought reading, and bad influences from certain people—play about him. His psychosis has
plunged him to a lower cultural level and we find him reacting after methods that remind us of animism rather than of modern civilization.

All of these phenomena may be looked at as evidences of a lessened capacity for integration of the personality, of separating the self from the not-self. The environment has become strangely blended with the individuality by the process of introjection and as the environment thus introjects itself into the personality the personality correspondingly swells and loses its definiteness. One patient sees a certain mystic significance in the arrangement of the stars about the moon; another has lost the feeling of personal identity with respect to his own body, for when asked when he entered the army said, “it was centuries and centuries ago; not I but a body just like my remembrance around 1903,” while another patient believes his body is changing in size.

The sense of mystery is frequently expressed. One patient for a long time has been seeing peculiar objects, the nature of which were not clear to him; but of the auditory hallucinations he said they were not real voices but simply things which seemed to come into his mind. He also said he heard voices talking inside his head but thought that these were the expressions of his own mind. He still retains a grasp upon reality, although it is evident that his hold has become seriously loosened for his thoughts have become audible. This grasp was quite completely lost by the patient who believed that mental telepathy was “working upon him” and that he was regarded as a spy. He heard many voices saying all conceivable things against him, so that he grew desperate and attempted suicide. Asked to describe the auditory hallucinations, he says he cannot put his impression of them into words, that he did not hear distinct voices, but “foreign thoughts came slowly creeping into his brain, thoughts not his own, but emanating from the mind of someone at a distance.” Upon one occasion he thought that a dream was projected upon him by a supervisor through “thought transmission.”

The whole paranoid system can be viewed from this viewpoint of loss of touch with reality by an introversion which permits a fading out of the definiteness of the boundaries between individual and environment. The mechanism of projection is only possible because the individual has become so vague that he is able to project his own feelings into the environment and so account for them by causes coming from without himself. That whole group who are followed by a “gang” and whose food is “doped” belong here.
The vagueness with which a person may conceive of himself is shown by the patients who have no clear appreciation of who they are, who parade under someone else’s name, claim to be some noted person, perhaps a criminal. This type of reaction becomes much more archaic when the identification is with historical personages. The extreme of this is found in a patient who practically identifies himself with the universe. Among other things he says he was Adam’s father; that he has lived in his present bodily form thirty-five years, but that he has lived in other bodies thirty millions of years, not continually but periodically; that he has used 6,000,000 different bodies. He says that he was Moses, that also he was the father of Moses and that he performed the ten miracles that liberated the people of Egypt. If he extended into the universe his left arm it would go inside heaven, also his left brain lobe. Paradise corresponds with the right arm and the right brain lobe. The headquarters of these two are in the forearms and in the brain “dot.” The brain “dot” is something like the central office of a building, or it can be compared to a hand holding a bunch of strings to balloons which float above. Hell and Purgatory have corresponding positions in the two lower limbs. Tartarus and Gehenna correspond to the feet. Hades and Oblivion correspond to the knees. He says he is both male and female with one mind and body controlling both. He has to be one to be the father and creator of the various races and elements of the human organization. The stars in themselves are pieces of his body which have been torn apart by torture and persecution in various ages of past history in the wars between the righteous and the unrighteous. These stars will come down on earth in human form to bear witness for him towards the end of the millennium. And much more of the same sort wherein, among other things, he compares the structure of the solar system to the structure of the human body and identifies himself with portions of it. It took him 300 million years to perfect the first fully developed human form.

Such an archaic system of delusions points an analogy between the way the patient thinks of himself and the way in which the savage tribal king was regarded. The king was the individual in whom was concentrated all the great creative energy of their restricted universe. He was looked to to see that the rain fell and watered the crops, that the cattle and the women were fruitful, that the tribe was successful in war. It was because he was a carrier of
enormous stores of energy that he must be treated as Frazer\textsuperscript{11} puts it, like a Leyden jar. His foot must not touch the ground and the sun must not shine upon him or he would lose his power. Not only this but such a discharge of energy would be dangerous to those about. From this point of view, too, it is easy to see why the king must be well and strong and so why he must be killed\textsuperscript{12} at the first appearance of weakness, yes even before any weakness whatever has had an opportunity to manifest itself, and a younger and stronger man put in his place.

Illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. Those which have been given from the psychoses have been taken from the records of patients labeled dementia praecox and they are of a character which I think goes to prove the second part of my thesis, viz., \textit{the distinction which has grown up between individual and environment is broken down by introversion as is particularly well shown in the introversion type of psychosis, dementia praecox.}

Of course, it is not intended to convey the idea that introversion brings about conditions that exactly reproduce stages in ontogenetic or philogenetic development. The application of the law of recapitulation to the sphere of the psyche is subject to the same sort of qualifications as it is in its application to the body. The law of recapitulation holds but with many variations in the way of abridgments and short cuts which distort the outward appearances at times very greatly. The viewpoint it is believed is a valuable one, but in its application the process of thinking should be kept in mind rather than the content of thought. The view maintained here is that in the introversion types of psychoses the patient reverts to ways of thinking that belong to earlier stages of development. Introversion brings about a less clearly defined individuality and a greater range of identification with the environment. Withdrawal from reality is a withdrawal from contact at higher levels but a return to a phylogenetically older and more diffuse form of contact.

Perhaps the most important implication of the viewpoint set forth is that the individual and the environment are not mutually exclusive. They exist rather as a relation. In current biological thought, in theories of heredity upon which the eugenists are basing their recommendations, in questions of education they are treated as absolutely distinct one from the other. One is reminded of the old,


\textsuperscript{12} Frazer: The Dying God, \textit{l. c.}
old question of the relation between body and mind and the theory of parallelism. Both, I believe, belong to that large group of what I call pseudo-problems with which philosophy is so replete. What constitutes the individual? What constitutes the environment? Who shall say? They are the two elements of a dynamic relation, of a constant interplay of forces, in which their relative values are in a constant state of flux.\textsuperscript{13} The answer can never be anything but arbitrary. But if the question and the arbitrary elements in the answer are understood all is well. The intellect is always seeking for concrete finality. It is all right to seek but if for a moment the belief is entertained that it has been found then a pseudo-problem is sure to arise. Our concepts should not be allowed to become crystallized. They should be in a constant state of flux, so that they may be always adjustable. That to my mind is the value of the viewpoint I have set forth.

The child and the savage in attributing life and personality to the not-living are right from the standpoint of their level of culture inasmuch as the environment gains its value to us from our own libido, that is, from the measure of our own interest in it. In the psychoses this interest belongs to a cultural level that, under the existing circumstances of the patient, has no pragmatic value but is, on the contrary, destructive because tending to isolate him from the herd and so make the fulfillment of his best self impossible because destroying his power to coöperate with his fellows. It is essentially autoerotic. The individual who has become seriously introverted has become sidetracked from the path of progress and so literally become less an individual.

\textsuperscript{13} Child, C. M.: The Basis of Physiological Individuality in Organisms, Science, April 14, 1916. In this exceedingly interesting paper the author develops the hypothesis of a dynamic or metabolic gradient as the Anlage of the physiological individual. From this physiological axis, the chief, polar, or major axis, minor axes are established, i. e., symmetry. Remaining within the control of this dynamic gradient is all that constitutes the individual. A group of cells may establish their own independent gradient and so become a new individual. This is perhaps one of the determiners of cancer formation.
A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF A SEVERE CASE OF COMPULSION NEUROSIS

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Part I. Introduction

Very few psychoanalytic writers have attempted to make a detailed report of an analyzed case. This has seemed to me a matter of regret for, however carefully written, the usual brief published records are apt to give an erroneous impression of the actual work of psychoanalysis. I had hoped to be able sometime to report an analysis more fully than is usually attempted, but I found a serious difficulty in the way of accomplishing this intention for the cases which I had in private practice could not be written up in detail without disclosing matters which would readily identify the patients, naturally an undesirable result of publication.

Then there came under my observation the clinic patient whom this study concerns. I soon concluded that I had here a case which if analyzed could be fully reported and it was for this reason that I began the work. With the exception of her parents and her husband none of her relatives or friends knew what her symptoms were, or that she came to me for treatment. Her parents cannot read English and her husband is now dead while it is unlikely that among her friends there are any persons who would ever read psychological literature or be able to identify the patient from this report even if they did read it. The fact that there are several physicians who would be able to make the identification does not seem to me to be a reason to deter me from writing it.

It is not however possible even in this case to provide the full record which I had hoped for when I began the analysis. In the first place the work was interrupted before the analysis was finished. In the second, the analysis of a case represents so much conversation and so many digressions from the central theme that for me, at least, so encyclopedic a report would be a physical and literary impossibility.

In fact I had given up any thought of reporting the case when a
question asked at a neurological meeting led me to change my mind. A friend presented the analysis of a case and one of the members—not a psychoanalyst—asked, “Doctor, did you confirm by outside testimony the various things the patient told you?” My friend’s reply was, “I did not.” What the questioner had in mind was the possibility that the “confessions” to the analyst had been “suggested” and were really false. This incident brought forcibly to my mind how seldom it is that the analyst has an opportunity to verify the statements of his patients by outside testimony. The very nature of the most important confessions usually makes corroboration impossible, for either they concern matters known only to the patient or else those about which questions cannot be asked of the few persons who are in a position to confirm or deny them.

It then occurred to me that this case had a special value in that it was possible for me to confirm in one important connection practically everything which the patient had told me. With reference to the data which I could establish by external evidence, the facts which had been brought out obviously must have had a profound effect upon the patient’s mental life and, to some extent, been responsible for the symptoms she displayed. Furthermore the direct causal connection between these facts and the form of the symptoms is in some places so evident that even the most skeptical could hardly doubt the relationship. The inference that I am in any way responsible for suggesting to the patient either the unconfirmed material or the connection between the material and the symptoms exhibited seems to me quite without foundation. I am sure that my own imagination is not sufficiently fertile to conceive, let alone suggest, such a complicated yet so self-consistent a story.

Although the case fails to prove the therapeutic value of psychoanalysis it does show in a very convincing manner the correctness of some of Freud’s conclusions as to the mechanism of neurotic disturbances, especially that known as “Displacement of Affects”—a mechanism which one prominent opponent of psychoanalysis has asserted could not be demonstrated as a reality. By displacement is meant a condition in which the feelings or emotions really depending on one group of ideas are perceived by the patient as depending upon another group of ideas, often obviously inadequate to cause them. This case illustrates the mechanism remarkably well, for the patient had great fear of something which in a way she knew could do her no harm and which she regarded as an absurd and unreasonable object of fear. Yet she asserted that there was nothing else in her
life she need worry about or fear and that all she required to make
her well and happy was to have this absurd cause of fear removed.
But as the analysis progressed it was gradually disclosed that in her
life were many reasons for anxiety, remorse and depression which
were so important and distressing that it was difficult to see how the
patient could be happy or well so long as they remained unchanged.
Yet in situations in which it would be expected that the real sources
of discomfort would have been conscious occasions for concern her
distress seemed to refer to something quite different which, in spite
of her fear, she realized could not reasonably cause fear.

It seems, then, that the hypothesis of displacement is the only
one which will satisfactorily account for her seeming excess of
emotion over something that was inadequate to cause it and for her
apparent lack of emotion in the face of conditions which, one would
think, could scarcely fail to cause the very strongest of feelings.
We are compelled to assume that her strong emotions really de-
pended upon those experiences in her life which were obviously
adequate to produce them and that it was through an illusion pro-
duced by displacement that she perceived them as coming from a
manifestly inadequate source. The contributions made by the analy-
sis to other Freudian doctrines in addition to that of displacement
will, I hope, become apparent as the report progresses.

A very interesting feature of the analysis is the order in which
the various determinants of the neurosis made their appearance in
the course of the treatment. The gross sexual element, in a form
which would ordinarily be communicated, one would expect, only
after considerable hesitation and delay, the patient spoke of sponta-
neously and readily at the very outset of the analysis, while a non-
sexual factor which was in no way essentially shameful or discredit-
able, was disclosed only after a long time and in the face of great
resistance. This, I think, shows well that the motives which lead
patients to withhold information concerning themselves may be de-
pendent upon other considerations than mere shame over the nature
of the things to be communicated. In fact this is usually found to
be the case. Furthermore the record shows how little reliance can
be placed upon the apparent willingness of patients to do all that is
in their power to get well. I have never had a patient of whom I
was more sure that she had entire confidence in me and in my ability,
nor one who seemed to suffer more acutely from a psycho-neurosis.
It would have been expected that she would have taken the utmost
pains to communicate to me without delay any information that might
have bearing upon the case. Yet she stubbornly withheld the facts just referred to, although she was conscious of them all the time she was coming to me and was well aware that they were of great importance in effecting her release from the distress which oppressed her. The disclosure was not made until I threatened to discontinue the treatment unless she revealed them to me. This experience, I think, may well be borne in mind by those physicians who after asking their patients, "Is there anything worrying you?" and similar questions, are satisfied upon receiving negative replies that they have thoroughly investigated the mental life of their patients and that the possibilities of acquiring more extensive and important information have been exhausted.

This report has a definite bearing upon the charge made against psychoanalysts that they are so absorbed in matters of sex that they pay no attention to the non-sexual factors in a patient's life. Such imputations are unjust for, both in theory and in practice, psychoanalysis takes into account everything that may have any emotional value to the patient. In this record the experience of this patient's life which she kept back for so long a time is essentially a non-sexual fact. In my explanation of the neurosis, however, I have given to it a place more conspicuous than that accorded to any other single fact, sexual or otherwise. On the other hand it is clearly shown that this element formed an almost insurmountable obstacle for the patient in making a normal and satisfactory psychosexual adaptation. This conclusion confirms the emphasis which psychoanalytic theory lays upon the sexual factors without in the least diminishing its value as an illustration that other factors are not overlooked.

In presenting the material of this case, the writer finds many difficulties in the way. In addition to the fears referred to there were several others which had troubled the patient at various times. In the multitude of detail it is hard to determine which parts are most essential to a clear record of the situation and the various factors involved. Even the method of statement is complicated in the efforts to see that the demands of a straightforward report are not unduly affected by the more or less dramatic elements in the human interests focusing now in the life of the patient and again in the development of the analysis.
Part II. Historical

(a) Data of the First Visit

In May, 1911, there came to my office a small, plump, young woman who bore upon her round, good-natured-looking countenance an expression of distinct anxiety.

"Doctor," she said hurriedly, "I am afraid I am going insane. I once went to a fortune teller and I imagine he is bewitching me; do you think it is all right for me to get married?"

This obsession, she went on to say, had appeared ten months earlier. She was at that time madly infatuated with a young man, and upon the advice of her cousin, a very superstitious girl, she had sought the services of a fortune-telling magician with the idea that by means of certain mysterious and supernatural influences which this enlightened individual professed to command the young man would be stimulated to ask her hand in marriage.

Two days after this visit she was suddenly seized with a terrific fear that the fortune teller was exerting some spell over her and that as a result she would die. This fear of death changed after a time to a fear of insanity. She soon sought treatment, and in November the obsession, which had continued with great intensity up to that time, almost completely subsided, only to appear again the following March in all its original intensity.

Previous to the onset of this obsession the young woman had regarded herself as entirely free from all superstition. Even after it developed she fully realized that the fortune teller was simply an ignorant charlatan, with no supernatural power whatsoever, and that her fear of him resulted only from disease of the mind. In short, her insight was perfect.

I was surprised to learn that the young man, Max by name, her infatuation for whom appeared to be the cause for her getting into all this trouble, was not the one she had in mind when she asked me about marriage. For in the early months of her illness, Max, serenely unaffected by the alleged powers of the man of magic, had passed out of the young lady's life. Another young man, whom we shall call Barney, had then presented himself and, swayed by no other form of sorcery than that which she herself exerted, had proposed to her and had finally been accepted.

The immediate cause of her great anxiety at the time she came to me seemed to be that the day set for her marriage to Barney was only three weeks off. She feared the fortune teller was making her insane and that she was thus destined to bring nothing but trouble and
unhappiness upon her husband. She could not make up her mind what to do, for despite the fact that the various physicians she had consulted had without hesitation assured her that there was not the least likelihood of her ever losing her mind, she was not satisfied and could not banish the fear that in marrying she would do a great wrong to an innocent man.

I finally said that, although I, too, was convinced that she was in no danger of becoming insane, I felt, nevertheless, that it would be well for her to postpone her marriage for some months in the hope that meanwhile she could get over her fears and thus take without any undue handicap the important step she contemplated. But this, she replied, was impossible. All the arrangements for her wedding had been made, the invitations had been sent out, and, finally, neither her own nor her fiancé's parents would listen to any proposal of delay. To follow my advice was out of the question.

After some further discussion relating to the treatment of obsessions and to the probability of her recovery, she told me that she was very poor and asked if it would not be possible for me to treat her in a clinic. On this account I referred her to Cornell Dispensary.

(b) Results of the First Period of Treatment and Detailed History Obtained During that Time

At Cornell the young woman was treated for nearly a year with the ordinary medical remedies employed for such cases, and, in addi-

1 Physicians are often consulted by neurotic patients contemplating matrimony who express some more or less vague fear that they may be impotent, or have syphilis, or suffer from some other ill which would render marriage inadvisable. They wish to be examined and assured that their fears are groundless, and as the physician usually does not find any evidence of the condition which the patient seems to fear, the assurance desired is as a rule promptly given. Now, as this case shows, one should, as a matter of fact, be extremely careful in such cases. The patient's fear that some condition exists which would prove an obstacle to marriage usually means either a wish that such were the case (showing that the individual in question is really of two minds in regard to the object of his affections and that to a certain degree he would welcome some excuse for not marrying) or that there actually is some reason why he ought not to marry, although not the one he fears. Both these things were true in the case of this young woman. But although in some cases it would be a serious mistake to advise the patient to go ahead and marry in spite of his fears, yet on the other hand there are cases in which to advise against marriage would be almost equally serious. In short, in most cases of this sort the physician has no way of knowing with any certainty what he should advise, unless he analyzes the patient, which unfortunately is in most instances impracticable.
tion, with hypnotic suggestion administered once or twice a week by Dr. Stechmann or myself. Suggestion occasionally gave her relief which lasted for a few hours. Bromides and other drugs seemed to have no effect. Cold tonic baths received at another institution often gave her temporary relief. On the whole, however, she had not made the slightest permanent improvement at the end of this period of treatment. Her fear was just as intense and just as compelling as when I first saw her. Her marriage, which took place at the appointed time, seemed to have no particular effect upon her symptoms other than to cause a temporary exacerbation of her fears immediately preceding it.

During this first period of the young woman's attendance at the clinic, although I made no real attempt at analysis, I talked with her from time to time and endeavored to obtain an accurate and detailed history of her neurosis and the events which attended its development. When, then, late in the spring of 1912 I decided to begin an analysis I had at my command the following items of history.

The patient, whom we may call Stella, was then twenty-three years old. Her family history was decidedly psychopathic. Her mother, two brothers, and her sister had at different times suffered from various forms of psychoneurosis.

The clinical past history which she gave contained nothing of particular interest. She had had the usual diseases of childhood, and had been inclined to be nervous as long as she could remember. Her menstruation had often been irregular and scanty. Sometimes weeks elapsed between her periods, and on a few occasions the interval had been as long as several months.

When thirteen and a half years old she had suffered, she stated, from some sort of nervous illness which lasted about two years. It was brought on, she believed, by the sudden death of an aunt about four years older of whom she had been extremely fond. The symptoms of this nervous illness she could not describe definitely, but she remembered that she lost weight, was very much depressed, and dreamed of her aunt nearly every night. One of the doctors who attended her made the statement that she was "very poor in blood." She could not remember what her aunt died of, but thought "it was from worrying about something."

Physical examination was practically negative. The patient was well nourished, rather fat in fact; examination of the heart and lungs and nervous system failed to reveal anything significant. She had a moderate anemia; urine negative.
Stella was born in a small village in Russia. Her parents were Hebrews, religious to the point of fanaticism and full of all sorts of Old-World fables and superstitious beliefs.

Stella's father, a Talmudic school teacher in his old home, had come to this country when she was five years old, but his family, which already included two boys both younger than Stella, did not join him until four years later.

In the New World little prosperity awaited them. The father, a man whose reputation for piety, honesty, and religious scholarship gave him no little standing in synagogic circles, did not shine in the world of business; and, although he managed to keep his family from falling into actual want, he was never able to provide any other home for them than a cheap flat in a lower East Side tenement.

When Stella was sixteen the family, by that time augmented by the arrival at different intervals of three more boys and one girl, threatened to become an economic problem so far beyond her father's power of solving that she sought employment in order to lighten his burdens. She soon obtained a place in a department store and worked there up to the year she was married.

Stella's education, begun in Europe along the most old-fashioned orthodox Jewish lines, was continued in this country in the public schools. From the beginning she not only displayed a great fondness for study but also gave every evidence of possessing more than average intelligence. Throughout her school days she worked hard and almost invariably led all her classes. Her education was not extensive, however, for at thirteen and a half she had to stop school "because her mother needed her help with the housework."

Her religious ideas were in her early years a replica of those of her parents. She prayed and worshipped in the most orthodox manner, and, in addition, accepted without question the beliefs in magic, witches, the evil eye, and similar superstitions which prevailed in the town of her birth. After passing her fifteenth year, however, she went rapidly to the opposite extreme and, soon abandoning both religion and superstition, professed herself to be an absolute atheist and materialist.

Her infatuation for Max was her first love affair of any importance. She had always been popular with young men, and she liked them, but at no other time had her affections become seriously involved.

Stella's affair with Max, her visit to the fortune teller, and
the immediate sequelæ of this visit are of so much importance that I must take up the history of these matters in considerable detail.

In the early summer of 1910 Stella went to a country boarding house for her vacation. There she first heard of Max. He had been at the place the previous summer and made himself a general favorite. All spoke with enthusiasm of his intelligence, his refinement, and his good looks. He was to arrive shortly, and on the day he was expected, Stella, whose curiosity had been awakened by the praise she had heard of him, went to the railroad station in order to get an early glimpse of the paragon. Catching sight of him just as he stepped from the train, she felt, from that very instant, that she loved him. Immediately and with a sense of deepest conviction she said to herself, "Here is the man I must marry."

He was introduced, and appeared to like her at once. Soon, to her joy, it became evident that he preferred her society to that of any of the other girls, and in a short time her love became an all-consuming madness such as she had previously never dreamed of. She was in the most tensely excited emotional condition imaginable. She could neither eat nor sleep. At night, or whenever she was alone, she cried continually. She lost weight rapidly and to such a degree that her friends began to comment upon her appearance.

Max, though by no means in a condition of equal distraction, was to all appearances in love. From morning to night he was in her company, paid her every attention, and showed the utmost jealousy of every look or word she bestowed upon possible rivals. All the guests at the boarding house were sure that a proposal was imminent. Nevertheless, it did not come. On the contrary, Max maintained a most inflexible reserve. Not the slightest hint of love passed his lips; never did he attempt even the most fleeting and noncommittal of caresses.

When their vacations ended and they both returned to the city, Max called on Stella frequently, took her to various places of amusement, and, as far as his acts were concerned, gave every evidence of love and devotion. But, in what he said, he was as reserved as ever. On no occasion did he let fall a single word that could be construed to mean anything more than that his feeling for Stella was the most ordinary unromantic sort of friendship.

This paradoxical attitude on the part of Max struck me as being so singular that I at once asked Stella if she knew the reason for it. "Yes," she replied, "Max was not a marrying man. I know that because he said so to a friend of mine, who told me all about it.
But he assured my friend that if he were to marry anybody he certainly would marry me, and I know that is so."

When I asked why Max was not a marrying man, Stella explained that he was very ambitious, but had only a small salary, and, as he felt that an early marriage would seriously handicap him in business, he had decided to forego that pleasure. But this explanation, though seemingly plausible enough, left me with the vague suspicion that perhaps Stella was not telling all she knew.

Stella’s disastrous visit to the fortune teller occurred in August of the same year she met Max. She had continued in a state of mad infatuation all summer, and, when she confided her condition to her cousin Rose, the latter immediately suggested magic as a way of inducing in Max a like state of mind, and ultimately bringing about a wedding. Rose, who was superstitious and credulous to the highest degree, supported her recommendation by relating a great number of instances of maidens (with whom, she said, she was personally acquainted) who had resorted to such methods with most remarkable and gratifying results. But Stella scoffed at these stories, as she did at all the rest of the wonder tales Rose was continually telling, and at first refused to have anything to do with magic and fortune tellers.

Some days later, however, when Stella had accompanied Rose, who had some eye trouble, to what we will call St. Christopher’s Clinic, she said suddenly as they were walking home, “Rose, I think I would like to go to a fortune teller after all.”

This suggestion Rose received with much enthusiasm, and, informing Stella that she had only recently heard of a man reputed to possess truly extraordinary powers, she proceeded to conduct her to him without delay.

The fortune teller, magician, or Mahoshef, as they called him, proved to be a fat, dirty, and ignorant Austrian Jew who inhabited a greasy tenement in the neighborhood of Canal Street. Rose was ushered into his presence first, while Stella waited in a room outside where the Mahoshef’s wife entertained her with tales of his prowess.

Soon Rose returned in great excitement. “He’s a wonder, Stella!” she cried. “He knows everything! He knew what your trouble was the minute you came in. He said right away that you were very nervous over a love affair. What do you think of that!”

Stella replied to this somewhat sarcastically, but she arose and went into the Mahoshef’s room. She was already a little afraid of
him. In spite of the fact that his wife's recital of his achievements had excited her profound contempt, and that the man's appearance and behavior, once she was in his presence, served to increase this feeling, she had, nevertheless, a vague fear of him all through the visit.

The first thing he did was to offer to tell her, without asking any questions, her own name and the name of her sweetheart, and though he succeeded in doing so by means of a somewhat clumsy trick, Stella immediately saw through it and jeered at him for his pains. But the Mahoshef, not in the least discouraged, wormed out of her the story of her affair with Max, and promptly assured her that by means of certain powers of which he was master he could not only obtain Max for her as a husband, but, if she preferred, any other man she would name, regardless of what his race, creed, color, or social position might be. As evidence of his ability in this line he showed her a book wherein, so he said, were written the names of many of the most prominent and wealthy women of the city, for all of whom he assured her he had performed similar services.

"I can do everything!" he cried boastfully. "For me all kinds of Kishef (magic) are easy!"

It was just about this point, however, that in spite of her contempt, in spite of her full appreciation of the grotesque incongruity between what the man professed to be and what his manner of living indicated, Stella began to believe him. She therefore directed him to proceed with his Kishef and bring Max to her feet at the earliest possible moment, while she permitted him to collect in advance the fee of fifty cents which he demanded for this important service. Her belief in him was so strong that when she left him—after he had urged her to buy an infallible cure he had invented for rheumatism and she had politely declined on the grounds that she was not at the time afflicted with that malady—she returned home in the most cheerful state of mind she had experienced in some months.

"I'm so happy," she said to Rose; "now I know I can marry Max."

There followed two days of happy expectation. Stella and Rose talked continually of magic and witches, and of the pleasing results they expected from their venture. And all the while Stella's faith in the Mahoshef seemed unshaken; yet, paradoxically enough, her skepticism appeared to be almost as strong as ever. "It was all Rose's fault," Stella complained to me afterward; "she talked so much superstition into me that finally I got to believe it, although I really knew better."
On the evening of the second day after their visit to the magician the two girls were lying in bed discussing the usual theme. Stella again said, "I'm so happy—now I can marry Max"; but after a pause she continued, "I'm sorry, though, to have to get him in this way. I don't like this magic business—I'd rather get him in the right way. I wonder what he'd think if he knew. I'm afraid I'm going to worry—I think that after we are married I'll tell him all about it—I'll worry myself sick if I don't."

"You're a fool," returned Rose. "Why should you worry about how you get him as long as you do get him? You're too honest! You make me sick!"

This matter was soon dropped and Rose went on to tell the story of a young woman who had caused a man to fall violently in love by secretly putting some menstrual blood in his tea. "It worked wonderfully," concluded Rose. "The man was crazy about her, but all the rest of his life he was never very well." "Oh, by the way," she went on, "did you know, Stella, that if Max has magic done to him he'll be weak and sickly all the rest of his life? He can't live to be older than fifty at the very most, and maybe not even that long."

Immediately upon hearing these words Stella was seized with terrible fear. "Oh!" she cried, "isn't that awful! I can't have a man's days shortened for my pleasure! I can't have him lose his life on my account."

"You are so stupid," replied Rose in great contempt; "why should you care? I wouldn't let the lives of fifty men stand in the way of my happiness."

But this lofty sentiment had no effect upon Stella. Almost the very instant she heard the words, "if Max has magic done to him he'll be weak and sickly all the rest of his life," the terrific fear had come upon her that the Mahoshef was exerting magic upon her and that she was going to die. All the rest of the night she spent crying and screaming in constant terror.

Early the next morning she went back to the fortune teller, told him she did not want the young man after all, and begged him to stop the Kishef at once. He immediately and repeatedly assured her that she had nothing to fear, but this did not help her, and, returning home, she told her family that she was going to die, ordered her clothes to be given away, and indicated where she wished to be buried.

On the following day, although she was as much alive as ever, her fear was unabated, and she returned to the fortune teller to
renew her entreaties, but, as before, without relief. For several days she continued to visit him, but, finally, as his assurances brought her not the slightest comfort, she told him she was going to see a doctor. He was evidently alarmed by this, and threateningly forbade her to do anything of the kind.

Eventually of her own accord, she went to the Broadway Clinic. There one of the clinic physicians became much interested in her case, and, as I have said, she finally improved under the hypnotic suggestion which he administered. But before this improvement took place she spent five days as a voluntary patient in a hospital for the insane and a week or so in a neurological hospital.

With the onset of her obsession, her attitude toward Max underwent a peculiar modification. Up to that time, although apparently she was madly in love with him, she had maintained the most perfect maidenly reserve. As soon as the obsession came on, however, her love for him seemed to diminish, but, singularly enough, her reserve diminished also. Though she had invariably been anything but forward in her relations with men up to that time, she now began to pursue Max in a most vigorous and aggressive manner. She continually pressed him to come to see her, hinted most broadly at the state of her affections, and used every means at her command to bring him to the point of proposing. But in spite of her efforts he remained as noncommittal as ever—indeed, if anything, he became more reserved.

At last, driven to desperation by this Fabius of the affections, she adopted tactics which not only forced the issue, but, from the point of view of decisiveness, left nothing to be desired. Thus, one day in November, when Max was calling upon her, she said to him, "If a young man loves a young lady, and wants to marry her, he should say so. Otherwise, she might learn to love some one else."

Max, doubtless feeling unable to attack this obviously unimpeachable precept, replied, "If a young man were in love with a young lady, and felt that he was in a position to marry, he would say so."

And to this highly abstract proposition, which Stella apparently found to be quite as unassailable as her own, she made no reply.

Max then changed the subject, and, after discoursing for a short time upon the weather and other matters of equally profound public and private interest, politely wished her good evening and withdrew. Except for one occasion, when she happened to meet him on the street, she has never seen him since.
It was shortly after Max's final visit that she began to improve. From the time her obsession began she had been so sick that work was out of the question, but now she felt so much better that she became anxious to earn money again, and, in December, she went back to her old place in the store.

Her acquaintance with Barney began in November, soon after her friendship with Max ended. Previous to this time Barney had been living in another city and Stella had never seen him. However, she had heard of him frequently through his sister, Esther, who was one of her closest friends. Barney appeared to like Stella from the first, and, as time went on, his feeling rapidly became warmer, so that by the end of three or four months they reached a secret understanding and still later announced themselves as engaged.

For a while things went fairly well with Stella after she returned to work. Her fear of the fortune teller had almost disappeared, and she seemed to be in very good spirits. Then, in March, the fear suddenly returned and she was as sick as ever.

The revival of the obsession occurred under the following circumstances. It was just before Saint Patrick's Day. Stella heard some of the girls in the store talking of the coming celebration and asked one of them what it was that gave the Saint his particular claim to distinction. “Oh, don't you know that?” returned the girl. “Why, he was the one who drove the snakes out of Ireland.”

Stella became fearful immediately. “Oh, that must have been magic!” she said to herself. “I'm afraid—if that could happen, maybe the Mahoshef can do magic to me!”

All the rest of the day she felt anxious and uneasy and kept thinking about magic and witches. The next morning when she awoke the old fear was upon her, in all its original fury.

She went to work, however, but in the store she was so overwhelmed by fear that she lost all control of herself, fell to the floor crying and screaming, and had to be taken home in a taxicab.

As soon as she was able to do so, she again went to the Broadway Clinic, but the treatment she received there helped her no longer. The fact of her approaching marriage added to her perplexities, and she felt her condition to be most desperate. Finally, she took some of the money she had saved for her wedding finery and went to see Dr. Dana, hoping that he could either convince her that she had nothing to fear, or else show her some way out of her difficulties.
She gave him her history, telling him particularly of her great fear that she ought not to marry, because, as it seemed to her, she might go insane at any moment. Dr. Dana stated in most positive terms that she was not going insane and that she need have no fear on that score of making her husband unhappy. This comforted her for perhaps an hour, but no longer, so in a few days she returned for further assurances. Dr. Dana then referred her to me.

After this, as has been said, Stella came to Cornell Dispensary for nearly a year without obtaining any particular relief from her fears. To be sure, she was no longer subject to the wild attacks of crying and screaming which occasionally had taken place during the first few months of her illness, and certain minor obsessive ideas connected with her major fear had apparently disappeared, for she ceased to talk of them. On the whole, however, she had made no real improvement. These transitory obsessive ideas should be mentioned, for they will be of interest later.

When Stella first came to me she feared not only that the fortune teller was able to do Kishef to her, but also that people he knew—his friends or acquaintances—likewise had this power. For this reason she was afraid to go to the neighborhood in which he lived.

In this same early period, Stella was also afraid of anyone who looked at her fixedly, particularly strangers. Thus, if she were on the street and saw some one staring at her, she would immediately fear that this person was performing magic on her and that she would become insane as a result.

In a similar way she was afraid of the doctor who had hypnotized her at the Broadway Clinic. Whenever she thought of him she feared that he was doing Kishef to her. He was in Europe the first summer she came to me, but the fact that she knew he was thousands of miles away from her did not diminish her fear in the slightest.

All these ideas were never very prominent, and, as I have said, Stella ceased to refer to them after a short time.

But her main obsession, the fear of the fortune teller, was remarkable for its intensity. Apparently she was in constant terror throughout all her waking moments. There was practically nothing that would interest her or take her mind away from herself more than momentarily. She was constantly complaining. Over and over again she would say in a certain stereotyped way, "He has power over me—I'm afraid he's doing me harm—I feel I'm not safe—he bosses my thoughts—he's making me insane."
She continually questioned me about magic and similar matters. "Are you sure there isn't any magic?" she would ask. "How do you know there isn't—have you studied it? Is it a scientific fact that there can't be any? There were great men in the Bible, and Shakespeare was a great man, but they believed in magic and witches—how do you know they were wrong? If such bright men believed in those things there must be some truth in them—it makes me afraid—I think the Mahoshef has power over me," etc.

Any attempt I made to reassure her on any of these points usually ended in making her feel worse rather than better. For she would invariably corner me in some way, and, as soon as I failed to give a satisfactory answer, she would be in a panic.

Before her illness began Stella had always appeared to possess a very sunny, fun-loving disposition. Even during it at times she showed a keen sense of humor and talked in a very witty and amusing way, but usually she was greatly depressed and ready to cry at a moment's notice. Her depression, however, was as nothing when compared to her fear. Indeed, I recall no other case of neurotic fear which so deeply and vividly impressed me with the terrible reality of the patient's suffering, or in which the familiar hypocritical note of satisfaction was so conspicuously absent from the patient's complainings. There was no doubt whatever that Stella was really and honestly sick.

There are many suggestive circumstances which I could have included in this record of historical data but I will omit all but three of these which seem most significant in furnishing the background of the problem at the time of beginning the analysis. Two are of interest because they were so utterly inexplicable at the time, the other because it immediately contributed something to the ultimate understanding of the trends at work in the production of the neurosis.

One of the instances which I found so baffling at first, but which eventually proved to be completely explainable, was Stella's strong feeling over a matter which on the surface did not appear to be of the slightest consequence. When she made her first visit to the Mahoshef she supposed that Rose possessed no previous acquaintance with him, and only knew of him by hearsay. But after the obsession developed Stella learned that Rose and the Mahoshef had known each other some considerable time, that young lady having consulted him on a number of occasions in reference to her own affairs of the heart. Now, strangely enough, the fact that Rose had
concealed this acquaintance excited Stella's wrath to a remarkable degree. Indeed, any mention of the matter would at once put her in a state of angry excitement and set loose a flood of reproaches and maledictions directed against her cousin. In what way Rose's having concealed this acquaintance could make any difference to Stella I was utterly unable to see, but since her feeling was so strong I had to conclude not only that it did make a difference, but that there was some good reason it should. In this conclusion I was confirmed by the later results of the analysis.

Another seemingly small matter that was hard to explain was this. It will be remembered that one of the very first questions Stella asked me on the day of her first visit was whether I thought it was right for her to get married. Now, as a matter of fact she was already married when she asked me this question. A week before, she had married Barney by civil ceremony at the City Hall. It was the religious ceremony that was to take place three weeks after her visit to me. The point in all this that requires explanation is, why did Stella conceal from me the fact of this first marriage ceremony as she did for several months?

A third matter which in part was equally mysterious, while at the same time another part gave some hint of the nature of Stella's unconscious psychic processes, was the following. As has been said, Stella's obsession began when Rose told her that if Max had Kishfet done to him he would be weak and sickly all the rest of his life, and could not live to be over fifty. To my great surprise, I observed that Stella seemed really to believe that this would be so. Such credulity was entirely inconsistent with her attitude toward all other superstitious ideas. Though her obsession, and certain compulsive thoughts connected with it, represented a sort of belief in superstition, yet in all these instances her "belief," if it may be so called, was accompanied by an even more positive disbelief, so that she would say in speaking of these things, "I fear that this or that is so, but I know my fear is perfect nonsense," whereas in respect to all superstitions not related to her morbid fears she showed not a sign of credulity. But she never said that she thought the prediction that Max would be weak and sickly was perfect nonsense, while her whole attitude, in ways I cannot describe in detail, thoroughly convinced me that she had accepted this prediction as the absolute truth. In short, her (apparently real) belief that Max would be sickly was not, as in the case of her compulsive superstitions, accompanied by the simultaneous opposite feeling of disbelief.
But, although I could not explain why Stella did believe that Max would be weak and sickly, yet some of her remarks in this connection disclosed the existence of a conflict, and brought to light one of the several wishes or impulses which furnished the motive power of her obsession. Thus, she once remarked, "The thought that Max would be a sick man made me doubtful about marrying him. I was crazy to have him, but I didn't want to marry a man who was going to be ill for years and unable to support me. I felt that if I married him, and that if he was sick and had to die anyway, I wanted him to do it soon, and not to wait until I was so old I would have no chance of marrying again."

Here, obviously, was a distinct conflict. Stella was unwilling to give up Max, but she was apparently almost equally unwilling to be burdened for years with an invalid husband, which, for reasons unknown to us, she believed Max would be. Under such circumstances she desired a compromise—namely, that Max's life would be short, for if she could look forward to this, she would neither have to forego the pleasure of marrying him, nor would she have to bear indefinitely the burden of an invalid husband.

But we can hardly suppose that Stella could have entertained a wish for Max's early decease without having a certain feeling of guilt. And guilt demands punishment. It seems, then, not unlikely that the obsession served this purpose, among others. She had wished for the Mahoshef to do magic to Max, and she had wished for Max's death. What finer example could be desired of "that even-handed justice which commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice to our own lips" than that as a punishment for these wishes she should have to fear that the Mahoshef was doing magic to her, and that she, too, was in danger of death? The fact, then, that the obsession was so well suited as a punishment for what Stella must have felt guilty of, makes it not unreasonable to suppose that a wish for penance and self punishment formed the first, though by no means the most important, of its determinants.

(c) Analytic Data

Before proceeding to report the results obtained during the period in which Stella was under analysis it may be well to state the problem as I saw it at the beginning of this treatment.

To those who hold to the suggestion-theory of the genesis of obsessions, this history, as I have related it, presents no conspicuous problems. A young woman of neurotic and presumably impression-
able temperament, brought up among extremely fanatical and superstitious people, develops a neurosis during the strain and excitement incident upon an unsatisfactory love affair. This neurosis, judging from its content, is simply a reawakening of a belief in magic which she entertained as a child. The visit to the fortune teller and the various remarks of the superstitious cousin—occurring, as they did, when the young woman was in a very excitable condition—would be looked upon as sufficiently influential to bring about the reawakening, and thus cause the neurosis. From such a viewpoint the case is little more than a simple equation. Neurotic predisposition, environmental influences, an event of presumably high suggestive value—all three factors tending in the same general direction—produce, when added together, an obsessive fear. What could be plainer? The case explains itself!

The psychoanalyst, however, would see in this history, many points that call for extensive and careful investigation, and would feel utterly at a loss to explain the obsession without knowing a great deal more about the patient's life than has yet been recorded. Nevertheless, he might readily find in the material at hand matters which would lead to interesting speculations as to the etiology of the neurosis, and would give some hints both as to the nature of the problems confronting him and as to the sort of causal factors which he might expect to find.

For instance, it appears that the patient became sick in the midst of a love affair, improved as soon as it ended, but again became sick shortly after entering into an experience with another lover. Is this correlation between romance and illness to be looked upon as accidental or as causal? And if the latter, what sort of causes might be at work?

On theoretical grounds we may give partial and tentative answers to these questions. A neurosis, as Jung has said, invariably expresses some trend of thought and feeling away from, or hostile to, the individuals who stand in closest psychological relation to the patient.\(^2\) Such a position was once occupied by Max, later by Barney. We may therefore infer that some sort of emotional conflict existed in the mind of the patient in regard to these two persons—that for some unknown reason it was impossible for her to adjust

\(^2\) As a matter of fact the persons to whom Stella stood in closest psychological relation were her parents, and her neurosis showed that she was as poorly adjusted to them as she was to Max and Barney. But the matter of her adjustment to her parents is one that for the moment we need not consider, although we shall take it up later.
herself perfectly to either one of them, and that this nonadjustment had to do with the outbreak of the neurosis.

And this view is supported when we come to examine certain facts already at our command. For example, Stella’s love for Max was apparently pathological. It began as a typical case of “love at first sight.” Although this phenomenon is perhaps normal enough in stories, it is seldom so in real life. The condition, judging from the few cases I have had a chance to study, is always a compulsion. The patient has formed a strong love-fixation—usually upon some individual of high significance in the years of childhood—but this fixation becoming for some reason offensive to the patient’s conscious personality, has been subjected to repression and driven more or less completely from consciousness. The phenomena of love at first sight represent either a transference—usually incomplete—of this love, now partly or wholly unconscious, to some new love-object, against whom there are no particular conscious resistances, or else a flight from the old love-object, or a combination of both transference and flight. In any case, the person apparently loved is not the person actually loved, though in time, in some cases, a complete transference may take place.

If we now apply these principles to Stella’s case, our conclusion would be that Stella seemed to love Max so much, simply because, in some unknown way, he represented a substitute for, or a flight from, some one else with whom she was actually in love, although probably she would not permit herself to realize it.\(^3\)

Incidentally, if the foregoing conclusions are correct, certain other features of her affair with Max become comprehensible. Thus, though ladies in story books are supposed to lose flesh and appetite, and to spend long hours in weeping whenever they fall in love, we cannot regard these manifestations as normal accompaniments of love in real life. If, however, we are right in supposing that Stella’s love for Max was either an imperfect transference or a flight, these morbid phenomena are not so difficult to understand. That is, if, while she was consciously scheming to marry Max, she was unconsciously in love with some one else she had good reason to be depressed.

Other signs indicated a lack of adjustment in Stella’s relations with Barney. It did not require a long acquaintance with Stella to convince me that she felt toward Barney none of the mad in-\(^3\) This does not mean, of course, that all her seeming love for Max had this origin—merely that a part of it did, particularly at first.
fatuation which she seemed to have experienced for Max. For instance, whenever she talked of Max her face would light up, and, for the moment forgetting her fears, she would plunge into the most vivid and enthusiastic description of him imaginable. "Oh," she would say, "he was so refined! How I loved him! I thought I'd die if I couldn't be his wife. If I could have married him I would have been contented to live in only one room all the rest of my days."

But when she spoke of Barney there was a great difference. "Of course I love Barney," she would say in a somewhat argumentative tone, as if expecting immediate contradiction from some invisible hearer; "I love him as a friend. My feeling for him is geistliche Liebe—not Leidenschaft. He is intelligent and refined and I respect him—yes, I have the greatest respect for him." But these protestations were accompanied by none of the enthusiastic animation that characterized her references to Max.

It was quite evident, then, that she felt for Barney a much less intense love than she appeared to feel for Max. But a still more positive conclusion in regard to this matter could be drawn. If an emotional, neurotic girl, on the very eve of her wedding, cannot work herself up to the point of saying of her betrothed something more enthusiastic than, "I love him as a friend—I respect him," one need have little doubt as to the true state of her feelings—in all probability she does not love him at all. In other words, Stella had married a man for whom, apparently, she had no real affection.

In full accord with this conclusion is another matter that has already been mentioned. Stella felt that she was doing wrong in getting married, and that she was almost certain to make her husband unhappy. To be sure, these ideas appeared to be the logical result of her fears. Seemingly, she thought, "I am going insane, and therefore I ought not to marry—insanity will be the means of my bringing trouble upon my husband." But psychoanalytic experience shows quite conclusively that a compulsive idea, or any similar symptom, is, generally speaking, never the cause of anything—it is always an effect. If, for example, a man develops a neurotic symptom which apparently causes him to be unable to continue his business, we are likely to find upon analysis that for some reason the man wanted to give up his business, and that this wish was the immediate cause of his doing so. We may conclude, therefore, that, in Stella's case, her feeling that she ought not to marry, and that she would make her husband unhappy, depended
not upon her obsession, but upon some other, concealed factor, which adequately justified this feeling. In other words, there must have been some good reason why she should not marry Barney, although apparently she would not frankly admit this to herself. This reason was, perhaps, that she did not love him, but did love some one else.

But if we continue these speculations we are in great danger of falling into the error of feeling that we understand the case when we have only begun to study it. Let us, therefore, enter as soon as possible into an examination of the material brought out by my analysis, for by this means any danger of our feeling prematurely that we understand the neurosis will soon be effectually dispelled. Incidentally, it should be remarked at this point that thus far I have given Stella's history as I received it—not as I know it now—and that we may be prepared to find it in many respects erroneous, misleading, and incomplete.

PART III. ANALYTIC

(a) The Father-Complex

When I had finally decided to begin the analysis I informed Stella that I wished to try a new treatment—one which would require her fullest cooperation to be a success—and that her part would be to perform the difficult task of following a very simple rule, viz., to tell everything that came to her mind, whether or not the thought seemed to her pleasant or unpleasant, important or unimportant.

Having heard this solemn injunction, Stella began to laugh.

"That's silly," she said. "That will never cure me. Anyway, you know all about me already. What more can I tell you?"

But, after a few moments, she began to talk about her mother.

"My mother," she said, "is a very nervous woman. She is just like I am; she isn't well. I am more fond of my mother than of any one else in the world. Whenever she is out of my sight I worry about her and fear something will happen to her—that she may get sick or be killed in an accident."

I felt that my acquaintance with Stella had lasted long enough to allow me to venture some comment on these remarks. I began by saying that not all that goes on in our minds is accompanied by consciousness; thus, we could have various impulses or wishes of quite considerable strength without being at all aware of them.
Such wishes sometimes presented themselves in consciousness in the shape of fears.

But at this point Stella interrupted me. "What!" she cried excitedly, "do you mean that I hate my mother, that I want her to die?"

I said I was not able to deny that such a condition of affairs might exist and asked her what she thought about it.

"Oh, I know you are wrong," she exclaimed; "I love my mother and always will. If she died, I would want to die, too."

To this I replied that the existence of a very great love would not necessarily disprove the coexistence of an opposite feeling. Stella paid no attention to this, however, and in a somewhat illogical way continued her protests. At this point we were interrupted and had to defer the discussion to the next setting.

At the next visit she immediately began with the question, "What could make me hate my mother?"

"I cannot say," I replied; "what do you think about it?"

She answered that she could offer no explanation; but, after a considerable pause, she suddenly said, "Doctor, there is something I think I ought to tell you. My father used to touch me."

When I asked her to explain this remark she finally furnished me with the following information. When she was about twelve years old her father began a practice of coming to her bed at night, fondling and caressing her quite amorously, and placing his hand upon her breasts and genitals. This, Stella frankly admitted, had excited her greatly; and, though she had protested against these practices, she had always enjoyed them. She added, in explanation, that up to the time her illness began she had always been extremely passionate and easily excited.

Her father's visits had continued two or three times a week until she was somewhere between sixteen and nineteen years of age, when they ceased, but exactly when or under what circumstances Stella professed to be unable to remember. I can, however, supply the missing information from what I learned much later in the analysis. When she was seventeen and a half years old a number of friends were staying at her house, in consequence of which Stella slept in a different room than usual. In the middle of the night she was suddenly awakened by her father's standing over her bed and fumbling with her bedclothes. Not recognizing him for the moment, and being confused at not finding herself in her own room, she was very much frightened; but, when she did
realize who it was, her fear was changed to anger for the fright he had given her. "Why can’t you leave me alone!" she said indig-nantly. "Don’t ever do that to me again! I’ve had enough of your nonsense."

"Can’t a father kiss his own daughter?" he replied. "Anyway, I was only trying to see that you were covered warmly enough."

"That is not so," returned Stella. "If you must amuse yourself, why don’t you go to my sister? If you ever try to touch me again, I swear I will tell my mother!"

This threat seemed to have its effect, for her father never ventured to resume his visits. Stella had often protested against them before, but this was the first time she had threatened to tell.

I trust that it is now plain that Stella had answered the question of why she “hated” her mother. This hate, if it may be so called, depended upon her attachment to her father. The fears that her mother would die, etc., were part of the wish phantasy, which, as I later learned, she had often entertained consciously, that her mother would die, in order that she might assume the mother’s place with the father. These death wishes and feelings of hate existed in spite of a well-developed love for the mother. Let me say, in passing, that the ability to entertain simultaneously the two opposite feelings of love and hate, with a high degree of intensity and toward the same person, is one of the prominent characteristics of compulsion neurotics. In them love and hate may coexist indefinitely, instead of one drowning out the other as would normally be expected to occur. To be sure, in these cases the opposed feelings are not simultaneously conscious as a rule. The hate is usually confined more or less successfully to the unconscious, and the conscious love becomes overdeveloped to serve as a reaction and a cover for it.

A great deal more could very well be said of Stella’s father-complex, which, it should be evident to any one, must have been extremely strong. I will not pursue this subject, however, simply for the lack of space, as there is so much else that requires discussion. We shall later hear more of the effect of this complex.

(b) The Separation-Complex

The next matter that came into prominence in my talks with Stella was the question of her feeling and attitude toward her husband. Even before beginning the analysis I had come to the conclusion that she cared practically nothing for Barney and had asked myself why she had married him. The analysis begun, the question
became even more puzzling, for I learned that all during the period that she had been receiving attention from Barney, Stella had had still another suitor, upon whom she had looked with much more favor. This man, whom I will call Lehmann, was, according to her statement, not only much better looking than Barney but, in addition, he was a manufacturer in most comfortable circumstances, while Barney, on the other hand, was practically penniless. Lehmann was madly in love with Stella, and his family would have looked with favor upon the match; and so, I felt sure, would Stella have done, for, though I cannot now recall her remarks in detail, I was, nevertheless, convinced by them that she would have much rather married Lehmann than Barney, though whether she would have preferred Lehmann to Max was doubtful. The question of why she married Barney was, then, greater than before.  

Early in the analysis Stella had a dream, which, although throwing some light on the problems in the case, seemed at first to add to them rather than otherwise. The dream was simply that a certain recently married woman had left her husband, then residing in Boston, and come to New York.  

This dream was merely a representation of what had actually happened. The woman referred to, after living with her husband only a few weeks, had run away from him and returned to her parents in New York.  

But we are familiar with the observation that the chief actor in the dream is practically always the dreamer. With the woman of the dream Stella could readily identify herself, for both had worked in the same store and both had been married for only a short time. One could suppose, then, that the woman represented none other than Stella herself. Stella dreamed, then, that she followed the example of her friend; and this could only mean that she, too, had a wish to leave her husband and return to her parents.  

Hoping, however, to find some more significant source of identification than that just mentioned, I asked Stella to tell me more about the woman. She responded by informing me that the woman

4 I should, perhaps, state at this point that this and similar questions that came up in the analysis I submitted to Stella in the hope that she would answer them. It was quite useless, however, for she would either reply that she "did not know" or else would give some evasive explanation which it was quite impossible to accept. For instance, many times she maintained that she had married Barney for love alone, whereas at other times her own admission, as well as many other indications, showed that this explanation was entirely incorrect.
was very fat, while her husband was quite the reverse; and then added this most singular remark, "I think she was too strong for him."

What Stella meant by this I had not the slightest idea, nor were my efforts to get her to explain it at all successful. To my questions she replied only by repeating somewhat irritably, "She was too strong for him. Don't you know what I mean?" Yet, her tone implied that she was quite well aware that I did not.

I asked at last if she had used the phrase in some sexual sense, and to this she assented with such alacrity that I was quite sure she had meant nothing of the kind—that is to say, I felt she was unwilling to explain exactly what she had in mind, and so when I had suggested that it was something sexual she readily agreed, thinking this would satisfy me and that I would press her no further. Being now quite convinced that there was some really important reason for Stella's identifying herself with the woman, and that it probably was contained in her relations with Barney, I asked, "Did you ever feel that you were too strong for Barney?"

"Yes," she answered in a very peculiar way, but would say nothing more.

I kept on questioning her and finally brought to light, first, that Barney suffered from ejaculatio praecox, and, second, the following matter, which seemed even more important. Barney had suffered several attacks of gonorrhea before his marriage. A short time before I began the analysis he, discovering what he believed to be a returning gleet, had consulted a doctor, who for some reason examined his semen and told him, in Stella's presence, that in all probability he was sterile and would remain so. This was very painful to Stella, for, as she then told me, she was extremely anxious to have children, not only because she was most fond of them, but also because, as she expressed it, to have them would make her marriage stronger.

I was not at all convinced that the information I had obtained had exhausted the significance of the dream, and I was even in doubt as to whether all of it had to do with the dream, because, as I had broken in with questions, I could not regard all of Stella's statements as free associations. At any rate, whether connected or not, both the information I brought out and the dream were evidently of no small importance. The dream showed plainly enough that Stella had a wish to separate from her husband, but whether this arose from the mere fact that he was sterile, or whether there were other reasons for it, could not at the time be determined.
I told Stella that I interpreted the dream as an expression of a wish on her part to leave her husband, but she promptly disputed this, saying, "I will never want to separate so long as we are both alive." But, as this sounded to me as if she had an alternative in mind, I said, "Do you mean that you would like him to die and free you?"

"No," she replied instantly, "I do not wish him dead"; but, after a pause, she suddenly said, "I am not going to lie to you; I have wished him dead, often. This morning when I was washing his clothes I swore to myself and said that I wished they were his death clothes."

She went on to say, however, that she did not feel this way all the time. "When he is nice to me, and when I think we can go ahead and make money, keep up a nice home, and maybe have children, I feel that I can love him and I do not wish him dead; but, when he is mean, I hope he will die right away. Usually, when I wish him dead, I am sorry afterwards and think maybe I will be punished for such thoughts."

It was not until after this communication that Stella told me of a new detail of her fears. It seemed that before her marriage she was afraid to let any one know about her illness for fear that it would come to Barney's ears and he, thinking her either insane or about to become so, would withdraw from the engagement. After her marriage she was even more afraid that, as a result of magic, she would become insane and he would then be able to divorce her. After she had once told me this detail, it became one of the most frequent themes in Stella's conversation. She continually asked me to assure her that she was not insane; she did all sorts of things for fear people would think her so; she would never admit to any one that she felt ill in any particular for fear they would immediately conclude that she was losing her mind; and she was never tired of questioning me in regard to the laws relating to insanity and divorce. She was particularly distressed by the fact that her history was on file at the Broadway Clinic and similar places.

"I know," she would say, "if that history, in which it is written that I went to a fortune teller and then thought I was insane, was brought into court, the judge and jury would surely believe I really was insane and give Barney a divorce in a minute."5

When I reminded her that all the doctors she had consulted had instantly told her she was not insane or ever likely to be, she would

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5 Obviously enough, a wish.
reply, "I am afraid if it came to court they would change their minds." "I don't believe they would stick to what they said." "I am afraid they would go back on me." "Maybe they were afraid to tell me the truth, anyway," etc.

I noticed that she talked more about her history at the Broadway Clinic than about any of the other histories and seemed ever so much more anxious over it. She was continually planning to go to the Clinic and, on pretense of requiring treatment, get hold of her history and tear it up, but she never planned to do this with the history at the neurological hospital or at Cornell. Indeed, many times she started for the Broadway Clinic, intending to do away with the record, but on the way would come the reflection, "Maybe it would look worse if I did tear it up—maybe people would think I did it because I knew I was insane and was trying to destroy the proof," etc., and thus she never got to the point of putting her plan into execution.6

Now, quite similar in content to the obsessive fear that she would be divorced was a set of reproaches she frequently made against her husband. It seemed that he had once lived in the same house with a young woman named Ada, who apparently would have liked very much to marry him, although there is no reason to suppose he reciprocated this feeling. That he was in all probability utterly indifferent to Ada, Stella in her "sober moments" seemed to know as well as any one. Nevertheless, the greater part of the time she was loud in her complaints that Barney cared nothing for herself but was only waiting until she should become insane so that he could divorce her and marry Ada.

"He is no man!" she would cry. "Anybody else would stick by a wife if she got sick, but he wouldn't! As soon as he found he could prove me insane he would do it, and get rid of me as quickly as possible."

These complaints, uttered in the most spiteful, angry tones imaginable, Stella repeated hundreds of times; and, when she was in the mood for complaining, no argument could make her see what at other times she freely admitted, viz., that her accusations were entirely without foundation.

6 This element of her fear, namely, that by means of the history at the Broadway Clinic it would be proved that she was insane, etc., is what I had in mind particularly when, in the introduction, I spoke about displacement as shown by this case. We shall see eventually that her anxiety about her history at this clinic was indeed well founded, but that the foundation for it was something entirely different than appeared in her obsession.
Another set of reproaches against Barney referred to his attitude in money matters. She continually complained that he was mean and stingy, that he insisted on her working at the store when she should have been caring for things at home. She was particularly venomous over the recollection that one time he made her go to work in a snowstorm, when, in her opinion, the weather was so bad that she should have stayed at home. "I might easily have caught pneumonia and died from being out on a day like that," she said, "but he wouldn't care. A few pennies are more to him than my health and life. The only thing he married me for was that I should work for him."

Now, as a matter of fact, her husband did insist upon her working at times, but, apparently, not from choice. Financial conditions were bad; he had little work; and what she could earn was not only a very acceptable addition to the family income but at times an absolutely necessary one. He, as in a way she really well knew, did not demand of her anything that was not expected from any other wives in the same walk of life.

Now, that Stella's complaints were absolutely unfair and unreasonable no one was in a better position to know than herself. Why, then, could she not be induced to take a reasonable view of the situation and give up her unjust complaining? The obvious explanation was that she wanted to think her husband at fault in these matters—that it gave her some sort of comfort or satisfaction to be able to accuse him in this wise. But why should this sort of thing give her satisfaction? This question, to any one with a little analytic experience, is very easy to answer. She must have felt herself guilty of the same things for which she reproached her husband. This mechanism is a very familiar one. A guilty person who has difficulty in blinding himself to his guilt has no other means of continuing to believe himself as good as his fellows than to bring them down to his level by persuading himself that they are guilty of the same things he is. Stella's reproaches against her husband could, then, be applied to herself; and this means, first, that she had the intention of getting rid of her husband and marrying some one else, and, second (since she reproached her husband with being too interested in money matters), that some financial or economic condition must have interested her more than she felt was right. This interest perhaps in some unknown way, had been a factor in bringing about their marriage; possibly she had married Barney merely to have some one to support her.
It is to be observed that Stella's complaint that her husband wished to get rid of her is quite in harmony with the dream just analyzed. Both indicated that Stella wished or intended her marriage to Barney to be only temporary. She would not admit, however, that she wished for a separation, although, as the analysis progressed, she showed little hesitation in confessing that the greater part of the time she most heartily wished her husband was dead. That she really did wish for a separation, perhaps as an alternative less acceptable than her husband's death, I firmly believed in spite of her denials. Indeed, I was disposed to think that this wish was a determinant of her fears that through the fortune teller's Kishef she would become insane and be divorced. But as I was in no position to prove my point I had to let the matter drop for the time.

Before leaving the theme of Stella's reproaches against others, I must take up her attitude toward her husband's sister. This girl originally had been one of her closest friends, but Stella had not been married very long when they began to quarrel most frightfully. It was plain to be seen, however, that these quarrels were all Stella's fault. They usually originated from her making without the slightest provocation some unreasonable and unjust accusation against her sister-in-law. One thing which seemed to be concerned with Stella's inclination to pick these quarrels, and to which she frequently referred during her visits to me, was this. It seems that shortly before her marriage, Stella, on the advice of some doctor and contrary to her own inclination, had told Barney of the obsession from which she suffered, and he in turn had told his sister. (I should add here that Stella promptly repented of her confession and soon after her marriage told her husband the obsession had entirely disappeared.) Some time after they were married Barney was out of the city for a few days, and, as it so happened, his departure had followed closely upon a quarrel in which Stella, his sister, and himself were all involved. During his absence his sister wrote him a letter which Stella, prying through his things upon his return, found and read. This interesting document contained among other matters the following words: "That girl (Stella) was insane when you married her. Maybe she isn't exactly insane now, but just the same she will always have a crazy head. She knew she was a sick girl when she married, but you were an easy mark and let her rope you in."

Stella's rage upon perusing these amiable sentiments was indescribable. But, though at the time she gave apparently adequate
expression to it, having torn her clothes and hair, yelled, screamed, rolled on the floor, and ornamented with her nails the faces of her husband and his offending sister, still all this by no means removed the memory of the incident from her mind nor served to prevent thought of the matter she would immediately become incoherent from anger and excitement. "Roped him in!" she would cry. "A nice remark for a friend to make! The mean, low, false thing! Could any decent person say a thing like that? There isn't a more false and tricky girl in the world. I'd like to scratch out her eyes and wring her neck," etc.

Again applying the principle of interpretation already described, one would have to conclude that Stella thus reproached her sister-in-law because she felt herself to be guilty of being a false friend. In just what respect she had been false remains to be seen, however.

The fact that Stella found the accusation, "she roped you in," so painful has to be explained in another way. The reason this remark so aroused her anger must have been, I concluded, that it contained a very considerable element of truth. If the accusation had been entirely unjust, I felt, she would not have minded it nearly so much. But, having come to this conclusion, I was no better off than before, for, as far as I was aware, Stella had never done anything that could well be described as "roping in" Barney. To be sure, she married him without caring particularly for him, but, even so, it was Barney who had been the aggressor, and if any "roping in" had occurred he himself had done it. In spite of these facts, I could not reject my original conclusion that in some sense Stella had "roped in" Barney and that she felt guilty about it, but the only course left for me was to wait in the hope that in the course of the analysis new material would be brought out to confirm my views.

Let me now sum up what has been learned in regard to Stella's feeling and attitude toward her husband. First, the conclusion that Stella married Barney caring little or nothing for him, which was reached before taking up the analysis proper, has been fairly well confirmed. Second, from analyzing one set of Stella's reproaches against Barney there has been furnished reason to suppose that some unknown economic conditions caused her to marry him. At the same time, this is hard to understand, since she had another suitor, Lehmann, whom, apparently, she preferred to Barney, and who was better off, financially. Third, we have reached the conclusion that Stella wished to be free again either through Barney's
death, or, possibly, by divorce or separation. Fourth, we have two other pieces of information which are as yet of uncertain significance; viz., that somehow or other Stella felt guilty of roping Barney in, and that, whatever it might mean, she felt that she was “too strong for him.”

(c) The Assault Obsession

Let us now leave for a time the subject of Stella’s relations with Barney and take up another matter which at first seems to have no connection with the first. Stella had been coming to me some considerable time when one day she said suddenly, “Doctor, the Kishf obsession is not the only one I ever had. Several years ago I had another that I have been afraid to tell to you.”

The complete history of this first obsession I was a long time in learning. I will, however, give it here without going into the details of how I acquired my information. Stella, when about seventeen and a half years of age, had once taken supper at the house of a friend of hers, a young married woman named Mrs. Denzer. Mr. Denzer was not present at this meal, but considerably later in the evening he came in accompanied by two other young men, who boarded in his household. For some unknown reason Stella began to have a certain fear of these men, although in her previous acquaintance with them nothing had occurred to justify such an emotion. But, in consequence of this feeling, she soon arose and, putting on her hat, announced that it was time for her to go home. But Mrs. Denzer would not hear of her departure and insisted that Stella must spend the night. This made Stella more anxious than ever, and she protested with no little vehemence that for her to remain all night was impossible. Mrs. Denzer was deaf to these protests, however, and finally settled the matter by locking the only door of exit and putting the key in her pocket, so that Stella had to stay whether she liked it or not. By this time Stella’s anxiety had shaped itself into a definite fear, viz., that after she had retired for the night one of these men would attempt to assault her in her sleep. That such a fear was utterly absurd she was quite well aware, for none of the men had ever betrayed the slightest inclination to do anything improper either to her or, as far as she knew, to any other well-behaved young woman. But, in spite of this, she was unable to drive the fear from her mind. She decided, therefore, that after going to bed she would try to remain awake all night, while as an additional precaution she took her underskirt
and bound it over her genitals, so that, should she fall asleep in spite of herself, any evilly intentioned person would have difficulty in carrying out his purpose. However good her intentions may have been, she did fall asleep eventually, and when she awoke an hour or two later she found herself possessed with the horrible fear that while she slept the dreaded occurrence had actually come to pass, namely, that one of the men—she knew not which—had assaulted her while she was unconscious. After a hasty self-examination for evidences of such a happening she was momentarily relieved to find that the bandage she had made of her underskirt was undisturbed and that such signs as genital soreness, drops of blood, or any of the similar phenomena which she had been led to expect were accompaniments of the first coitus, were entirely absent. The relief following upon this examination was short-lived, however, for it occurred to her that while she slept any blood stains might have been removed and the bandage readjusted or that her imaginary seducer might have known of some method of performing the act without leaving any painful results. Thus, her fear persisted, and she said to herself, "Since I was asleep, I have no absolute knowledge or proof that it didn't happen."

At any rate, she left the house of her friend as quickly as possible and in a most distracted condition hurried home. Arriving there, she threw herself upon a bed, crying and screaming. Her mother, attracted by the noise, came in, and Stella soon told her what she feared and insisted upon being examined then and there for evidences of defloration. With this request her mother promptly complied, and assured Stella that there was absolutely nothing the matter with her except "Mushagahs im Kopf." But this did not satisfy the young lady, and in a day or two she had herself examined by a doctor, but with the same result. Her fear remained unabated in spite of the doctor's assurances. In the next few weeks she went to one doctor after another, receiving from each assurances that everything was as it should be, but without gaining any relief from her fear. Now, all this time she was extremely anxious to obtain a certificate to the effect that she was a virgin, but she hesitated to ask for it for fear that the doctors would suspect her of "something queer." At last, after returning home from having been examined by a woman doctor, who, by the way, had hurt her considerably, Stella found a drop or two of blood on her underskirt. This discovery greatly excited her, for she felt that even if she had been wrong up to this time in fearing her hymen was ruptured, it cer-
tainly was ruptured now, as the result of the doctor's examination. Hence, she returned to this physician, demanding a certificate which should state either that her hymen was entirely intact, or else that it had been ruptured accidentally during examination. This certificate, somewhat ambiguously worded, she did finally receive.

The assault obsession lasted without abatement for some eight or nine months, but then it gradually cleared up. After this it reappeared occasionally even up to the time the Kishef obsession began, though never with any great severity.

Naturally enough, Stella told of this obsession to very few people. One she told was her mother, who, much to Stella's real or assumed dissatisfaction, told it to her father. The only other person to whom Stella spoke about it was Rose, the same cousin who was connected with the Kishef incident. To Rose she did not speak frankly, however. Rose had observed that Stella seemed to have something on her mind, and questioned her as to the nature of the trouble. Stella at once began to cry, saying, "Rose, I am afraid something awful has happened to me—something that has made my body different than it was. If what I fear is really true, it would be wrong for me to get married, and I ought not to do it."

I should, perhaps, state that the question of marriage had come up at this time, for Stella had a suitor, a young man in good circumstances, who was highly favored by her parents, although not, if we are to believe her, by Stella herself. But, at any rate, his attentions lasted only a short time, and he soon passed out of her life.

Now, toward understanding the motivation of this obsession the following matters can be produced. First, it is to be noted that the obsession came on only a short time after the incident I have described and which put an end to her father's masturbatic visits to Stella's bedside. One might suppose, then, that her libido, thus cut off from its earlier outlet, had found a new channel of expression in the shape of the obsession. Incidentally, Stella, ill with an obsession, was in a position (of which, I may add, she took every advantage) to demand more in the way of sympathy and attention from her father than she would have been able to secure under ordinary circumstances. Thus, she received a sort of compensation for the loss of the more physical form of gratification which was no longer forthcoming. Furthermore, the illness, which gave her father an enormous amount of trouble and distress, served as a
weapon with which she revenged herself upon him for taking her too readily at her word and stopping his visits.\textsuperscript{7} But there is also reason to suppose the obsession represented a direct fulfillment of certain wishes that Stella had previously entertained. For both in day dreams and in night dreams she had frequently imagined herself to be the subject of an assault, and she was perfectly conscious of having had a wish that through no fault of hers such a thing might happen to her. For, as she explained, though she would never part with her chastity \textit{voluntarily}, yet, if in spite of her best endeavors to the contrary it was taken away from her \textit{by force}, the situation would then be quite different. Her virginity once lost, the chief motive for remaining in the paths of virtue would have been done away with, while, on the other hand, she would feel almost justified in compensating herself for the catastrophe by indulging in intercourse, a form of pleasure which, as she was of a very erotic nature, she was extremely desirous of having.

That some erotic wishes were in her mind the night the obsession came on is not to be doubted, for she distinctly remembers that all the evening she was at Mrs. Denzer’s she had been occupied in comparing, with a certain envy, her friend’s situation with her own. Thus, she not only reflected on the pleasures that were accessible to her friend upon retiring, but also indulged in certain erotic fancies in which she occupied her friend’s place in the domestic relation, or passed through similar experiences with a husband of her own. It seems highly probable, then, that Stella’s erotic wishes formed one of the determinants of the obsession; that is, as she herself summed up the situation, “What I imagined that evening at first for pleasure soon became a fear and finally an obsession.”

\textsuperscript{7} The relation between the obsession and a wish on Stella’s part to be masturbated by her father will be referred to again in connection with the analysis of the Kishef obsession, where at the same time the significance of Stella’s repeated visits to doctors will be given further consideration.

\textit{(To be continued)}
During recent studies in the genetics of symbolism, the writer had occasion to collate a number of data regarding their topical community in primitive and diseased minds. This material varies somewhat in accessibility, and a useful purpose may be served by bringing it, in the following condensed form, before the student of psychoanalytic phenomena.

Certain of the data are from original observations. Mostly they are gathered from studies of Jung, Jones, Rank and Frazer. With each topic is given the page of the reference on which the citation occurs. Further documentation will often be found there. The two instalments of Jung’s work are indicated by the Roman numerals I and II.

I. Miscellaneous Pervasive Symbolisms

1. The utilization of the same material in the dreams of healthy persons and neurotics indicates that the exposure in the water signifies no more and no less than the symbolic expression of birth. Rank, 68.


3. Patient, ignorant, uneducated Russian girl. “I thought I was in the body of a fish—was going to live forever there” (August Hoch).


5. Patient at the beginning of stupor, fancied self put into a barrel, to be cut to pieces, affectless, reduced in activity. “I am going to die.” Later mutism. (Fragmentation motive, Osiris.) (August Hoch.)


8. The hanging of the image of Attis to a fir, the hanging of Mar-syas . . . of Odin . . . the whole series of hanged gods show us that the hanging of Christ is not something unique in religious mythology. Jung, II, 227.


11. Entwining by branches motive, Osiris, Dormorschen (but a young man with a horn rescues her), Maya’s parturition, tree, rock water. Jung, II, 286.


12a. Patient who was afraid to write her name lest some one get possession of a piece of her personality. Freud, Totem u. Tabu, 1913, p. 53.


17. Birds have always been favorite representations for bringers of children. Jones, 182.


21. Thirty-year period in Gayomard, Zarathustra, Christ. Jung, II, 453. (Cf. Grimm’s fable in which man lives thirty years of his own plus the different years of other animals.)


II. Solar and Hero Myths

24. Figure in Pisa of halo on Christ, inscribed, Introitus solis. Jung, II, 358.

25. Sun symbolisms in hymns, II, 326, 673.

Hymn-references are to numbers in the Episcopal Church Hymnal, Revision of 1892, Boston, 1896. Numbers of verses are given in italics.


29. As Renan observes, the sun is the only rational god-representative, either from the standpoint of primitive barbarians, or of modern science; in each case the sun is the ancestor-god, mythologically in general the father-god, from whom all that is living lives, the source of the energy of the world. Jung, II, 163.

30. (Sun-he, Moon-she.) In the middle of the picture (late Babylonian), is an androgyne god (male and female faces). Upon the right, male, side, is a snake with a solar halo about the head; on the left, female side, is also a snake with the moon over the head. Jung, II, 246.

31. The new-born hero is the young sun rising from the waters, first confronted by lowering clouds, but finally triumphing over all obstacles. Rank, 4.

32. Thus we at once come to know Hiawatha as a savior, and are ready to hear everything about him that belongs to him as such; miraculous birth, early great deeds, and sacrifice for his fellow men. Jung, II, 350.

33. (Standard hero-saga.) The hero is the child of most distinguished parents; usually the son of a king. His origin is preceded by difficulties, such as continence, or prolonged barrenness, or secret intercourse of the parents, due to external prohibition or obstacles. During the pregnancy, or antedating the same, there is a prophecy, in the form of a dream or oracle, cautioning against his birth, and usually threatening danger to the father, or his representative. He is then saved by animals, or by lowly people (shepherds), and is suckled by a female animal, or by a humble woman. After he is grown up, he finds his distinguished parents, after a highly versatile fashion; takes revenge on his father, on the one hand, is acknowledged, on the other, and finally achieves high rank and honors. Rank, 61.

34. The father of the hero is very often a skilful carpenter, or such artisan. (Many examples.) Jung, II, 364.

35. Comparison of birth history of Christ with royal Egyptian myth over 5,000 years old, relating the birth of Amenophis III. Here again recurs the divine prophecy of the birth of a son, to the waiting queen; her fertilization by the breath of heavenly fire; the divine cows, which nurse the new-born child; the homage of the kings, etc. Cf. A. Malvert, Wissenschaft u. Religion, Frankfurt, 1914, pp. 49 et seq. Rank, 51.

36. References concerning the birth of Jesus in a cave, and the furnishing of the birthplace with the typical animals. Rank, 49.

37. The stall, like the cave, is a place of birth. Jung, II, 401.

38. The birth of the young sun, the hero, is indeed from men, who,
however, are merely the human bearers of cosmic symbols. Thus the birth is protected by the spiritual mother (Hera, Lilith); she sends Sieglinde with the child in her lap (flight of Mary) on the Nachtmeerfarth to the east. Jung, II, 387.

39. Citations of exposure motives by Rank; Sargon, p. 12; Moses, p. 13; Karna, p. 16; Ion, p. 17; Œdipus, p. 18; Judas Iscariot, p. 19; Paris, p. 20; Romulus and Remus, p. 41; Jesus, p. 51; Siegfried, p. 53; Arthur, p. 55; Lohengrin, p. 58; Simplicissimus, p. 12; etc.

40. (Writings of schizophrenic patient, Case I.) "Male and female created he them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created. (Adam and Mrs. Adam being a similitude of God and Mrs. God.) As God is the master of Madame Nature, his bride, he is responsible for her works, and as Adam and Eve are the third dimensional projections and crystallizations of Jehovah and Nature, their relationships to each other require the subserviency of the wife to the Lord. . . . And Adam lived (while on earth) an hundred and thirty years, . . . and the days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years (in Nirvana) and he begat sons and daughters. (. . . Nirvana must not be confused with the Christian Heaven, in which there is neither marriage, nor are any given in marriage.) . . . And all the days that Adam lived (on earth and in Nirvana) were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died. After his 'second death' he was born again, and entered the kingdom of heaven as a little child. (You cannot enter the kingdom of heaven except as a little child.) . . . It was on the sixth day that Adam was created . . . Adam should arrive on Friday. I believe that the 27th of May, 1887, fell on Friday. (Patient's birthday.) The Esperanto language published its first book in 1887. And (Genesis 11, verse 5) the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded (Babel). And the Lord said, behold the people is one (Universal Brotherhood of Man, San Diego, Cal.), and they have all one language, and this they begin to do . . . There is a resurrection! When the Morning turns to Evening, 'Bonam Vesperum'—the marriage of the sun and moon!

"And the Evening and Morning
Were the first Day
I am Adam, the Man
Of Destiny!"

"The earth shall be stable that it shall not be moved. I am that I am, before Abraham was, I am Jesus of Nazareth of the tribe of Judah, and my bride and I are the resurrection and the life. . . . He has made us before and behind. Adam and Eve were twin babies. Adam's rib was a ring of 360 degrees and encircled Eve's waist. After the operation he found her and called her his rib! This is the true history and that wedding ring is an emblem of eternity."
41. (From a further writing by the same patient.) "'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' Then in the process of nebular evolution that earth became extinct and its solar system with it; and its Lord of Hosts became a spirit and this Spirit awakened as the nebular day began to dawn on the morning of the resurrection of a universe older than time. 'And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' Subconscious memories were awakened. The genius of creation, ... awoke from the state of death.... The geological events which followed were but the fulfilment of the desires of his heart ... the recapitulation of the old, old story of creation which practise will eventually make perfect. ... Only he who runs can read that the sun was created first. This is not the first time that the writer has run the Messianic race. ... (As these events happened before, so will it be again. This universe, when it becomes old and worn out will rest during the great Night of Brahm, the great sleep of Jehovah—and while he sleeps he dreams, and the Morning brings a realization of his blissful dreams.)"


44. Human or other sacrifices to renew strength of gods, resp. natural forces. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, I, 188, and elsewhere.

III. Procreative Function of Vapor, Spirit, Mind; Theophagy

45-7. Statements of dementia praecox patient, Case II.3 There is no need for males; immaculate conception could be quite common through the air in the womb.

46. Supernatural powers are created from some form of air and are given different forms of education.

47. Men have always been unnecessary. It will be possible to beget children without men. Babies are formed by the entrance of the direct will into the uterus, and there acting with the blood begets the child.

48. Aphrodite’s bird, the dove, is not for nothing the symbol of the Holy Ghost. Jung, II, 179. (Cf. 17.)

49. Medieval painting shows tube leading from heaven under Mary’s clothes, down which flies the dove of the Holy Ghost. Jung, I, 211.

50. Masturbation as defiling the temple of the Holy Ghost.

51. Hymnological material pertinent to the immediate topic may be quoted as follows:

The winds of God have blown with living breath,
His dews have fallen on the plains of death,
At eve sing Alleluia! 262, 10.

3 For notes on this case I am indebted to Dr. Amsden, of Bloomingdale.
Hear us, Thou that broodest
O'er the watery deep,
Waking all creation
From its primal sleep;
Holy Spirit, breathing
Breath of life divine,
Breathe into our spirits,
Blending them with Thine. 133, I.

Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove,
With all thy quickening powers;
Kindle a flame of sacred love
In these cold hearts of ours. 377, I.

Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove,
Dew descending from above,
Breath of life, and fire of love;
Hear us, Holy Spirit. 524, I.

Cf. also 76; 376, 3-4; 311, 4.

52. (Words of patient in a marked manic excitement, Case III.)
"And there has been a great deal of germ trouble with the (penis) and that has been very heavy." (When begin to have germ trouble?) "At 23 minutes past one at night." (Long ago?) "Only a few nights ago. . ." (He referred several times to something happening at 23 minutes past one.) (What happened then?) "All the (testicles) seemed to be drawn together and the Holy Ghost seemed to come out . . . the microbe of men, the big Adam, the little Adam. . . ." (What do you mean by "the (testicles) seemed to be drawn together"?) "Why the spirit and power of the Holy Ghost seemed to come down and draw them, but it was like the running of horses." Cf. 54, 55, 56, 57.

53. An uncanonized legend, . . . that a dove proceeded from the genitals of Joseph and alighted upon his head to designate him as the future husband of Mary; a weaker form is found, in later versions, in which the dove proceeds from Joseph's staff. Jones, 188.


55. An uneducated woman patient, whom her husband had originally forced to coitus with great violence, frequently dreams (after divorce) that a wild horse jumps over her, and treads its hind foot into her body. (Mythological analogues.) Jung, II, 319.

56. Patient rationalizing self-accusatory trends on masturbation. (Woman, Case IV), dreams of things getting broken. . . . "Oh, that mother's vases got smashed." "I go to sleep with horses rushing before me, or something in action."

* No history of venereal disease.
57. Thought as procreator; Athene from head of Zeus—medieval nuns asserted they were pregnant, because Christ had thought of them. Jones, 155.


59. Dementia praecox patient, educated woman, Case V, shows idea of genitals connected with spinal canal so that ejaculation is a direct drain on the central nervous substance. Cf. the colloquialism on a dissipated spendthrift, “His brains all run out through his (penis).”

60. (Same patient as in 59; in addition to being well educated, has borne two children. The following is from a writing, the broken English being part of the psychosis. The chirography is very mannered, and the columns in which it is arranged are in the opposite of usual order.)

Que. How does Parents Make Children? The Parents Decide Make Children and Father Squeezes what He thinks into Mother’s Womb with his Tail, and She Squeezes What She Thinks into her Womb and Shuts Her Womb For Nine Months For What They Squeeze to Grow Baby. Then She Opens the Womb and Lets Baby Come Sliding Out of her Onto her Bed. Ans.

61. Upanishad relations of fire and speech. Jung, II, 205. (Cf. fiery tongues symbolizing the Holy Ghost.)

62. Maury adduces as a reason why the Holy Ghost appears now as fire and now as dove, that in the Orient the dove is the image of procreation and of animal heat. Jones, 189.

63. For the Annunciation is simultaneous with the Conception; ... that the one in a sense actually brings about the latter ... while in the older mythologies, the highest being, when it unites with a mortal ... only appears in the form of a fertilizing messenger, snake, swan, or some other phallic symbol, it does not content itself therewith in the Christian myth, but appears in anthropomorphic form. Jones, 180.

64. The horn, a phallic symbol, is in the unicorn the symbol of the Holy Ghost. The unicorn is driven by the angel Gabriel into the lap of the Virgin Mary. Jung, II, 257.


68. (Theophagy in hymns.)
Thou by Whom our souls are fed
With the true and living Bread,
Even Him Who for us bled;
Hear us, Holy Spirit. 524, 9.

Thou of life the fountain art,
Freely let me take of Thee;
Spring Thou up within my heart,
Rise to all Eternity. 335, 3.

We taste Thee, O Thou living Bread!
And long to feast upon Thee still;
We drink of Thee, the Fountain Head,
And thirst from Thee our souls to fill. 430, 3.

69. Withhold from us our ghostly foe,
That spot of sin we may not know. 21, 2.
Cf. also 16, 2; 17, 5 (Evening hymns); 422, 2. This may well be the associational origin of the sin-spot symbolism. Cf. 52.

IV. Wind, Breath and Sound in Procreative and Allied Functions

70. Air as procreative principle; mares of Lusitania, animation of Adam, immaculate conception by πνεύμα. Jung, I, 166, 170.

71. Quotation from Mörike:

Da kam der Wind, da nahm der Wind
Als Buhle sie gefangen
Von dem hat sie ein lustig Kind

72. When we have laughed to see the sails conceive,
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind,

73. (Bhartrihari). Srínga Sataka, 49, 50 (tr. Kennedy). Kissing the rosy cheeks of women, causing a feeling of cold on their faces over which the luxuriant hair is blown hither and thither, moving even their breasts and blowing aside the clothing from their legs and bodies—clearly in doing all these things the winds of winter are playing the part of paramours with beautiful women in the broad light of day. . . . The winter wind tosses women's hair from side to side, makes them close their eyes, blows their garments hither and thither, thrills their bodies, embraces them, makes them utter low sounds of fear and delight, and kisses their lips; and in doing all this it acts with all the charm of a lover.

75. It is a belief now often forgotten, but frequently preserved in the legends and traditions of the Catholic Church, that the conception of Jesus Christ took place through the ear of Mary, in that the breath of the Holy Ghost penetrated there. Jones, 137.

76. Over the portal of the Marienkirche in Würzburg is a relief representing the Annunciation, upon which the Heavenly Father blows through a tube extending from his lips to the ear of Mary, and through which the Christ child descends. Jones, 185.

77. Upon a now no longer existing mosaic in the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the holy dove was seen to almost enter the ear of the Madonna. Jones, 138.

78. The ancients . . . arrived at the belief that the female (crocodile) conceived, like the Mother of God, through the ear. Jones, 198.

79. In several medieval representations of hell, the devil is represented swallowing sinners and again discharging them either through the ear, the anus, or both. Jones, 194. Cf. Chaucer, Introduction to the Sompnour's Tale.

80. In the Persian cosmogony the first man was made by the male divine being placing his hand in the ear of the female . . . so Cassandra became a prophetess after the snake had licked her ear. Jones, 195.


82. Why nuns must carry their ears covered to this day. Jones, 195.

83. The Mohammedan tradition derives Mary's conception from the angel Gabriel opening her garment and breathing upon her body. . . . (Aztec) Tonacatcutli, the lord of being, appeared to Chimalma and breathed upon her, from which followed the conception of the divine child (Quetzalcoatl). Jones, 140.

84. The legend of Chigemouni, the Mongolian hero, who chose Mahaenna, the most perfect virgin in the world, and impregnated her in that, while she slept, he penetrated her right ear. Jones, 139.

85. That the west wind plays such a prominent rôle in this connection may be due to the fact that it comes from the marriage bed of the sun (i. e., father). Jones, 145.

86. And the West-wind came at evening,
    Found the beautiful Wenonah,
    Lying there among the lilies,
    Wooed her with his words of sweetness,
    Wooed her with his soft caresses,
    Till she bore a son in sorrow,
    Bore a son of love and sorrow. (Hiawatha.) Jung, II, 355.

87. To breathe upon was in Sparta a designation for pederasty. Jones, 173.

88. (Mithra-liturgy.) Sun provided with penis-symbol, which is the source of the wind. Jung, I, 211.
89. Paranoic dementia praecox sees on the sun an *Aufwärtschwanz*; when the patient shakes his head, the solar penis also sways to and fro, and thus arises the wind. Jung, I, 211. Case VI had a similar idea of a tower of light extending up from his head like the beam of a searchlight. When it was suggested to him that he should give up certain autoerotic fancies, he said it was his association with Miss X. that kept it up straight; if he ceased his communication with her it might weaken, bend over to one side and thus overbalance him.

90. A patient brought about his fancied impregnations by breathing in through his nose the gas he had breathed out through his mouth . . . as God employed Adam’s nostrils for the same use . . . Jones, 193. Case VI referred a hallucinated homosexual assault by another patient to his “mouth and nostrils.”

91. Blue-jay recovers from faint by being blown on. Boas, Chinook Texts, 180.


93. Dead persons brought to life by blowing water on their bodies, p. 19. Dead person brought to life by blowing water on him after carrying him to water, 20. They rubbed their arms and made people (of the dirt that they rubbed from their skin). Then they blew upon them and they arose. Boas, Chinook Texts, 20.


95. Dish-full of meat made a canoe-full by blowing on it. Boas, Chinook Texts, 56.

96. Eye of Horus restored by Thoth by spitting on it. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, II, 17. 92.

97. It is therefore quite comprehensible, when gas and water are associated in such fancies, and are symbolically equivalent . . . A simple example is the myth of Prometheus, who created man out of water and sound. Jones, 163.

98. “She is His new creation
   By water and the word.” 491, r.


100. Baptism as a rebirth into the Church. Jung, II, 270.

101. Water-personifications generally males, females sacrificed to or possessed by them; less frequently males. Frazer, The Magic Art, 159 ff.


103. In mythology and folklore speech is often identified with love or life, as mutism implies impotence or death . . . (mutism of the father of John the Baptist). Jones, 152.
The holy Zeno writes: "The body of Mary swells, filled with loveliness, not through marital fertilization, but through belief; through the word, not through semen."

A belief mentioned by Pliny . . . that the female of the partridge may be fertilized, if it only hears the note of the male. Jones, 151.

Lion whelp waked in three days by roar of father. Jones, 151.

Cf. vivified by being blown on, p. 71 of Braune's Althochdeutsches Lesebuch. Halle, 1897.

Trumpet sound waking dead to life. . . . Significance of sound, in which the sexual meaning often comes to the surface. . . . Cameo on which a trumpet-blowing Satyr surprises a sleeping Bacchante. Jones, 149.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. Ref. Jones, 153.

"And were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues." Ref. Jones, 172. Cf. 81.

V. Symbolism of Intestinal Gases in Fertilizing Role

Many children hold the belief . . . that the sexual act of their parents consists therein, that gases proceed from the father into the mother as other children think that it consists of common urination. Jones, 143.

Thou art he that took me out of my mother's bowels. Psalm 71, v. 6.

Again it is not without significance, that of the five Pranas (holy spirit of the Vedas) it is the Apana or downward breathing that refers to language. Jones, 154.

(In other Indian sources) it is depicted, how the lord of being, Pragapati, who created the original gods from the expiration and inspiration of his mouth, also created all mankind, through the downwards directed breath, which proceeded from his posteriors. Jones, 144. Cf. Rank, Zt. f. Psychoanalyse, II, 8, 9.

Pantagruel creates a race of pygmies in a similar manner. Rabelais, Pantagruel, Bk. II, Ch. 27.

Two artists, one of Turin, the other of Reggio. They possessed the same tendencies to sodomy, which they founded in the delusional idea of believing themselves gods, and lords of the world, which they had created and emitted by the anus. One of them . . . pictured himself in full erection, naked among women, excreting worlds, and surrounded by all the symbols of power. This repeats and explains the god Ithyphallus of the Egyptians. Lombroso, L'Homme de Genie, Paris, 1889, p. 305.


"That is the way one produces something." Infantile interest in defecation from this libidinösem Zuschuss.
118. Stages in the "sublimation" of the intestinal gas and reproduction idea. (1) The replacing of unpleasant by pleasant odors; the period of perfumes, of ambrosia and incense. (2) Complete elimination of the function of smell, the interest turning to sound (language, music). (3) Elimination of sound, development of the πνεῦμα-doctrine. (4) The idea of a vapor disappears, and interest centers itself upon the importance of heat and fire. (5) This also disappears, and there remains the breath of God, the winds, etc. (6) The idea of blowing is discarded ... five of the original attributes (odor, sound, dampness, warmth and motion) have been eliminated, and only a non-perceivable abstraction remains. Jones, 177–8.

119. The superstitions in which the ideas secondarily derived from breath, like wind, fire, speech, etc., are used as fructifying principles, show that they have still preserved in their conscious expressions something of their original significance. Jones, 178.


122. Popular associations of anal zone with respect and devotion (resp. contempt). Feces symbolizing gold, etc. Jung, II, 231.

123. Urine and feces of Dalai Lama eaten by adorers or worn as charms. Frazer, The Magic Art, I, 412.

124. Warrior rubbed with goat's dung to keep ghost of enemy away. Frazer, Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, 177.

125. Crusaders use the feces of the High Priest as a magic ointment in warfare. (Arabian Nights.)

126. Luther's idea, according to which the devil might be driven away through a discharge of intestinal gas. Jones, 150.

VI. Rationalizations of Dove-symbolism

127. The neck of the bird, which resembles that of reptiles, ... and the sharp, arrow-like bill, and its faculty of suddenly thrusting itself forward. Jones, 183.

128. Why a dove especially was chosen, ... becomes clearer when we examine the rôle played by the dove in other mythologies. This rôle is considerable. ... Jones, 187.

129. According to Philo the dove was the emblem of wisdom, which like the snake, unicorn, etc., has for mythology always the meaning of a phallic symbol. ... Jones, 188.

130. An important characteristic is the tenderness which they develop in their mating ... with the far-reaching associations that exist between birds in general, the dove in particular, and the connotations of sound, air, and sexuality. ... "The voice of the turtle-dove is the earthly Echo of the voice of God." Jones, 193.
PRIMITIVE AND PATHOLOGICAL SYMBOLS

131. "And on my breast put a turtle-dove
To signify I died of love."

132. Absence of externally visible genitals. . . . So also flowers, which
in popular belief have no genitals, are among the commonest erotic
symbols. Jones, 182-3. (Defloration.)

133. (Gabriel represented with flower, usually lily.) A flower sym-
bolizes a child, . . . through the apparent innocence and sexlessness of
both, and through the origin of flowers from "Mother" Earth. Jones,
180.

VII. Snake and Allied Phallic Symbols

134. Mother of Augustus dreams herself impregnated by a deity in
the form of a snake. Jung, I, 124.

135. Nietzsche's symbolism of Libido as snake and flame. Jung, I,
208.

136. Phallic symbolism of spear, bird, fish, snake; theriomorphs of
sexuality, rams, asses. Jung, I, 146.

137. Cleopatra's snake, Eden, Stuck's three paintings, masochistic
"Erstes Liebeslied eines Mädchens." Jung, I, 126. Cf. masochistic
spider-symbolisms in Hauptmann, Atlantis (Ingigerd's dance), and in
Fabre's Life of the Spider.


139. Spielrein's patient says of this snake: "It is a divine animal,
which has wonderful colors. . . . The rattlesnake is green; it is very
dangerous. . . . The snake is a friend of children. It would save those
children which are necessary for the preservation of human life." Jung,
II, 461.

140. Jung's patient says: "There came a little green snake up to my
mouth, with the most delicate, loving sense, as though it had human
reason, wished to tell me something, to kiss me." Jung, II, 461.

141. The snake as the enchanted prince in Fairy-tales has the same
im Märchen, pp. 40 f.

142. Many instances in which snakes impregnate women in dreams
and otherwise. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 80 ff. (Dead come to life
and visit old homes in form of serpents.)

143. Artists who depict (the words of the Annunciation) issuing
from the Archangel's mouth in the form of a snake. Jones, 203.

144. Forms of sexual assault in dreams: sword, dagger,5 cannon,
water-can,6 persecution, robbery. Jung, I, 125.

5 Cf. The colloquialism mutton dagger.
6 Cf. "Ein Gärtchen fein und wohlgepflegt—Das jeden Monat Rosen
trägt," etc.
VIII. Coitus-Onanism-Fire Symbols

145. Onanistic (regressive) origin of fire (Upanishad) hero rubs hands held before mouth; “thus he brought forth the fire out of his mouth as the womb and from his hands.” Jung, II, 201-2.

146. Written formula of case V. Friction = decay and fire. Friction = decay or fire. (The remainder of the writing identifies friction positively with coitus.)

147. In the Blue Bird of Maeterlinck, the two children, who are seeking the bluebird in the land of the unborn, find a boy who bores with his finger in his nose. It is said of him that he will find a new fire, which will keep the earth warm, when it has grown cold. Jung, II, 197.

148. (Ritual restrictions on fire-making.) After what has been said regarding the genesis of fire-making, it is not difficult to imagine what the forbidden thing is—masturbation. Jung, II, 213.

149. Personification of fire-sticks as man and woman (India). The resulting fire is the child, the divine son Agni. (Weber) Jung, II, 193.


151. Fairy-tale (Riklin) in which a child is conceived by the parents’ putting a small turnip in the oven. Jung, II, 211. Cf. Balzac, Contes Drolatiques, Les Deux Innocents, “How many loaves did your husband put into the oven?”

152. Indeed, one might consider that the discovery of fire were due to the need of establishing a symbol for coitus. Jung, II, 197.

153. Coitus-symbols in agriculture: Australian ritual dance of fertility, where men thrust spears into burrow, saying “non fossa, non fossa, sed cunnus!”

154. Ceremonial masturbation to increase the clove crop. Frazer, The Magic Art, II, 100.

155. Mouth with tongue as male or female symbol; spitting as sexual act frequent in folklore. Jones, 140. (Has analogues in psychoses.)

156. The impulse to spit or vomit at the sight of disgusting things is simply the reaction to the unconscious wish to take them into the mouth. Ferenczi, Introjektion u. Übertragung, Jahrb. f. Ps. u. Ps. Forschungen, 1909, L, 440.

IX. Phallic Symbolism of Sun and Light-Rays


158. Other analogues of the sun’s rays like knife, sword, arrow, have, as we know from dream psychology, a phallic significance. Jung, I, 217.

159. Oh Holy Spirit from above
In Streams of light and glory given,
Thou source of ecstasy and love,
Thy praises ring through
Earth and Heaven. 137, 3. Cf. 48 ff.

160. The legends of virgins impregnated by light rays, usually from
the sun or fire, are especially numerous and widespread. Jones, 166.

161. And the Egyptians say that a ray from heaven came upon the
cow, and thus she bore the bull Apis. (Herodotus, III, 28.) Jung, II,
401.

162. Figures in the Cathedral of St. Leu (Langlois). From the bill
of the Holy Ghost extends a ray of light to the ear of Mary on which
there descends a very young child, carrying a little cross in his hand.

163. Glass painting in an old window (Pistoia) shows rays going
from the mouth of the dove and bearing an embryo towards the head
of the Madonna. Over the picture are the verses,

Gaude virgo mater Christi

164. Maya the queen—
Dreamed a strange dream, dreamed that a star from heaven,
Splendid, six-rayed, in color rosy pearl,
Whereof the token was an Elephant
Six-tusked and white as milk of Kamadhuk
Shot through the void; and, shining into her,
Entered her womb upon the right. (The Light of Asia.)

165. During the conception,
A wind blew
With unknown freshness over lands and seas.
Ref. Jung, II, 356. Cf. 70 ff. Cf. also the Dakota myth of the “star-
born.”

166. Portions from text of a sketch by case V. Line 1. Indicate
Sun Rays passing behind woman. Line 3. Indicate Sun Rays passing
before woman. Sun Rays passing through between brains of two eye
balls indicated by two sizes of line, also sun rays passing through and
remaining in body of woman.

One line of near 1 million brains indicating how black atmosphere
of night is being replaced by light of day. (Line curling around female
figure) indicates dusk caused woman by sun rays. (Other rays are
drawn to a small girl; in a bed lies the father, “who has returned to the
parent’s bed after firing up.”)

Art, II, 195 ff.

7 Cf. the colloquial “Bird with the seven-pronged penis.”


170. Juno and Diana, goddesses of fertility, identified with the moon. Jung, II, 381.

171. Moon as male, begets albinos (Borneo tribe). Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, I, 91.


173. Sexual sensations disguised as electrical ones in speech of patients.

X. Sex-food Symbolisms

174. Female designations for certain kinds of food; kisses, a soft, sticky confection; Josephines, a chocolate confection; Marguerites.

175. Same used to designate certain preparations of food; Strawberry Edith, Peach Melba.

176. "Nance, you look good enough to eat, and I'm hungry for you."
(In the Bishop's Carriage.)

177. A slang word meaning appetite in England is an equivalent for penis in America.

178. I would mention two brief instances: One concerns a young girl, who developed catatonia during engagement. When she saw me for the first time, . . . she embraced me and said, "Papa, give me something to eat!" The other case is that of a young girl who complained of being persecuted with electricity, by which a peculiar sensation was produced in her genitals (cf. 173) "as though there was eating and drinking down there." Jung, II, 190.

179. Coyote, mythical ancestor of the Shoshones, comes to a tepee where an old woman and her daughter receive him. As they eat, he notices that they put no food in their mouths, but let it fall along their bodies; when it has apparently fallen half way down he hears a munching sound. Puzzled, he withdraws and asks advice of his anus (cf. 120, 121), which informs him that he has fallen among enchantresses who eat with their genitals. They compass his destruction; when he is about to have intercourse with the girl, she will bite off his penis with her vulva (cf. p. 72 of Braune's Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, Halle, 1897) and kill him. The hero should take his elkhorn scraper, and before having intercourse thrust it into the girl's vagina, so that the teeth will be broken upon it; after which he may possess her without danger. He does this, and founds the race of the Shoshones. Lowie, The Northern Shoshone, New York, 1909. According to the same authority, the mo-
tive of the dentate vagina is widespread, having been recorded also in Siberia and in Slavic folklore.

180. Words of patient in depressed phase of manic-depressive psychosis. Case VII. The first time I was tube-fed it almost killed me, but I took the tube as a penance. At first really good eggnog was used in the feeding, but soon people began to think that I liked the tube-feeding and that I looked upon it as symbolic of sexual perversion. Since then they have put into the feeding a lot of semen and all kinds of filth. Now every night when I am asleep men come into my room and violate me with their perverted practises. . . . (A week later) they put the contents of the cuspidors into it (cf. 155); they have fed him with the germs (cf. 52) of all diseases.

181. Tube-feeding as equivalent of sexual intercourse in women patients.

182. Case of dementia praecox, woman, Case VIII, expresses ideas that she is being tube-fed with the blood and souls of other people; she will later be held responsible as the murderer of these people. It is the blood of God they are trying to get her to take. “They come here with gods and little spirits, and put tubes down my throat with the blood of different people.” Cf. 67.

The occurrence of such community in primitive and pathological ideas has been widely observed and discussed, without, apparently, developing a special name for the phenomenon. It seems to deserve one, and the writer would suggest, for such symbols as were formerly a part of the conscious life of mankind, but now come to the surface only in dream-states, psychoses, etc., the name of “archeopathic” symbolisms. The question of interpreting such now abnormal symbolisms resolves itself into whether the symbols are innate (as for example those of synesthesia appear to be), or whether they are acquired in some unconscious way. The writer favors the latter view.
If the definition be true that "The power of the man plus the power of the moment constitute genius," then we may expect to find that when any great genius arises, he will spring from a rich soil teeming with those ideas to which for the first time, he gives adequate expression. To apply this to the theory and technique of psychoanalysis: Though it sprang fully perfected from the brain of Freud, yet there were undoubtedly prior to the time of his writing, many speculations and suggestions concerning the unconscious; ideas and conjectures that, disconnected and of themselves, had little worth, but which needed only to be united and interpreted by a master-mind to become of incalculable value in the study of normal and abnormal evolution. The most cursory review of modern English literature would show the truth of this statement, and doubtless also (since such a mighty stream of thought must flow from many sources), the same can be said of continental writings. It would be interesting for one with the inclination and ability to make a general survey of this subject. Here, however, I shall content myself with the investigation of the poetry of one man, Matthew Arnold, a man who, as a matter of fact, is far better known for his critical prose writings, but whose poetry, written in his younger days of stress and storm, is a veritable mine for the psychoanalyst.

A man of fastidious taste, exquisite culture, and extraordinary critical ability, who drew freely from classical and continental sources for his inspiration, and who was familiar with "the best that has been thought and said in the world," we find him in his poetry frequently preoccupied with speculations concerning a buried life, of which he feels the existence in himself, but whose content seems continually to elude him, despite his utmost efforts.

The revealing simplicity with which he writes shows how absolutely ignorant he must have been of the obvious interpretation that we, to-day, in the light of recent knowledge, may give to his almost fruitless attempts to delve in his subconscious. To a man of his training and ideals, the suggestion that his "buried life" might have a sexual trend would have been absolutely obnoxious, and therefore
the lions of propriety kept continual guard against all his efforts to get at his inner self. On those rare occasions when he thinks he sees into the depths of his soul, he is blinded by dazzling and exalted passion, and what he perceives is so transmuted and glorified as to cause no shock of recognition.

We find in one poem especially the most vivid picture of his mental conflicts. This poem is entitled "The Buried Life." It is addressed to his love, and begins by saying that he feels a nameless sadness roll over him at his inability to express his true soul, even to his beloved. He says he knows that the mass of men live and move

"Tricked in disguises, alien to the rest
Of men, and alien to themselves—
But we, my love!—doth a like spell benumb
Our hearts, our voices?—must we too be dumb?
Fate, which foresaw
How frivolous a baby man would be—
That it might keep from his capricious play
His genuine self and force him to obey
Even in his own despite, his being's law,
Bade through the deep recesses of our breast
The unregarded river of our life
Pursue with indiscernible flow its way;
And that we should not see
The buried stream, and seem to be
Eddying at large in blind uncertainty,
Though driving on with it eternally."

These lines, written fifty or sixty years ago, seem almost uncanny in the vivid picture they give of an extra-conscious existence in the soul of man. If Arnold had had around him our modern environment, full of the teachings of evolution, would it not have occurred to him that this buried force in man, relentless to pursue its own ends, might be interpreted as the life stream of the race—as that continuity of unconscious thought and feeling that links all mankind together and compared with which each individual consciousness is as a ripple on the stream? But Arnold has no glimpse of this; he feels only

"An unspeakable desire
After the knowledge of our buried life."

He describes how each man delves deep into his own breast, and
strives to "speak and act his hidden self," but always in vain, and finally, discouraged, gives up his "inward striving" and dwells as best he may upon the surface of things.

"Yet still, from time to time, vague and forlorn
From the souls' subterranean depths upborne
As from an infinitely distant land,
Come airs, and floating echoes, and convey
A melancholy into all our day,
Only—"

and here the author gets near to reality,

"When a beloved hand is laid in ours,
When, jaded with the rush and glare
Of the interminable hours,
Our eyes can in another's eyes read clear,
When our world-deafened ear
Is by the tones of a loved voice caressed,
A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast,
And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again.
The eye sinks inward, and the heart lies plain
And what we mean, we say, and what we would, we know,
A man becomes aware of his life's flow,
And hears its winding murmur; and he sees
The meadows where it glides, the sun, the breeze.

And an unwonted calm pervades his breast
And then he thinks he knows
The hills where his life rose
And the sea where it goes."

He who runs may read the meaning of these lines, that by the satisfaction of his passion, no matter how exalted and sublimated that passion may have been, the author comes closest to the deepest springs in his nature, and in so doing is at peace. But though the author realizes this to a certain extent he does not take in its full significance. Some obtuseness seems to keep him from perceiving the logical sequence, that the way to make the connection between his conscious and his buried existence is through the analysis of his most primitive and fundamental instincts. This refusal to solve his problem may reasonably be ascribed to his unwillingness to admit the tremendous, primitive, sexual basis upon which his sublimated and aesthetic conscious existence squarely rests. And so though intensely aware of an extra-conscious existence, and loudly affirming his desire to penetrate therein, though he holds the key to the
entrance in his hand, because he really does not wish to know the truth, he turns away.

But though Arnold made this refusal, we cannot therefore conclude that he was in any way abnormal. On the contrary he led a very normal life of an intellectual type, and was a devoted husband and father. In that early Victorian age people were much more accustomed to regard themselves as related to the angels than to barbarous and hairy ancestors. It took men years to become reconciled to the idea of physical evolution, and even at the present time there are many who would be glad to deny that men's minds also are the product of unnumbered generations of what from a civilized point of view, may be called dubious antecedents.

If Arnold could have turned his critical faculty, unhampered by the tradition of his times, upon himself, he might have given most valuable revelations to the world; but he did not, and baffled by the conflicts of his own soul, he turned to external things and wrote:

"Art still has truth, take refuge there!"

and I suppose it is safe to say that as a critic of literature, there has been none greater than he; no one keener to discern what is really good, or with more felicity and clearness to express what he perceived. Here he excels.

It is disappointing after reading his criticisms to turn back to the comparative twilight of his poetry and his groping after the solution of the problem of his own personality. Though, as I have said, he never solved it for us, yet he continually approached it. Perhaps the most frequently reiterated statement in all his poetical production is that happiness comes only when we can

"at last be true
To our own only true, deep buried selves."

He begins the poem entitled "Self Dependence" with

"Weary of myself, and sick of asking
What I am, and what I ought to be,"

and ends

"O air-borne voice! long since, severely clear
A cry like thine in mine own heart I hear;
'Resolve to be thyself; and know that he
Who finds himself loses his misery,'"

and in "Empedocles on Etna,"
"And we feel, day and night
The burden of ourselves—
Well, then, the wiser wight
In his own bosom delves
And asks what ails him so, and gets what cure he can.

"Once read thine own breast right
And thou has done with fears;
Man gets no other light,
Search he a thousand years,
Sink in thyself!"

But though he points again and again to the desired goal, self
knowledge, he bewails that the wisest has not yet found it—"has
never once possessed his soul."

"Ye know not yourselves; and your bards,
The clearest, the best who have read
Most in themselves—have beheld
Less than they left unrevealed."

This feeling that man is always unsuccessful in his self-analysis
together with the suspicion that analysis might bring out trends of
thought very distasteful to him, gradually turned Arnold away from
subjective to objective things. He says in one of his letters, written
later than most of his poetry, that he found delving in his own soul
a "somewhat morbid" occupation, of little value to him. There-
after he spent his energies chiefly in the endeavor to arouse in the
minds of more Philistine contemporaries an interest in, and an
appreciation of, what constitutes great literature.

It may seem disappointing to us that Arnold finally gave up his
quest after the buried life, but it was after all, almost inevitable that
he should do so. We have only again to remember the difference
between his time and ours. Subjects that were taboo then are ordi-
nary conversation now. To-day man does not treat the sexual part
of his makeup like an unpleasant step-child, but gives it a recognized
and respectable place in the economy of his personality. To Arnold
such a state of affairs would have been unthinkable and you may
search far and wide through his works without finding a reference
to sex that could be distasteful to the most fastidious old lady. We
should not lament that he did not solve his problem, but rather
admire the extraordinary lucidity with which he presents so much
of it, even though an essential factor for its solution was entirely
excluded from his consciousness. We should also take into consideration the fact that, had he fairly realized what the missing factor might be, he would in all probability have felt any reference at all to the subject to be unsuitable, and the knowledge which he did have concerning the buried life would have remained buried indeed.

To sum up, then, Arnold's position, which I think has been clearly shown by the quotations from his poetry. He felt keenly that man has a subconscious as well as a conscious existence, the content of which he longed to know, but was prevented from perceiving to any extent, by his own inner conflicts. He realized, nevertheless, that only by more complete understanding of the deeper forces of his nature may man feel at ease with himself, and become a wholly united personality with entire mastery of his powers. He lamented because man has not attained this goal, and that even the wisest had not been able to interpret his own soul entirely. And finally, he gave up the whole problem as one beyond his ability to solve.

We, who feel that we have traveled much farther along the road to self knowledge, and who believe that it leads us to the study of the evolution of the mind of the race, and the frank acknowledgment of a sexual basis, upon which many of our more sublimated modes of thought depend, may look with admiration upon this forerunner of modern thought, who, in an adverse age, proclaimed so large a part of the truth of which we now believe ourselves to be possessed.

May we not accept almost as a prophecy, upon which to put our present-day interpretation, this quotation from his essay on Celtic Literature: "So long as we are blindly and ignorantly rolled about by the forces of our nature, their contradiction baffles us and lames us; so soon as we have clearly discerned what they are, and begun to apply to them a law of measure, control, and guidance, they may be made to work for our good and to carry us forward."
"And we feel, day and night
The burden of ourselves—
Well, then, the wiser wight
In his own bosom delves
And asks what ails him so, and gets what cure he can.

"Once read thine own breast right
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excluded from his consciousness. We should also take into consideration the fact that, had he fairly realized what the missing factor might be, he would in all probability have felt any reference at all to the subject to be unsuitable, and the knowledge which he did have concerning the buried life would have remained buried indeed.

To sum up, then, Arnold’s position, which I think has been clearly shown by the quotations from his poetry. He felt keenly that man has a subconscious as well as a conscious existence, the content of which he longed to know, but was prevented from perceiving to any extent, by his own inner conflicts. He realized, nevertheless, that only by more complete understanding of the deeper forces of his nature may man feel at ease with himself, and become a wholly united personality with entire mastery of his powers. He lamented because man has not attained this goal, and that even the wisest had not been able to interpret his own soul entirely. And finally, he gave up the whole problem as one beyond his ability to solve.

We, who feel that we have traveled much farther along the road to self knowledge, and who believe that it leads us to the study of the evolution of the mind of the race, and the frank acknowledgment of a sexual basis, upon which many of our more sublimated modes of thought depend, may look with admiration upon this forerunner of modern thought, who, in an adverse age, proclaimed so large a part of the truth of which we now believe ourselves to be possessed.

May we not accept almost as a prophecy, upon which to put our present-day interpretation, this quotation from his essay on Celtic Literature: “So long as we are blindly and ignorantly rolled about by the forces of our nature, their contradiction baffles us and lames us; so soon as we have clearly discerned what they are, and begun to apply to them a law of measure, control, and guidance, they may be made to work for our good and to carry us forward.”
Chapter V

Overcoming the Conflicts. Socialization [Integration] of the Personality.

The Use of the Dream in Handling the Dynamics of the Transference-Resistance

We are ready now to draw together some of the threads of the previous discussions. The goal of the analysis has been broadly outlined as an effort towards socialization of the personality. This is accomplished by the taking away of libido, i. e., releasing it, from infantile fixations, and by stepping it up, if one might use an electrical phrase, to more advanced adaptations in the reality world. It is a form of teaching the patient to grow up. But, as has been seen, it differs from the usual types of pedagogics in that the dynamic factor, transference, is utilized to have the patient realize the old dictum of "Know thyself." This "thyself" is interpreted in the light that the real thyself is "unconscious" to the patient, and this is the cause for the persistence in maladaptations through the conflict. This conflict on the one hand (regressive) contains the sum total of century-old accumulated wishes to remain at a lower level of adaptations with their physical constitutional organic structural stabilizations, and on the other hand contains the progressive urge of the spirit of life (spiritual some people term it) to bring about newer, better and more vitally valuable adaptations. These adaptations are preëminently social and make for the stabilization of the best values in society. The ideal of the true, the beautiful and the good is reached through a biological process of pragmatic racial wisdom equally as well as by means of an absolutistic fiat of a God.

We have spread out before us the different parts of the machinery and have attempted to group them into large units or classes for the sake of ease in handling. The utilization of the evolutionary concept has been the most feasible concept in pursuing this general schematicization.

As the geological history of the earth has been patiently investigated, so too must the mental history of man be pushed further and
further back. It will not suffice, as has been shown, to take the con-
scious as the criterion for this history. The conscious is, in a man-
ner of speaking, only a recent crust—only that which the cerebral
mechanism permits to come out into the open to further the action
now being performed. Behind it lie the vast accumulations of past
biological experiences which have fashioned man as he is, and are
contributing to his becoming.

In the language of geology, successive periods have their out
crops, their horizons. We speak of Paleozoic, Cenozoic, Mesozoic,
and Psychozoic times, in each of which successive horizons are dis-
tinguished, from the primitive archaic rocks to the most recent
times. The principles which have governed the terminology of these
periods have varied, but each of the main divisions has been named
after some striking feature. Thus Silurian, Devonian and Car-
boniferous, respectively, refer to reptiles, fishes and coal-plants. In
certain places on the earth's crust almost the entire series of layers
lie like a book opened to the observant eye. A "big hole" is all that
some can see in the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Almost the
entire geological history of the North American continent lies there
revealed to the geologist. The former yawns and wonders whether
it is worth while to go to the bottom and see the muddy river. The
latter thrills with excitement and could spend a lifetime in working
on the evidence.

So it is with the cross sections of the human mind, of which
one gets a glimpse in studying the unconscious. To the casual ob-
server it is just a "big hole," but to the student of humanity it is an
infinity of possibilities. It will be charted some day. As Adolf
Meyer has well said, now that man has found the North Pole and
the South Pole he may fit out an expedition to find out something
about the human mind's possibilities.

Will it not be possible to express the advances in the mental
integrations in some such manner as has the geologist? For the
purposes of psychoanalysis I have suggested some such scheme for
four chief periods. At the base lie all those trends with which the
human being comes fully endowed into life; these are the inherited
experiences of useful action, some as old as the beginning of life.
To this level of the series the term Archaic may be applied. As yet
no suggestions are offered as to a practical terminology of cultural
horizons in this archaic period. In point of time it is the 100,000,000
year accumulation which has already been defined (Vol. 1, p. 47).
The next period, more recent, may best be termed Autoerotic\(^1\)—it is

\(^1\) Dr. F. L. Wells has suggested autohedonic.
the period of individual organ integration. The terminology of its horizons will best be sought from comparative anatomy, comparative philology, comparative anthropology, etc. For the third period the term Narcissistic has been utilized. Its highest horizon marks the integration of the individual as a social being. Anthropology must offer the terminology for subdivisions of this period. In this connection Osborn's "Men of the Old Stone Age" is illuminating. The Social period is the final period of this series and represents the past 10,000 years of man's socialization, during which an integration of the herd instinct has become more and more valuable. In history, art, literature, religion, etc., are to be found the terms for the symbolic periods.

In a broad general way the unconscious will show outcrops—thought fossils—of all of these periods. The patient slowly and patiently learns what sort of a man he really is and wants to be in terms of his innermost striving. The dreamer who dreams I am alone on a desert island, Hawaii, Honolulu, etc., already quoted (see Vol. 3, p. 26), is only turning up a thought fossil from the unconscious which lies in a stratum antedating her period of socialization. It is a narcissistic horizon, this desire for individual freedom, this wild desire to be free from any control, to play the game alone and according to her primitive desires. All the dreams will show in greater or less degree of moulding these thought fossil symbolizations. To integrate the personality by means of this incontrovertible evidence is the synthetic side of psychoanalysis. Analysis and synthesis proceed side by side.

In such a synthesis it may be of service to very briefly summarize the steps already traversed in detail. It may be assumed that a tentative sizing up of the situation has shown that the patient is suffering from a disorder which may properly be handled by a psychoanalytic procedure. (See chapters, What Not to Analyze.) The main resources of internal medicine have been utilized to guard against the mistake of attempting to do away with a definite somatic disease by psychotherapy, a mistake which, in passing it may be remarked, occurs much less frequently than the reverse—that of trying to treat a preponderatingly psychical product by surgery or internal medicine.

The patient has been encouraged to tell in detail the whole story in all of its social and personal ramifications. The significance of mental mechanisms in disease and particularly those in the unconscious has been told the patient and the method of using the dream as a road to the unconscious has been explained. The analysis then
proceeds by the careful selection of those dream symbolisms which the transference features of the dream reveal as most acceptable to the patient's conscious point of view.

What Sidney Lanier, the poet, has called the "little leaven of dream-taught wisdom" is discussed by the analyst with the patient. In certain patients the advance is at first very rapid. Dream after dream will reveal in clear and unmistakable manner what practically lies in the foreconscious of the patient ready for reappraisal and readjustment. Self revelations may then proceed with startling alacrity. In others on the other hand the progress is extremely slow. Particularly is this true with usually older individuals, and in those whose protective devices are well rationalized. In these the resistance features already outlined appear very early, and make a strong contrast with the other trend where positive transference signs are numerous.

One is comparatively soon in a position to attempt a graphic summary of the situation. This the analyst may do for himself or he may make it a matter of mutual study with his patient. In a manner analogous to a temperature chart he may attempt the infinitely more complicated procedure of putting on paper an appraisal of the psychical trends of the individual, a psychogram as it were. Fragmentary and incomplete as such a record must of necessity be, yet nevertheless it may help him to objectify his work and afford standards of comparison in the dynamic progress of the case. He may thus watch and possibly record the progress of the cure, and at the same time by analogy offer some light on the character of the disease mechanisms which are under consideration. Such graphic charts may help the patient, but at all events in an article on technique for beginners I feel they may be of help and therefore will phrase it somewhat as follows:

The ideal may be assumed to be what has been termed a well-rounded character, that is, that the individual who has full command of his libido in all situations in life is, psychically speaking, the best adapted. In this series of articles it has been expressed as "full socialization of the libido through the process of sublimation." Such a "character" may be represented by the accompanying circle in which the outer circle represents complete social adaptation. Within this circle another is represented, embodying the grade of evolution to the narcissistic phase. Herein the individual's libido is taken up completely with self. His books, his money, his ideas, his clubs, his opinions, his family, etc., etc. Within this another
circle represents the stage of organ values, the autoerotic phases of evolution, while the central core of the graphic is taken up with the evolutionary period of the archaic.

Thus from within outward one may construct an arbitrary scale of gradually advancing evolution towards complete socialization of the libido through archaic, autoerotic, narcissistic to social goals. Furthermore, dividing the whole figure into sectors, one can in a way partly indicate this evolutionary scale in terms of the partial libido trends.

A hypothetically ideally perfect character then would be represented in the graphic by a perfect circle. Failure of complete socialization of the libido (adaptation to reality) might be represented by indentation of the curve to such a phase as the individual character failure (fixation or regression) might indicate in any particular instance of conduct. The indentation is to be recorded in the particular partial libido sector in which the regressive or fixed factor was most prominent. As the analysis proceeds it becomes possible with increasing exactness to make an outline of the character and thereby to determine, much in the manner of speaking of military strategy, where the weak salient is to be found, that is, to determine focal points in conflict (complexes) where energy is being diverted (fixations) to useless phantasy ends.

A partial plotting of a few cases will illustrate the mode of working of such a scheme. As it takes may be months to get all the information, the purely schematic nature of these charts will be evident, but they are used to show what psychoanalysis tries to do. Leaving out of consideration a number of other neurotic signs, the patient first illustrated shows two very clear ones which in the diagram are presented in the partial libido sectors of the eye and the bladder. Thus in the eye sector one observes a definite dipping down of the graphic corresponding to a fixation of the libido at the narcissistic level. This corresponds to a definite symptom. Whenever this patient for instance is riding in her automobile, and another seems to be coming too near, suggestive of running into her car, the response is a compulsory shutting of the eyes. This means that a thing cannot happen if she cannot "see" it. That is what she cannot "see." This is a typical narcissistic manifestation, which further results in her shutting her eyes to facts which she does not wish to see, and also her ears to things which she does not wish to hear. She does not regress here down to the autoerotic level, as to make her eye organ actually blind or her ear organ deaf (psychic
blindness and psychic deafness), as this might cripple too much. Thus in the plotting of the symptom the curve only descends to the narcissistic level.

Fig. 1. Schematic representation of fixations of libido in one patient. The dip in the respiratory sector representing a psychogenic asthmatic defense reaction in an individual continually talking of self; in the eye and ear sector refusing to see or hear truth and reality; in the genital, urinary eroticism. The deep incision in a fairly well socialized nutritive libido represents an emotionally conditioned capacity for selective rumination of individual ingredients in the stomach. A severely sick individual on the border of a psychotic reaction. Present nosological schemes would call this anxiety-hysteria or a manic-depressive psychosis when the compensation breaks.

In the bladder-rectum sector, however, one notes in the diagram a deeper sinking of the curve to the autoerotic level. This corresponds with an extremely striking symptom which consists in a loss of control of her bladder. Thus the same patient, also in her car, is, let us say, held up by the congested traffic on the street. Being
in a hurry, she becomes very impatient until finally she has an involuntary passage of urine. This mode of response has been going on for so many years that it has become her habit always to wear a cloth. Here the phantasy way of overcoming the difficulty is at a more elementary level. It goes back to the bladder power sense (autoerotic Jehovah) which has been discussed in these articles (see Vol. 1, p. 50). The patient, in phantasy unconscious autoerotic fixation, triumphs over the necessity for self-control in being held up by the traffic, and asserts her mastery by the symbolic early and necessary mastery acquired over the control of the bladder.

One would by the law of ambivalence, which has also been discussed, expect to find this patient excessively keen-sighted to find faults in others, remarkably acute to hear the least verbal equivocation, and to be excessively neat and minutely clean with reference to her bodily secretions. Such is the inevitable law of psychical over-compensation and the contradiction in the conscious acts and the unconscious phantasies.

Now such a graphic shows the point of attack. The dreams show the great impatience of this patient—great rapidity with which everything is done—and also at times the urinary and eye symbols appear in the dream and permit the discussion, i.e., the attempt at straightening out the salient, in the evolution of the psyche.

For instance this patient is too impatient to read. She can not stay quiet long enough. Naturally she will not remember what she reads. The task, therefore, of the analysis is to get at the tied-up phantasy satisfaction that these graphic dips indicate. To bring into consciousness the fact of this form of self-worship (narcissism) through rejection of the things seen and heard, which by the way in which they are handled by the patient prevent in her the growth of character. Such trends when continued too long result in disease of a minor or major nature, an idiosyncrasy, a psychoneurosis or a psychosis, or even a grave physical disorder, depending upon the number and depth of these fixations.

Thus in an otherwise healthy graphic one detects only a few of these dips into earlier levels of adjustment. For the purposes of illustration take Webster’s habit of compulsory toying with a button on his coat while speaking (narcissistic tactile phantasy). One speaks of it as an idiosyncrasy. In the case just cited, however, where one has eye, ear, bladder, stomach and other fixations, one makes a diagnosis of hysteria—partly by reason of the number of the failures of the partial libido trends to socialize and partially be-
cause of the deep level of the regression. When the level of the regressions is low (archaic or autoerotic), then one nosologically speaks of a manic-depressive or dementia precox.

Fig. 2. Schematic psychogram of unconscious trends as shown in the dream wish. Markedly reduced interest (shut in character-introversion) and low dips into archaic forms of libido phantasy. Cannibalism(?) and food fertilization symbols apparent. Nosologically speaking, a dementia precox seen from the dream level. Illustrating the value of the dream material for diagnostic purposes. This patient at the conscious level was thought of as "neurasthenic."

Thus in the following case I would make a schematic graphic and this time utilizing the dream material rather than the symptom show how the turning up of a deep level thought-fossil in the dream may throw light upon the probable diagnosis.

This patient, referred to me by her much older husband, a physician, was a young woman much interested in economic and social
problems. She had been attending lectures and had complained to her husband of failure of her ability to concentrate. He said she had not been as well as usual and had been treated in her home town for a few months for neurasthenia. She had had a Weir Mitchell rest cure and was still somewhat indifferent and listless when he brought her to me. This was about all I learned, save in greater detail as to the treatments, what the different doctors had said, her home situation, etc. She was alone and of independent means, and I recommended a week's observation, as outlined in the early part of these articles. On the fourth or fifth interview she brought the following dreams:

1. I am reading a newspaper. There seems to be some announcement in it and I find myself going downtown where a group of people are assembled, with which assemblage the announcement in the paper seems to have some connection. We are all looking into a two-story frame house, like a house on the stage with the side removed, and on the second floor there is a large woman, and she is apparently making soup for the crowd. I see the bones of a man's chest in the soup pot and am curious.

2. I am seated by the seashore on the sand naked and there are a lot of people walking about. I am quite at my ease. I notice that the ocean stands up like a wall about six feet high and projecting from it there is an ear of corn which I commence to eat with relish.

There are too many things in the dream to attempt to plot them all on the scheme, but in the stomach partial libido sector—soup and ear of corn which is eaten—and in the eye libido sector—the seeing of the chest in the soup pot, and being naked on the sand—are to be found thought-fossil horizons worthy of comment. In both dreams there are many people, which is a more or less universal way of saying large unconscious demand, and hence in terms of ambivalence, known to but few, i.e., in the Freudian terminology, "a secret." This large unconscious demand, the libido, can be checked off on the nutritive sector at a very primitive level, archaic, for both dreams.

In the former dream it deals with eating soup of human flesh, i.e., cannibalism, one might say. This is a primitive wish which, while conscious, uncontrolled, and natural in a few of the most primitive of tribes, has little place in the present cultural horizon. In the second dream primitive customs are again seen. Whereas on the surface of the dream it deals with a fellatio phantasy, at a deeper symbolic level, it deals with the early childish, she was naked
and not ashamed in the dream. Her libido is here occupied with a period in her dream regression before modesty and the sense of shame arose, and was eating a sexual symbol, that is fertilization by means of food stands out (see case of Zenia X.) which precedes the stage of knowledge of the relations of sexuality to fertilization. No matter how socialized this patient’s libido may have appeared to be on the surface, in the unconscious there were very marked animistic trends, archaic they are here represented, and the graphic would have to show a very deep gash into the very center of the circle. On the basis of this evidence chiefly a diagnosis of dementia praecox was made. The further progress of the case bore out the diagnosis and prognosis given at this time.

Just as the archaic preoccupation of the unconscious is recognized as a deep regression and can be so charted, so also dream symbols of reduction of the libido may have a sinister significance and call for special caution.

Thus in the analysis of a patient suffering from pathological blushing with other things, the following fragment of a dream was obtained: First I am on an ocean liner, and then in a row boat with my father and mother and sister, on the inside of this liner. I manage to get out through a porthole, it is very stormy, and I am now on a raft with my sister tossing in the angry ocean. Finally I am on a desert island with my sister. There are two wild animals attacking her, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and I kill one of them.

The first feature here is the striking reduction of the libido symbols, large liner, row boat, raft, desert island. Then there is the death of the libido symbol, the killing of the rhinoceros, i. e., a wild libido relative to the sister (incestuous phantasy). Further the archaic symbolism of being within the larger vessel may have some relation to an intrauterine skin phantasy—his blushing was all over his body. The evidence pointing toward suicide was overwhelming. At a critical period in the patient’s life (marriage of the sister) we took a chance, and lost.

At this point it becomes necessary to say a word about the symbolism of the dream. Much has been written on symbols. I refer particularly to White’s article in this review, Vol. III, No. 1. The various works already quoted in these articles have much to say relative to symbolism. In touching on symbolism it should first be insisted upon that every symbol is a purely relative matter with each

1 Mechanisms of Character Formation, a work which every beginner of psychoanalysis should read. See ad.
patient. I must remind the reader of the origins of language, and emphasize the fact that without a grounding in the principles of the evolution of language little headway will be made in the scientific comprehension of psychoanalysis.²

No one has stated the fundamental fact as well as Bergson when he says that the latent root of language in the infant is that “anything may mean anything.” To use Pawlow’s phrase, every term becomes a conditioned reflex, and in the language of psychoanalysis, the term complex is a certain definite series of these conditioned reflexes. Thus in Pawlow’s experiments the dog is shown food, and saliva and gastric juice flow. Later a bell is rung and an association formed. Later a ringing bell without food will determine the flow of gastric juice. It could have been a whistle as well as a bell or anything else. So with the beginning of the conditioned reflex of Pawlow, “anything can mean anything.” In one dog bell ringing equals food, in another, maybe, whistle blowing, etc. So associations are built up in different animals (people) through different experiences, i.e., different symbols. Whereas anything may mean anything for the beginning child or the experimental dog, the whistle has no effect on the bell ringing dog and vice versa; hence the necessity for determining the exact symbol and its primitive “conditioned reflex” trend; its earliest associations and their values. This is determined in the patient solely by analysis. They themselves slowly learn from their own recollections as they go further and further back what the relations are between the “food and the bell,” or the “anything and the anything.” Thus in the dream just narrated why should this patient use “rhinoceros and hippopotamus”? What did they mean to him?

The critic of psychoanalysis is constantly puzzled about dream symbolism. L. H. in a recent review of Maeder’s Dream Problem³ thus says that “anything can mean anything to the psychoanalyst,” in which he misses the important point that this is true, but true in the sense just related, that “everything means something” and the analysis tells what it does mean to the individual patient. The analyst never knows until the patient establishes the development of the symbolism. Increasing experience may aid him to see certain groupings and trends, just as a botanist can see the relationships of two plants, one an herb and the other a tree, which, in spite of apparently gross dissimilarity, are nevertheless intrinsically closely related.

² See Jung’s, Psychology of the Unconscious.
Thus an anthropologist might guess that when a patient dreamed that “she was having coitus with her husband while she was unwell,” that she was hoping that her husband might die. Because he knows that for many primitive tribes all over the earth’s surface the touch, even the seeing of menstrual blood, is held to be very dangerous to man, to crops, to food, etc., but for the analyst to a priori assume this interpretation would be foolish. But when in addition to the anthropological knowledge that this is a widespread primitive belief, and from the patient herself, in the analysis, he learns of her ideas about menstruation, which going back to infancy establish the identically same or closely related fact, he is then permitted to assume an archaic symbolism in the dream and to draw his conclusions from it.

So in the case of the rhinoceros and hippopotamus, when one finds from the patient’s own associations the coarse jokes relative to “rhinos” and “sore ass” and “pot muss” and then also finds infantile urinary and fecal phantasies, and nursery monkey tricks relating to this very sister, then one can realize that the “reproach” of the unconscious which lies back of his blushing contained certain non-sublimated affect values which by reason of their constant attempts at expression caused his neurosis and his suicide.

When for the psychoanalyst the wild animal is a generic type for wild and reprehensible libido, it must be remembered that this can only be utilized when backed by the patient’s own associations. To prove this for every case reported would be too tedious for the most enthusiastic readers and a complete analysis would occupy many volumes. Frazer has written twelve volumes on the symbolism of the one symbol, the mistletoe. A complete analysis would fill a library. Therefore in reporting a case the analyst can hit the high spots only. This subjects every reported fragmentary analysis to criticism. To all so inclined the footnote on the first page of Leibnitz’s famous work on philosophy, Monadology, might be quoted. “It is characteristic of me to hold opposition as of little account, exposition as of much account, and when a new book comes into my hands I look for what I can learn from it, not for what I can criticize in it.”

Symbolism is at the same time the most difficult and most fascinating part of analysis and tests the therapeutic possibilities of the analyst more than any other feature, for with the advancing subtlety of the unconscious to guard itself, i.e., to hang on to earlier phantasy formations, the symbolism becomes very intricate, and
unless the patient will give free associations the meanings will be most ingeniously concealed. One must therefore stick to the free associations and never leave them to arbitrarily thrust in one's own interpretations. These latter are the analyst's associations, his conditioned reflexes, his "food-bell" associations, not the patient's.

Whereas the individuality of the symbols must be insisted upon as a cardinal principle, yet there is enough evidence to show that certain groups of related symbols are very widely used and determine group reactions. Just as one may recognize Chinese, English, German, French and Italian as certain symbol groups employed by great units of people in which the similarities of English and German have a common Teutonic root, of French and Italian a common Latin root, and all four a common Sanskrit root, whereas Chinese is evidently very distinct from all, so one will find the unconscious of many people using root symbols, as it were, meaning by them identically the same thing. This is only in line with the whole evidence bearing on the great principle of evolution, which receives much interesting confirmation, even explanation, from the unconscious handling of symbols.

Thus in the opening pages of these articles I spoke of the patient who could not say negro but substituted "booey" man; who could not hear the word "snake" without being frightfully agitated, but could use the word "serpent"; who put white papers on the closet floor saying, "all must be light," but could not look at a hose, a cane or an umbrella nor step over a pipe. Here by the aggregation of symbols it becomes evident, to the psychoanalyst at least, that the sexuality of the dark fearful (negro) thing in her life which must be made light (white paper in the closet), the snake, cane, hose, umbrella, pipe, all are "conditioned reflexes" to the thing "penis."

This patient would have to be analyzed as any other and no amount of telling her what the symbols meant would cure her. That knowledge must come from the inside, otherwise why all the unconscious defence which so effectually "reveals what she would conceal"? Thus the analyst comes to a knowledge of the symbol values at the same time as the patient and only by patiently asking: What comes to your mind? what then? what does that suggest? what do you think in reference to your first impressions relative to this, etc., etc., that is, by the method of free associations. Then the patient himself learns why he does not like clams, or cannot eat scallops, and why he is always late or always misspells, or forgets names or gets disturbed under such and such conditions. As has been said
every little action in life has determining causes. It may be inex- 
pedient or useless to determine them, especially for those whose 
libido is sufficiently free to constitute what is pragmatically assumed 
as “normal,” but for the neurotic, many of whom may be valuable 
people for the community, attempt should be made to find out why 
things mean what they do and how have they come to be.

(To be continued)
"Aristotle says somewhere: 'When we are awake we have a universal world, when we dream, then everyone has his own particular one.' I think this last sentence should be turned around and we should say: If each one of different men has his own particular world, then it is to be presumed that they dream."—Kant.

One who has read my long array of chapters carefully could be easily led to believe that he is a finished interpreter of dreams and has become a complete master of this new science. Now I have gone to a great deal of pains to perfect the understanding of symbolism according to our modern standards of knowledge. But with the knowledge of symbolism everything is not yet accomplished. To be sure there are dreams which are so simple that one can translate them without the assistance of the dreamer. But these dreams have also their overdetermination, their individual meanings, which cannot be discovered without the active aid of the dreamer. The longer one works with a person, the more intimately one gets to know him. So that without knowledge of the dream material one can often discover two or even more meanings. One can see through many dreams at the first glance. Yet now and then even the most skilful dream interpreter will meet dreams which remain a mystery to him. It is necessary to have the help of the dreamer.

The usual method of dream interpretation is the one laid down by Freud. We must record the ideas of the dreamer scrupulously and keep our own to ourselves. So we have the dream told to us. It is advantageous to have this recital made a second time. As Freud justly emphasizes, the variations from the first recital are very important. They contain the places which have been subjected to the greatest repression. Now and then the repetition coincides exactly. We begin then with the interpretation.

We ask the dreamer, what occurs to him in connection with the dream. If he is a novice, he will invariably reply: "Nothing at all. What should occur to me?" We then insist that the dream must suggest occurrences. If the resistance or the lack of understanding is considerable, the dreamer will still insist that nothing occurs to him.

Now there are various aids, nevertheless, to get him to talk. We ask him of what actual experience the dream reminds him. About this most people have some idea. They regard the dream as the distorted reproduction of various experiences and are quite willing to offer these. Then one observes that the presentation of the dream has altered or falsified the experience, that strange elements have insinuated themselves—and thus come unawares into the analysis. Or one asks, what meaning for the life of the dreamer this or that person occurring in the dream has, and thus brings the dreamer to speech. As a rule he then speaks on and reveals his suppressed material.

We will endeavor to represent the course of such a dream analysis and we choose for our paradigm a rather difficult theme. It concerns a man about forty years old who does not believe in the interpretation of dreams and relates a dream to me. I request him to write down the dream, which he does. The two versions do not differ materially.

The dream is peculiar enough. It permits of no interpretation with the aid of our symbolism. We are dependent upon the good will of the dreamer. Listen, then, to the dream picture of one P. F.

The Dream of the Dent

"I tell a mechanic to give me my wife’s bicycle. As I look at it I notice that it has a large dent. I push it into the workshop. There are a number of workmen who stand at tables like composers. One, a friendly young man, asks me what I want.

"Then I discuss the German Kaiser. ‘He is an energetic, vigorous man,’ I say to my companion. High above stands the Kaiser Franz Josef. ‘You can say what you like,’ I remark, ‘Our Kaiser is a dear old man.’ My companion agrees.

"Before or after: Two women, scantily clad, are lying on the floor. The one older, the other younger. I wonder at the perfect development of the younger one and say to the older woman: ‘You are indeed well-informed, too. But these perfect legs!’ At that my gaze wanders to the legs of the old woman which were almost Herculean in build and covered with fine hair."
I acquaint the dreamer with the method of dream work and say:

"Close your eyes, so that your attention is not distracted by the outer world. Tell me all the thoughts that are passing through your head."

P. F.: "Nothing is passing through my head."

"That is impossible. Our brain works constantly. You must be thinking of something."

P. F.: "Well, then, I am just thinking about the dream."

"What do you think of the dream?"

P. F.: "That it is nonsense. How anyone can dream such stuff! Absurd."

"What is absurd?"

P. F.: "The whole dream is absurd. The business about the bicycle, about the two kaisers, Wilhelm and Franz Josef, and the affair of the two women."

"Of whom do the two women remind you?"

P. F.: "Of no one. They were strangers, women entirely unknown to me."

"Have you made a remark to any person about the shape? To any woman?"

P. F.: "Not that I remember. Wait—something occurs to me. I was at the seashore. It certainly was a seashore. One saw many strikingly beautiful women there. There I saw one, not so good looking, but rather flirtatious, a tempting sort of a person. She was lying on the sand and winked across at me, although her husband was lying by her and whispering little pet names to her. I was struck with her well-developed, Herculean limbs. She aroused my passion. I thought, 'One could start something with her.'"

"Which of the two women of the dream was it?"

P. F.: "The older. She had those astonishing, perhaps somewhat too muscular thighs. For the size of the woman her legs were much too big. . . ."

"And what occurs to you about the younger woman?"

P. F.: I am silent a long time and then says, hesitantly, "No one!"

"You say that so dubiously, that I can imagine that someone does occur to you."

P. F.: "No! No! Positively no one!"

"Maybe so! Be sure you speak frankly!"

P. F.: "Someone does occur to me. But I do not believe that she belongs in this. She has nothing to do with the dream."

"We shall see about that. Now will you have the goodness to
tell me what occurs to you? Or will you abandon the interpretation of the dream?"

P. F.: "By no means! Although I do not believe in it. So listen: It has to do with my mistress. For several years past I have had an affair with a widow. She has one daughter, fourteen years old, as yet an innocent child. I said to the mother recently: 'Mizzi is splendidly proportioned. She will have a beautiful shape one of these days.'"

"And how is the mother proportioned?"

P. F.: "Very large and sensual. She is a splendid specimen of a woman. Everyone is envious of me."

"Is this lady conspicuously hairy?"

P. F.: "No! Quite the contrary! She has a snow-white, faultless body. She is constantly boasting about her complexion and her skin, saying, 'I have never had a pimple on my body.' Quite different from me. I am terribly hairy."

"And the pimples..."

P. F.: "Well, you know my old trouble. Since I have recovered from the syphilis, I fear that every pimple might be a relapse. I suffer very much from a skin eruption. The doctors always say, 'A harmless rash: Acne.' I worry nevertheless. An incident of my youth now occurs to me. I was still quite small when my father took me with him to a Turkish bath. There was a masseur who was covered all over with pimples. I heard my father remonstrate with the manager of the baths and seemed to hear something about 'contagious' and 'disgusting.' The manager said, 'That doesn't amount to anything. It is a harmless rash. The man has too much unused vigor.'... But has that anything to do with the dream?..."

"Perhaps so... But what about this unused vigor?"

P. F.: "In confidence; I have still another mistress. My chambermaid, a fine woman, but awfully passionate. She makes demands on me which I cannot satisfy. To be sure, if I were younger."

"So you feel old, then? Why, you are a man in the prime of life..."

P. F.: "Yes, but in spite of that, I seem old to myself. Just look—my immense bald spot. Not a hair on my bald pate. My teeth are loose. My vitality is decreasing. I cannot do as much work as formerly..."

Then there came a long pause. One would say that the riddles of the dream are not yet solved. Nothing in the last part about the
old and the young women. Yet we notice that we have stumbled upon a sensitive place in the inmost mind of Mr. P. F. Like all mankind, he would gladly be young again. But there must be a definite reason for this, which is concealed in the dream. The hair which he has lost adorns his mistress in order to make it less desirable. Something else now occurs to the dreamer about the hair.

P. F.: "That is a curious thing about the hair. My mistress has a little moustache. She often says to me, 'Strange, where it does not belong, there you cannot get rid of hair, but where it does belong it falls out.'"

"Does anything occur to you in connection with the subject 'hairy'?"

P. F.: "I love beautiful blonde hair. Mizzi, the daughter of my mistress, has beautiful, golden hair that she always wears loose. She also has a hairy birthmark."

"How do you know that?"

P. F.: "Her mother showed it to me. It is on the upper part of the thigh. The mother asked me what she could do about it, if she should go to a skin specialist, a beauty doctor. I said 'What for? One does not uncover that part of the body,' and at that the mother and Mizzi laughed very much."

"Was that the end of the incident?"

P. F.: "Practically, yes, only later the mother said, 'You never can tell but what Mizzi might not some time have to uncover herself. It disfigures the girl.' I protested at this and argued that such a small birthmark was on the contrary rather piquant. With that the incident was closed."

"It does not appear, however, to be closed, for you have dreamed about it. You have attributed the ugly hair to the mother in order to make the younger one, the daughter, appear without a blemish."

P. F.: "Why, that is nonsense. What have I to do with the little girl. She will soon belong to another."

He says this almost in a tone of regret. Then he continues:

P. F.: "I admit this much to you, that the view of the uncovered thigh of Mizzi made a certain impression on me. I am especially fond, as a rule, of the tender, half developed creature. Fidus gestalten—Do you know 'Ahasver in Rome' by Hammerling. The scene in which the immature young girl, I think about thirteen or fourteen years old, is robbed of her virtue, made a great impression on me. I value that work very highly and read it with great enjoyment. . . ."
Here the beginning of a perversion reveals itself: the love of children. But listen to the further associations. I ask what next occurs to him, especially about the mistress. "She must certainly be a well-developed woman of middle age?"

P. F.: "You're right, she is not my style; she is too coarse for me. Then, too, she has a fault; she has, since the birth of her daughter, suffered from a large perineal tear."

"Do you know that that is represented in the dream?"

P. F.: "Where?"

"You give the bicycle of your wife to be repaired of a dent?"

P. F.: "Yes, but the mistress is not my wife; I have been divorced from her these many years."

"That means—now the mistress is your wife; she replaces your wife. Isn't that so?"

P. S.: "Yes, that is so, and furthermore I have advised her to have an operation. Doctor Fleischmann (a gynecologist in Vienna) has told her 'Nothing but an operation will help you.' I made a joke about it and said, 'It is only a little repair work, go into a sanatorium, and let them mend the hole for you.'"

Here the first analysis was ended. It consumed a whole hour. Next day we began again. We took as the theme: The dent.

P. F.: "You probably know what a dent means—a bent, useless wheel. After a collision or a heavy fall a wheel loses its beautiful, circular shape. . . . It receives a dent. In past years I have traveled a great deal on a wheel. So have my mistress and her daughter. My mistress had, as a matter of fact, at one time a dent."

"Doesn't the connection occur to you between the last part of the dream and the bent wheel? A patched-up hole—a patched-up wheel."

P. F.: "Yes, it is astonishing. I have alluded to every mistress as a wheel. I have now a new wheel, means a new mistress. My wife, the real one, from whom I have been divorced, had a wheel too much in her head.

"It had the appearance as if I were busy in the dream with old bicycles, when I would rather have new, perfect wheels. I am, to be sure, a Don Juan; I would like to have a new mistress every week. Best of all an untouched young—"

"What occurs to you about the mechanic?"

P. F.: "A man by the name of Schlager; although he certainly occurs to me, it is a mystery why. He is employed in a printing office as a manager. I have not seen him for many years. At one
time, I read proof on various printed matter and had recourse to
him."

"It deals with the correction of a fault. Then it agrees."

P. F.: "But something else agrees. I have been waiting a long
time now for a 'Schlager' (theatrical success or 'hit'); my last
pieces have not made a hit. I have now finished two pieces for the
theater. I hope that one will be a success. Then the word Schlager
has an association with my wife. I discovered her in an act of
infidelity and struck her in anger, so that I was in reality a 'Schlager'
(one who strikes). I subsequently regretted it very much. . . ."

"That was, then, the reason for the divorce?"

P. F.: "If that had but been the only reason. As I found out
later, my wife had a number of lovers, who, so to speak, had 'worked
with her.' She was a practised hussy."

"Do you not remember the part of the dream, 'There are a
number of workmen who stand at tables like compositors?""

P. F.: "Yes, I see now, that represents all the people who have
worked with her."

"Who, then, is the friendly young man?"

P. F.: "He reminds me of my son,—wait—a scene now appears
to me: Once when I left my wife in anger, the boy said, 'What do
you want with mamma?' I often think of this occurrence. Once
the boy said, 'If you take me away from mamma, I will die.' His
mother had taught him to say that. For he is well contented now
with his governess and does not want to see his mother. Before
many years I am going to marry again. I am a Catholic. A Cath-
olic marriage in Austria is only dissolved by death. . . ."

"You want to risk the experiment of matrimony once more,
then?"

P. F.: "Yes, it was a charming young girl. I was passionately
in love with her, yet out of regard for my children I gave up the
project. At that time my wife was very sick, her life was despaired
of. I confess to you, that I wished in a corner of my soul she might
die. Then I could have married the young girl."

"Do you entertain similar wishes now about your mistress?"

P. F.: "Very candidly, yes; I can get rid of them only with diffi-
culty. When I spoke of the operation for the perineal tear, the case
of a friend who lost his wife by this innocent operation came cu-
riously enough to my mind."

"It is as if the dream wanted to compare the mother and
daughter and wished to say: 'The daughter is much prettier. If
the mother dies, you can start something with the daughter.' And
the blow?"

P. F.: "Is perhaps the heavy blow, which should happen to me,
the death of the loved one. Moreover—her father died a year ago
from apoplexy" (Herzschlag).

"Therefore, the mechanic, who will make everything right, who
only can dissolve the Catholic marriage, is death."

P. F.: "I am very much interested in death. I occupy myself a
great deal with thoughts of death, even in regard to my children.
Often I picture them as an encumbrance. Such a brutal egoist is
the human being. I, to picture myself a hypochondriac! Yet I am
enough of a philosopher not to get any gray hair about it."

"The friendly young man in the dream, your son, represents the
virtuous opposition of your inmost mind. He asks you, what you
wish."

P. F.: "Yes, as if he would say: 'Old donkey, haven't you done
enough foolishness in your life?'"

"One section of the dream we haven't yet cleared up, the part
about the two kaisers."

P. F.: "I saw our Kaiser last year several times. The remark,
which the dream contains, has been made to me by someone or other.
By whom? . . ."

Here the dreamer stops. There come no other reminiscences.
A great opposition makes every further interpretation impossible.
We therefore stop the interpretation.

"The meaning of a dream," says Freud, "does not reveal itself
always at once, not infrequently one finds his resources (capacity for
work) exhausted when he is following a chain of associations. The
dream says nothing more on that day, then it is well to stop and
return to work the next day. Then another part of the dream
claims the attention and one finds the way to a new layer of dream
thoughts. This may be called the 'fractional' dream interpreta-

On the third day he came again and showed that he had not cor-
correctly given the part about the Kaiser. He did not find the right
impression there. In any case it did not happen in the dream the
way he told it to me.

This doubt also² belongs to the dream material. It has to do
with an important, suppressed complex.

² "The doubt concerning the correct representation of the dream, or of
its individual data, is again only an offshoot of the dream censor—that is, of
the resistance against penetration to consciousness of the dream thoughts.
At the next sitting the dreamer is very reticent. For a long time he has very few associations until I call his attention to a circumstance. The whole dream concerns the contrast of youth and age. The old mechanic—the young workman. The old wheel—the new wheel. The old mistress—the young daughter. The old Kaiser, Franz Josef—the young Kaiser, Wilhelm.

P. F.: "You are right. The contrast is striking. As if the old Kaiser should represent the old mistress and Kaiser Wilhelm the young daughter. Now something occurs to me. I had some crazy thoughts a few days ago. If I were younger, I could marry the daughter of my mistress. Then I thought: 'You old donkey. She would have the horns placed on you then.' And then I thought: 'You could make the young one your mistress.' But yet I have pity for my 'old one.' You can say what you like, she is still a good fellow."

"Do you not notice that you have used the same expression in the dream? 'You can say what you like, . . .', etc.?"

P. F.: "Sure enough! You are right. Still I beg of you what could I do with the young one? It would be the same with me as with my father."

"How do you mean?"

P. F.: "My father was already an old man, when he took my mother home. Everyone talked about it. In confidence, I am supposed to be the son of a cousin of my mother. . . ."

This resistance has not entirely exhausted itself in bringing about the displacements and substitutions, and it therefore adheres as doubt to what has been allowed to pass through. We can recognize this doubt all the easier through the fact that it takes care not to attach the intensive elements of the dream, but only the weak and indistinct ones. For we already know that a transvaluation of all the psychic values has taken place between the dream thoughts and the dream. The disfigurement has been made possible only by the alteration of values; it regularly manifests itself in this way and occasionally contents itself with this. If doubt attaches itself to an indistinct element of the dream content, we may, following the hint, recognize in this element a direct offshoot of one of the outlawed dream thoughts. It is here just as it was after a great revolution in one of the republics of antiquity or of the Renaissance. The former noble and powerful ruling families are now banished; all high positions are filled by upstarts; in the city itself only the very poor and powerless citizens or the distant followers of the vanquished party are tolerated. Even they do not enjoy the full rights of citizenship. They are suspiciously watched. Instead of the suspicion in the comparison, we have in our case the doubt." The Interpretation of Dreams, page 409.
"Whose name is Wilhelm. . . ."

P. F.: "How do you know that?"

"I have only mentioned it incidentally, because the younger Kaiser is called 'Wilhelm.'"

P. F.: "Marvelous! He also was called Wilhelm; he is dead, and my father's name was Franz.

"Then you have had two fathers?"

P. F.: "Curiously enough, yes. For Wilhelm left me his whole fortune after his death. To him I owe my whole existence in every sense."

Now is the opposition explained. It concerns a taint of his mother. The two kaisers are the two fathers. The dear old man—his impotent father. "You can say what you like," the people are talking about it. The energetic, vigorous man is his own father. The relation between young and old is a constellation from youth. He identifies himself with his mother. He might also have the young one after the old.

The dream still contains a number of puzzles. Especially in the second part a companion appears, who agrees. "Of whom does the companion remind you?"

P. F.: "No one."

"You are beginning again. Some one will soon come to you."

P. F.: "Yes,—a Dr. Spiegelglas, who died a long time ago. He was small, bald-headed, had goggle eyes, glasses and hideous rat-like teeth. We named him after a Roman figure by Arne Geborg, the 'Death of Lubeck.'"

"In other words: The companion is death. The hidden sense of the dream is then this, death might remove your mistress and your wife in order that you can marry the young one. Also the striker (Schlager) was death." ("The stroke shall attack them") is indeed a familiar curse.)

P. F.: "My mistress is very fat and said lately, 'I will certainly die soon of apoplexy'" (Herzschlag).

Now I shall conclude the analysis in this form. The relations of this dream to the infantile are of many kinds. He believes he has reason to think that his mother could scarcely wait for his nominal father to die. In short, it appears to be the typical family story, this time with a real foundation. The dreamer has concluded that the dream is not nonsense. It was the source of a secret communication and a great psychic unburdening.

3 A common expression of ill-will in Austria, equivalent to the English, "The devil take you!" Trans.
Is this dream analysis complete? No professor of dream interpretation could say for sure. We have uncovered the upper strata of the dream material. His love for the immature girl and the death wish about her mother. We have brought up fragments from the deep layers, the doubt of his origin, which was brought out as his doubt about the repetition of the dream.

A further research into the secrets of the dream affords a longer working with this dream. For the dreamer is a neurotic, who has applied to me in order to become cured of an unbearable anxiety, insomnia and slight melancholia; it is certainly our duty to go into the deeper layers. We note already, he is afraid of himself and his secret thoughts; he does not sleep because in imagination he is always unfortunate in his sexual experiences; he suffers from depression, because he renounces a strong wish (to possess a maiden).

We continue our work. We lead the dreamer on step by step and bring him to further associations. It appears that each word still has many determinations. The analysis has lasted already a week and we are not yet finished. The whole neurosis is contained in the dream. This is peculiarly the rule. The dream is a microscopic world, which reproduces in miniature the whole psychic world.

I would have to write a whole book, the story of his life and of his neurosis, in order to explain the dream. I shall only mention two examples of the remarkable condensation of the dream. They are the words “Mechanic” and “Dent.”

He has a lot of material to relate to me about a mechanic. He himself is a mechanic. He makes his affair with his mistress purely mechanical. He has to imagine himself with the daughter to have an erection. (This is the substance of his anxiety neurosis.) A mechanic repaired a wheel for him once badly. It was almost useless. He tripped and lay for several weeks in a hospital. Now his wife has such a bad wheel. She ought to trip and lose her life so that he is free. She has an inguinal hernia and an osteopath (mechanic) had taken her measure. He was jealous at that time. Today he doesn’t care a bit. On the contrary he would be happy if she would console herself. Nevertheless, his mistrust breaks through the dream. His mistress likewise has had a number of lovers. She deceives him (there are a number of workmen who stand at tables). He has the right to hold himself blameless.

I shall carry out this idea sometime—a supplement to this work, which only considers the surface of the dream; an analysis which is complete and—as far as this is possible—contains all overdeterminations and relations.
Still in connection with mechanics there occurs to him a young typesetter who impressed him very favorably. He is so skillful that he can repair a part of the wheel better than a mechanic. The typesetter appeared to him to be a homosexualist. For he was never with a woman. He always blushes when he meets him. He wishes to exchange his loved one for the typesetter. The typesetter is called "Wilhelm" the same as the German Kaiser.

Thus we see two things already fulfilled in our progress. We have discovered the death symbol and bisexuality. We are still always in the upper strata.

Further investigations uncover also associations of onanism: The dreamer calls his penis "The Machine" in contradiction to his mistresses. He suffers from premature ejaculation, especially when the charm of the object is inferior. It is only a comparative premature ejaculation, like most of this variety. Several months ago he was alone with an old woman who was not very good looking. Matters came to a coitus; he played the underneath part. Then he was amazed at his virility. He was able to satisfy the lady three times, and she, who had a large experience, told him that she had never met with such manly vigor before in her life. When young he was a constant onanist. He masturbated indeed continuously from his eighth to his eighteenth year. Then for several years following he was psychically impotent. He had read in a work that masturbation was the cause of impotence. He is therefore the mechanic who has ruined the work of his machine. He has made a dent in himself. Therefore he thinks now more charitably about his first wife. She became untrue to him because he could not satisfy her. Thus she has to take a "crowd of workmen" instead of the mechanic.

About mechanics there occurs to him also a mechanic "Schneider" who once had an affair with a Stampiglie (Penis!) and on that account was christened Stampiglius. He is skinny and was often ridiculed when young on account of his lack of weight. He always seemed to be weak. He was impotent because he was too weak. He envied large, strong men (Schlager, a fighter) who could "stamp" (stempeln) properly. Here comes to notice the sense of

5 That is called in Vienna, "To make a boy." I don't know for what reason.

6 That is worthy of note! It is this way with most psychic impotency. When it comes to a specifically adequate satisfaction, then the psychic impotency disappears.
inferiority on which Adler justly lays such great weight. But from Schneider a vein goes back into youth and reveals a series of dishonesties, which he had committed. He was a liar, thief and forger in his youth and developed into an extremely moral man; a model of truth, honor and propriety.

His thefts were mostly from his father. He never remembered having stolen from his mother. Here we come upon the great opposition to his father. . . . A scene appears suddenly to him! His father had surprised him and given him a sound drubbing with hand and foot. His father had struck him blindly and cried: "You misguided boy. You will certainly end in jail or on the gallows!" We notice that the "dear old man" is intended ironically. For he is indeed the striker (Schlager) and would not have dared to speak out such a prophecy. ("You can say what you like.") Besides he is dead from apoplexy (Herzschlag). His younger brother had dealt him a blow (Schlag) in the stomach. He lost consciousness for a second.7

Now for the first time it appears that another sexual object of his childhood, his brother, is concealed behind the young compositor. Yet we cannot pursue the subject further. We will only give several associations of dent (Krampe) as best we can. His mistress suffers from spasms of the heart (Herzkrämpfen). It occurs to him that he has sold the old rubbish in the yard (Bodenkram). Also his mistress is old rubbish (Krampel). Still more significant is the approach (Rampe) to the university which was destroyed during the last riot. He envied young people in those days. . . . Yes, who could fight and carouse. There occurred to him a girl named Krämer, whom he had often kissed in secret. Later she became a light woman. He has always a marked fancy for light women. He has in that matter a loose system of morals. He is not narrow-minded like a shopkeeper (Kramer). From shopkeeper an association leads to Kramer, as an admirer of his sister was called. Now something significant occurs to him. His sister suffered when young from severe cramps (Krämpfen) at her menstruation. He was at that time seven years old and was sent for the doctor. In the house lived a grocer (Krämer) who had a son named Wilhelm, who said to him, "Tell your sister she ought to let the business be brushed out by me. I have a little 'brush.'" His wife had bought herself

7 The most important root is the criminal. He is not an energetic, vigorous man, otherwise he would slay (erschlagen) the old "Krampe" (Viennese expression for an old horse). He wishes to be the slayer (Schlager).
a little brush several days before for cleaning her wheel. A little brush is his penis, with whose size he is very much dissatisfied unjustly.

Now a number of scenes from his earliest childhood occur to him. One from later years. He was sixteen years old when he sneaked at night to the servant girl. His mother woke up and asked where he was going. He answered stammeringly that he had been "outside," he had such violent cramps in the stomach (Bauchkrämpfe). Then his poor mother got up and made him warm applications. As she did so, he saw her astonishing large legs. . . .

But enough of this analysis. I believe that the reader has been more than convinced that with a symbolic translation only one meaning of the dream can be brought out and that the most important material is to be had from the dreamer himself. Also bear this in mind, that the symbol does not have to mean the same thing invariably. It has a marked individual meaning in every case.

Bishop Synesios, a noted investigator of dreams of the fourth century, says very strikingly:

"There are people who create little dictionaries about dream interpretation. I, for my part, laugh at all this argument and hold it to be completely worthless. The imagination of man is not as easily classified as the build and the physiognomy of the body—which can always form the subject of a general scientific observation.

"If a Phemonoe or a Melampus or some one else ventures to pose as an expounder of universal laws of dream interpretation I might ask if then both concave and convex lenses or mirrors out of different materials reflect objects in the same way, for everyone has individual attributes and it is impossible that the same dream picture should have for all of them the same meaning." (Cod. Theodos, XVI, 10/17. Edikt von Jahre 392.)

I can only confirm these words. All symbolism is relative and applies only to the great majority of cases. Exceptions are always possible even though they seldom occur.

In many cases the knowledge of the case history aids us to understand the dream.

I shall give here an interesting series of criminal dreams of a single night which I could interpret without the aid of the dreamer.

(584) "I was tying a bouquet of autumn leaves together, then I had a wonderfully pretty red rose that I wanted to put with it, but while I was tying them together all the petals but one fell off and then that fell off too. Afterwards I brought the bouquet to a lady and thought they belonged in this vase."
WILHELM STEKEL

(585) “Hans was sick. Dr. St.’s maid was bathing his abdomen, but I rinsed out his genitals in the tea in his father’s tea cup. They appeared like a heart and kidneys and were held together by means of shreds of fat. While I was rinsing them out I was thinking that the ligament would tear.”

(586) “Papa lay sick in bed and this had to be made up while he lay in it. Supplement: Papa was sitting up in bed; he appeared miserable and had a large dirty white counterpane under his body.”

(587) “The maid brought me a note which had been lying in the letter box. On the paper was: ‘Shary was with us at home to-day.’ Dr. St. had had a prescription in the pharmacy. The paper gave me the impression that Dr. St. wanted to tell me that something from me was with you.”

(588) “I went out. The pharmacist met me, he looked like uncle Fred and kissed me affectionately.”

(589) “Later I went into the forest. There I came across Trude and Erich who had been in the forest with the pharmacist.”

(590) “I was sick and took a bath. I said to mother, ‘I hope it is nothing serious,’ but then I said in Müller you are advised to bathe.”

(591) “Looking out from my room I saw people swimming. Near me was my bed uncovered.”

(592) “I ran across the fields to the people in the houses. All the time I was doing this I was losing my underskirt. Then I saw Dr. St. with his wife and children on the street and then she passed me and I thought if she only wouldn’t see that I was losing my skirts.”

The dreamer, a woman, presented these nine dreams; not one of them have any basis. I know the facts of her sexual life. She loves only married men and pictures herself circumstances which free them so that she can marry them.

In the transfer I am the last ideal in a long series which has its origin in her father. The last dream (No. 592) showed me that she has the idea she is losing her skirts.

My wife and children appeared her last obstacle to happiness. Her thoughts and endeavors are all towards removing this obstacle. How does she picture that in the dream? Dreams 590 and 591 explain this. She bathes during the time of her period because it is recommended in Müller (Geschlechtsmoral und Lebensglück).

An association came to me. A bath during menstruation—is a blood bath. In the next dream, 591, the people swim. Of course—
they swim in blood. Nearby her bed stands uncovered. The blood bath means to her a bridal bed.

Still bloodier are the phantasies in the dreams 585 and 589. The two children in the forest are common occurrences in fairy tales. From former analyses I knew that the fairy tale about Snow White had played an important rôle in her phantasy. At once the scene occurred to me where the hunter is to cut out the intestines of poor Snow White so that the bad queen could eat them. (Necrophilic instinct!) The whole dream is a frequent occurrence and characteristic of the most unbelievable sadistic fancies.

Every bouquet in her dreams is a funeral wreath. This holds good here. The bouquet of leaves and the leafless rose in dream 584 represent a death wish whose red color refers to the blood bath. My wife was to receive this ominous present while my children were sent out of the world by the druggist. (The messenger of death!) In dream 589 my son Erich becomes identified with her brother Hans, to whom was assigned the same fate as poor Snow White in consequence of her boundless jealousy. She tore asunder the band which bound her to him; she also tore asunder the band which bound her beloved man to another; also she allowed her father to die in her fancy because he stood in the way of her plans (586).

The next dream (587) brings the romantic criminal fancy of a secret agreement between her and me. I did away with my wife. Prescription and pharmacist usually form a poison complex. This interpretation I explained to her (zettel). The last dream is certainly 588; there the goal is attained. The dearly beloved uncle (uncle instead of pharmacist) both are in this dream and in the minds of evil-minded people—poison-mixers.

The physician and the pharmacist are also symbols of death. She suffers a just punishment and receives the kiss of death. She struggles continuously with suicidal impulses.

Further analysis of this case confirms the complete truth of this dream interpretation which was possible to me only through the knowledge of the history of her illness. The association of the blood bath furnished the key.

That was a dream with an individual symbolism which one not acquainted with it could scarcely have seen through. The next dream shows a quite typical symbolism. In many dream interpretations we can quickly discover the sense of a dream with the help of symbolism. A further progress depends upon the associations of the dreamer. A short dream may require a complicated analysis. A long dream often leads back to a single thought.
We present for illustration of this fact two dreams. The one very long and the other fragmentary of which only two words remain. The long dream is by Dame Frau Alpha and runs:

(593) "The scene of the action: The new Armory at Schottenring. A large, handsome room filled with a number of gymnastic and electrical apparatus. Dr. Hochstetter was standing in scanty attire on a sort of an automatic weighing machine and made a mocking face just like a bad child who says 'I am not going to play any more.' The doctor goes to him and says, 'For shame, doctor, you behave yourself like a bad boy.' No use—Dr. Hochstetter continues to be stubborn. As I observed the culprit closer I noticed that he had nothing on but a pair of spotlessly clean pants and a dirty, flimsy shirt that would almost stand alone, and that had besides numberless spots and tears. Next I also noticed that he didn't have buttons on his linen. I think to myself how disgusting this Dr. Hochstetter is, and closer observation made him look considerably more so. At that I looked down at myself and noticed that I was not properly clothed, without being the least embarrassed. I dressed myself calmly; with that I fell to the floor. They asked me why I cried so at this, whereupon I answered, 'The whole left half of my body hurts me so.' They laughed and it is very surprising to me that I said the word left for this means something unheard of. I corrected myself quickly, 'perhaps the right, I don't know.' Thereupon I finished dressing myself. They talked for a while with my husband and explained all the many apparatuses to him. Then you sit down and unpack a newly arrived apparatus, whereat you explain that you will use it on me. 'Will it do me good?' I asked, to which you answer, 'I tell you in such cases electricity really works marvels. I electrify all my patients before I discharge them from the cure.' I asked you then why Dr. Hochstetter stands up there so pugnaciously on his pedestal. 'Why, he is being electrified,' you say; 'Yes, but,' I ask, 'does he have to be undressed for it?' 'Of course, because he has silk lining in his clothes; that would interfere,' was the answer I received. Strange that a man with silk lining in his clothes should have such underclothes. With that I woke up."

For the experienced this dream explains itself. The lady wishes to give up the psychoanalysis. Before that she wants to receive electrical treatment. The new apparatus with which she wishes to be worked upon is a new apparatus to her, my penis. Already poor Dr. Hochstetter serves to symbolize this conceived wish. (Hoch-
stetter = Hoch steht er = he stands on high.) The opposition of Dr. Hochstetter, his filth, are remonstrances which are directed toward me. Then one observes the awful power of my phallus which continues a very long time pugnaciously on the apparatus.

At the close the hitherto passable logic suffers a shock. To the question, why Dr. Hochstetter had to be undressed follows the absurd answer, because he had silk lining; that would interfere. We besought the lady to explain this passage to us. She was silent awhile for she imagined this part of the dream was senseless and absurd.

According to Freud, in this criticism lies an important affect of the dream material.

"Thus the dream is made absurd if there occurs as one of the elements in the dream thoughts the judgment ‘That is nonsense,’ and in general if disdain and criticism are the motives for one of the trains of unconscious thought. Hence absurdity becomes one of the means by which the dream activity expresses contradiction, as it does by reversing a relation in the material between the dream thoughts and dream content, and by utilizing sensations of motor impediment. But absurdity in the dream is not simply to be translated by ‘no,’ but is rather intended to reproduce the disposition of the dream thoughts, this being to show mockery and ridicule along with the contradiction. It is only for this purpose that the dream activity produces anything ridiculous. Here again it transforms a part of the latent content into a manifest form."

And in another place:

"Thus my solution of the problem of the absurdity of dreams is that the dream thoughts are never absurd—at least not those belonging to the dreams of sane persons—and that the dream activity produces absurd dreams and dreams with individual absurd elements, if criticism, ridicule, and derision in the dream thoughts are to be represented by it in its manner of expression. My next concern is to show that the dream activity is primarily brought about by the cooperation of the three factors which have been mentioned—and of a fourth one which remains to be cited—that it accomplishes nothing short of a transposition of the dream thoughts, observing the three conditions which are prescribed for it, and that the question whether the mind operates in the dream with all its faculties, or only with a portion of them, is deprived of its cogency and is inapplicable to the actual circumstances. But since there are plenty of dreams in which judgments are passed, criticisms made, and facts
recognized, in which astonishment at some single element of the dream appears, and arguments and explanations are attempted, I must meet the objections which may be inferred from these occurrences by the citation of selected examples.”

“My answer is as follows: Everything in the dream which occurs as an apparent exercise of the critical faculty is to be regarded, not as an intellectual accomplishment of the dream activity, but as belonging to the material of the dream thoughts, and it has found its way from them as a finished structure to the manifest dream content. I may go even further than this. Even the judgments which are passed upon the dream as it is remembered after awakening and the feelings which are aroused by the reproduction of the dream, belong in good part to the latent dream content, and must be fitted into their place in the interpretation of the dream.” (The Interpretation of Dreams, p. 351.)

We now ask the dreamer to pay attention so that she can notice especially the reproaches which appear ridiculous in connection with this passage. We could draw out nothing about this because the dreamer will not understand. In this last hour (it is one of her last dreams) she does not wish to listen.

We can now fully understand the meaning of the reproach. It is directed against me. She supposes that I have desired ardently through the whole course of the psychoanalysis (permanent erection). Now she says to me, “Why that is absurd, that is simply ridiculous; you know what sort of a treatment would help me, then help me.”

And the association to silken lining. She presents no associations. From earlier dreams, I know her vacillations between ardent sexual desire (silken lining) and strict continence (designation for soiled linen). We can also hazard the guess: Futt, etc., but it remains a guess. It only occurred to me later that this place signified abuse, reviling of my rightful lining. At any rate the whole dream is useless for the knowledge of the deeper strata because the material is withheld.

We bring out only the superficial relations; how altogether different is the analysis of the next dream. The dreamer, Mr. B. D., tells us he had when he woke up only two words in his ear, “snake” and “Mesopotamia.” He produced his associations immediately. In Mesopotamia was paradise. It must also have reference to the

8 I refer to the eunuch’s dream, in which this patient, out of revenge, because I have not done as she desired, made me impotent by castration.
female genitals, for Meso in the years of his youth called the vagina this. The Euphrates and the Tiber form a delta which reminds one of the legs of a woman.

Further associations cease to flow. I call his attention to the connection between snake and paradise. It certainly deals largely with original sin. Yesterday he hesitated for the space of a moment whether he should go to a prostitute; finally he did not do it. Furthermore he was pious for a long time; now he is a free thinker. He is not able by himself to present further associations to the two words. I now ask him to construct a sentence in which both words occur. He is unable to do it and says "It can't be done." "Another question occupies me much more. I am always thinking whether there are any snakes at all in Mesopotamia—whether the snakes belong to Mesopotamia. I believe they were first discovered in India." In border India or interior India. (Literally, Front India or Back India, Trans.)

We set about the construction of a sentence. He says: "The snake is the source of all evil" and "In Mesopotamia, at one time, Paradise was supposed to lie."

We notice that he returns to his religious complex. He tells us with what interest he read a small illustrated Bible history. He is reminded of pictures and suddenly of a scene at a christening. He was seven years old; a lady sang a couplet at the christening of his sister at a late hour, whose refrain caused great laughter to all those present. The refrain had clung to him tenaciously. It goes:

"When Adam in the apple bit,
From very fear . . . his trousers split."

That occupied him a great deal at that time. What does the apple mean? Did the good Lord drive mankind out of Paradise on account of such an act of foolishness? Was that not too severe? Then he was silent and his associations failed.

We have noticed that he could not compose a sentence with "snake" and "Mesopotamia." We return to this doubt. The doubt has to do apparently only deliberately with the propagation of the serpent.

"You mean," he says suddenly, "that I do not know where my penis belongs? Whether I ought to go to women or men? Border or Interior India?" (Vide supra.)

So he himself gives the explanation, the while he supposes it to me. But the analysis is not yet finished. It is diverted to the word
“Mesopotamia.” He begins to explain it in French. Pot became chamber. He thinks immediately of chamber pot. A number of scenes occur to him from the paradise-like condition of childhood where all were in one room before each other and were not ashamed. He saw different things and distinguished various noises. He conjectured as to the size of an opening from the loudness of the noise. He set about his phallic studies at home and in the toilet and arrived finally at the question whether “amien” could have a meaning. He analyzed “à mien,” “la mienne” my people (f.), and “la mien” my people (m.). Yet, the most important of all, he failed to see (ami —the friend). That, of course, “amien” contains the anxious question? Man or woman? (Where does the snake belong? Border or Interior India? Front or back. Un ami or une amie?)

Finally it occurs to him that Amiens is a city in France, in which the Maid of Orleans was born. (The typical bisexual symbol—as the Amazons and the Valkyries: the woman with the lance.) That proved to be a false memory. He has forgotten that there occurred a fierce battle between the English and the French. The two nations represent to him the “pure morals” and the “lax morals.” Paris is for him a Babel of sin. . . . The angel triumphs over the devil. But the most important (association) about Amiens is that there General Manteufel struck the French on the head. He had known this very well and quite forgotten it for the minute.

We come to the answer: Man is for him the devil. He is afraid of homosexuality. He is pure concerning women because they do not appeal to him.

We have been able to form weighty conclusions out of insignificant material, out of two words, while the long dream of the gymnastic apparatus does not lead us nearly so deep into the problem of the neurosis.

Often dreamers bring only a single word, that they have retained out of a dream. Such an example is the word “Ronacher,” the name of a Viennese pleasure establishment. The analysis showed that it stood for “Acheron” and “Charon” and in addition served to symbolize fear of hell and its punishments.

This coining of words meets with the greatest opposition on the part of the uninitiated. And Artemidoros relates a classical instance that was famed a thousand years ago. “It seems to me,” he says, “that Aristandros gave a fortunate interpretation to Alexander

9 Compare my analysis of an example of a slip of the tongue in Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse, 1910, Heft 1–2.
of Macedonia. When he had shut in and beleaguered Tyre and on account of this great loss of time was depressed and moody of countenance, he saw a satyr dancing on his shield; by chance Aristandros found himself in the vicinity of Tyre and in the presence of the king who was besieging the Tyrians. When he separated the word Satyr into Șa and Țvpos (Tyre is yours), he brought it to pass that the king took the siege aggressively in hand, so that he became the master of the city.”

To-day, 2,200 years after, we are obliged to return to the genial technique of Aristandros. Examples of this same art are not lacking in this book. The methods of dream interpretation are more varied than one would believe.

The associations of the dreamer, his conversation, his affects, his reservations, his opposition and his agreements all belong to the dream material. A knowledge of symbolism is absolutely necessary because one can call the dreamer’s attention to many of them and thereby lead to a more thorough analysis: The more convinced the dreamer is of the art of dream interpretation, the more willingly does he set about the work of interpretation. Complete knowledge of the language of dreams is indispensable to convince the dreamer. Moreover, no dream can be interpreted with the best associations without adequate technique. The psychoanalyst receives only raw material. He must be able to make out of that the corresponding picture.

Also we have learned to know the different structure of the dream. The dream of the “Gymnastic apparatus in the office hours” is a dream fantasy, which portrays the repetition of a perhaps consciously constructed day-dream in the mind of the dreamer. She shows only a minimal secondary elaboration as Freud calls the rationalizing activity of the dream. The dream endeavors by moulding and reinforcing to make sense out of nonsense. But this secondary elaboration according to my view must not be underestimated. Like the hysterical symptom or the obsession it betrays exactly as much of the suppressed material as it wishes to conceal. The dreamer of the apparatus dream has not given herself the trouble to undertake a secondary elaboration. The dreamer of the two words, however, whose dream shows a thorough secondary elaboration, had himself been anxious not to hinder an interpretation. Two words by themselves could hardly overcome the opposition of the unconscious and penetrate into the conscious.

Of course, dream interpretation is much easier, the longer one
works with a dream at analysis; certain symbols reappear; the
method of dream formation is as a rule typical and shows few vari-
ations with a simple nature; one recognizes the earmark of his most
important object of love; one recognizes his conflicts and can pick
them out much easier. The first dreams are always the most diffi-
cult. (Cf. the chapter, "First Dreams.")) If an interpretation
fails, one need not be disappointed. The theme reappears in many
variations until the interpretation is successful. I have already
mentioned that all too many dreams are many times signs of oppo-
sition and only serve the purpose of occupying the psychoanalyst and
leading him away from the important complex. One can guard
one's self against this if one consistently remains with the one dream
or disregards the dreams entirely. Now many patients reveal an
incredible facility in the manufacture of interesting dreams, which
appear to be capable of an exact interpretation. They bring the
dream, explanation and confession which the analyst solicits. One
is easily led astray, then, to explain and soon finds himself in a blind
alley. The skilled analyst can scarcely distinguish there whether
he is the dupe or the wise man . . . in such cases it pays to remain
with one dream until it goes absolutely no further. . . .

Many times, however, the dream gives a long-desired explana-
tion. It explains for us a previous dream. In short, it serves in
place of an interpretation. How interesting it is, e. g., that the
dreamer in the "electric machine dream" corrects herself and
changes the left side into the right. The difference between left
and right she has already learned from me. She applied this knowl-
edge in order to indicate her wish. She wishes to be united to me
legally. Then a dream also can make us observant of a fault in
the dream interpretation and the psychoanalysis. I shall give such
an example here because it makes us familiar with the technique of
the neurotic. It shows us how the unconscious does not always
reveal itself frankly, but will allow itself to be caught. We are
reminded of the play of the bride robber. The bridegroom must
first conquer his bride. Thus the unconscious also demands that the
doctor himself shall solve the riddle. Otherwise what is he a dream
interpreter for? Fräulein Etha dreams.

(594) "I came back from the country with Bruno into our
former town residence. There a large, blonde Frenchwoman was
waiting and gave him lessons and with whom he had an affair. He

10 Cf. the admirable dream analysis by Otto Rank: "A dream, which
presented me to her as his cousin and left us there alone awhile. The French woman was very sad and appeared to me to be jealous. She was quite sympathetic to me and I thought: ‘Why, then, is this cousin comedy necessary? If I told her that I was his sister, she would be just as well satisfied.’ But I did not wish to do it against his will. Then Bruno came back again and the French woman said: ‘Are you near relations?’ ‘Yes,’ I cried, laughing. ‘We resemble each other very much. We have the same hands, the same profiles,’ and thought: ‘Now she will catch on.’ But she noticed nothing. Then I went happily and quietly to my room and lay down to sleep. Curious that I am so happy, I thought. Dr. Stekel will certainly say: Because I feel myself free now that Bruno has an affair.

II. “Then I saw a garden with several persons, and then I was in the hall of a home, lying rigidly on an opened wardrobe and awaiting death. My limbs were fixed, but my head whirled around and I thought: ‘Mimi is dead now, too, she can tell me how it is,’ and I dreaded an intense pain and thought it must be a feeling like when one is hung and all the blood rushes forcibly to the head. I wished, nevertheless, to force death, but it did not come; then for the present I gave up the thought of dying.”

This dream came after a series of dreams, which I could not interpret. We know already: The dreamer has had different things to do with her brother. But the teacher of the children was a Frenchwoman. I ought then to recognize that the Frenchwoman is also her teacher. That is to be sure from the secondary elaboration. This dream should inform me that she expects from me an entirely different treatment than the psychoanalytic. She loves me and I do not observe it. For that she is happy. But happy people do not wish to die. I treat her as a sister. She wishes, however, to be treated as a stranger. She does not wish, moreover, to tell anything about her true relations with her brother. She was more than a sister to him.

By this dream the experience with the brother and the Frenchwoman were brought to light. I recognized immediately that the reproach, “But she noticed nothing,” was a home thrust at me. Finally the dream thoughts have to do with what Dr. St. will say. She desires to free herself from these things.

The end appears to be a defloration fantasy, which pictures itself in death (stiff limb, intense pain. Mimi is her Mama, who could tell her how it is).

The dream warns me of the transfer; reproaches me, that I do
not notice her; reproaches, that I did not interpret the last dream correctly. It gives the correct one after a few unfortunate interpretations. Yes, it forces the right interpretation (forcibly—forces—I did not wish to do it against his will, etc.).

The objection that one places something in the dream which was not contained in it, is disposed of by such examples: The dreamer does not accept the false interpretation. Do not misunderstand me. Very many interpretations are rejected by the dreamer. But the next dream brings a new confirmation of the same. Or the dreamer brings other material that proves just the thing which he disputed so strenuously before.

If an interpretation is wrong, then there comes a subsequent dream which teaches us better. The danger of accepting false interpretations is not too great if one lets himself be guided by the dreamer. But there are exceptions. I know overly clever persons who from conscious or unconscious motives hinder the work of interpretation through associations fantastically constructed, or where a superficially associated wealth of material makes a passage into the depths illusory.

Finally, all dream interpretation depends upon the self-knowledge of the analyst. I have seen intelligent colleagues who could not interpret simple dreams.

Every psychoanalyst has also his individual complexes for which he has then no understanding in the psychoanalysis, if they have not become known to him. I call this phenomenon, "The psychoanalytical skotoma." It is therefore necessary to learn one’s own dream analysis and in the first line to know oneself.

We are all no better than dreamers! This knowledge ought to lighten our way through the darkness of the false passages of dreams. Moreover, we are thrown into life with a breast full of hate and have with difficulty overcome our wild desires and instincts. Then, too, we first must need to learn love. That is the great knowledge which I have gained through my work with dreams. Hate is instinctive in human beings. Incest love or love which appears to us to be incest love, if it becomes fixed through overmastering reaction to the emotion of hatred should teach the child to overcome the hate. The child learns from his home life. He learns to control the criminal in himself, not alone from fear of a higher power; No! For love of good, beauty, from ethical motives. Then his sexual desire which accordingly is kept in bounds by all other emotions renders him the worthiest service.
The meaning of the criminal in persons is explained by this book. For cure of a neurosis a knowledge of the "inner criminal" is positively necessary. What could easier unmask him than the art of the dream interpreter?

The interpretation of dreams affords long years of study and practice. Not every one is equal to this work. It is the task of an artist and cannot become mechanical. The psychoanalyst must be able to place himself in the unconscious of a dreamer. He must be able to think with him and like him.

Then come lightning-like revelations and connections which have something of inspiration in them. Then the dream interpretation is a "Miterleben." That is certainly the most difficult task after that of the priest.

We must be able to rejoice and suffer with our patients. Their pains must be our pains. Their deliverance from the bonds of a neurosis our deliverance. By this difficult task the dream interpretation renders an invaluable service. If my work can help psychoanalysts and similarly employed colleagues, then is its mission fulfilled.
1. **An Attempted Psychoanalysis of Schopenhauer.** — Hitschmann justifies, at the outset, the application to the philosopher as well as the poet and the artist of the psychoanalytic method of investigation. For the philosopher as a rule is not the exact scientific investigator but like the artist, the intuitive creator of his own system. The work of each is a subjective product bearing the marks of his personality, his psyche. It is a necessity with the philosopher to brood over life itself rather than to live. He halts at the questions which occupy the child, problems of birth and death, good and evil, the purpose and aim of his own existence. These are revived within him in a more spiritualized form but leave him at a certain plane of development. The scientific investigator on the contrary displaces his interest over into another territory, thus sublimating his infantile interest and curiosity. The philosopher shows by his endless doubting, seeking, struggling, that he is never through with these original problems, that he “suffers” from them all his life long. There is no hard and fast line to be drawn between really scientific philosophical investigators and these intensively subjective philosophers. But psychoanalysis recognizes many who in the struggle with instinct and mental conflict either succumb, as the neurotic, or attain a higher goal, as the artist and poet. Every philosopher bears some of the elements of the mystic and artist, some of the characteristics of the neurotic. The artist is able to represent the unconscious phantasy world satisfactorily to himself and others. The philosopher seeks at least to justify his weaknesses and excesses through his interpretation of the world and to create thereby a satisfying and complacent feeling of fitting in with the world. He seeks to
establish his fundamental disposition through the quality of the world and symbolically projects his inner forces, hidden frequently behind their opposites. Thus a philosophical system originates in the individuality of its creator.

Schopenhauer exemplified all this in a high degree. He revealed in various ways the inner connection between philosophy and the deepest roots of the personality. Striking personal elements exist in his work as in his character—pessimism, asceticism, suspicion of women. He confessed freely the unconscious and intuitive source of his work, attributing his philosophy to art. He clung tenaciously to the system established in his youth, while scarcely any other philosopher thought and wrote so much about himself and no other since antiquity gave such free and open treatment to sexuality. Students of Schopenhauer have recognized the over-developed instinctive side of his nature as the origin of his distinctive new contribution to philosophy, his theory of the primacy of the blind, compelling Will. Paulsen finds the “duplicit y” of Schopenhauer’s nature repeated in the twofold division of his philosophy into will and idea, and psychoanalysis discovers it in the conflict of instinct and its repression through the opposite instinct for spiritualization (denial of the will) as well as in the conflict between conscious and unconscious. His reverence for asceticism and sanctity arose from his almost unconquerable sensuality, his pessimism primarily from his own disposition, his morality of compassion as a reaction against his cruel and revengeful nature, his desire after pure knowledge from his desperate struggle with the torturing demon of passion.

The influences arising out of his family relationships and situations were such as to produce a marked effect upon Schopenhauer’s life and thought. He came of austere, obstinate, indomitable grandparents on both sides. His father was of the same nature, who made the boy’s childhood a hard one. There had been also mental disability on the father’s side of the family. The mother was much younger than the father and the marriage had not been a happy one. The father’s death by drowning was considered by the son as by others to have been suicide and later became the subject of accusation against the mother. The mother’s tastes were for the esthetic in literature without, however, tenderness toward her family. A probable excessive tenderness toward her small son in the early retired days of a loveless marriage turned in later life to an increasing antagonism between mother and son, and their final complete estrangement. His more serious literary tastes as well as his bitter fault-finding manner were utterly distasteful to her, while she was considered by him frivolous in her interests and unfaithful to his father, whose unhappiness he attributed to her. His early rebellious feeling for his father gave place later to an idealizing honor and reverence.
His peculiar neurotic character manifested itself already in a feeling of anxiety in childhood and a tendency at an early age to brood over the problems of death and the past. He retained all his life this anxiety, which took the form of excessive fear of illness, precautions against it and against possible infections; fear of loss of property, of criminal procedures; it led him to conceal his valuable papers or money in unexpected places and also to make provision against possibly being buried alive. He sometimes directly expressed a fear of death. His own words reveal the typical neurotic attitude of anxiety. “If I have nothing to be anxious about, I grow fearful over this, for it seems to me there must be something there which is hidden from me. *Misera conditio nostra.*” A lifelong fear manifesting itself in so many ways is closely bound with infantile sexuality and death wishes and is stamped particularly with a strong disposition outwardly restrained but powerfully directed toward the self, just as with Schopenhauer. His own confessions assure us of the intense sexuality of his nature. He struggled against it fiercely but in vain in earlier years and at last sank into a condition of melancholy and disgust with life. This strong instinct, with the strong feeling of guilt accompanying it, furnished the groundwork of his pessimistic conception of the world. The sense of guilt was bound with the sternness of the father, perhaps in connection with masturbation, certainly associated with discovery at surreptitious novel reading.

There was an especial attempt at repression at puberty because of his unsuccessful struggle against sexuality. He early turned to serious study and thus began preparation for his work. His work brought him the greatest joy and he sought proficiency in all branches, showing meanwhile a special talent for languages. Medicine interested him, principally hygiene, because of his hypochondriacal tendency. Professor Schulze guided him toward the work of a philosopher, especially to the study of Plato and Kant. He withdrew then from society, where he had always felt himself neglected for those inferior to him, renounced all domestic joys, and devoted himself to philosophy. The fact that his chief work was conceived and executed in his youth and that his later life was devoted merely to the shaping, establishing, grounding and vindicating of his fundamental principles shows that his philosophy was a product of unconscious sources and not the deliberate building up of a system. He kept himself aloof from society or from his colleagues and established himself as a confirmed bachelor, in spite of his sexual relationships, which at least occasionally were of lasting and serious import. Yet he could not enter into spiritual relationships with women because of his sensual attitude toward all women. Marriage he regarded pessimistically as an interference with the philosopher’s freedom for activity and sought to rationalize the sexual denial and the resulting anxiety which were the unconscious motives
for this point of view. His scorn of women and of the sexual relation suggests a homosexual tendency, of which there are other signs, his admiration for the youthful figure while he despised that of a woman, his disgust plainly expressed at the wearing of a beard, and moreover, his remarks, though ironical, in praise of pederasty appended to his work on sexual love. Its passive character reveals itself also in the manner in which he rejoices over the creation of his chief work, as of a child in the womb: “I gaze at it and say, as the mother: I am blessed with fruit.” His homosexuality was an ideal only, an “esthetic homosexuality” Friedländer calls it. It too probably had its roots in the attitude toward the awe-inspiring father and was strengthened by his turning from the mother, while it lacked the sublimation outlets which a social life would have given it. With the exception of some temporary friendships in boyhood and youth Schopenhauer was, as Hitschmann says, “without friend, without life, without a social circle, without desire to give to others or to receive from them. This, in so far, deeply unfortunate man went alone through life, veiled in his pride and suspicion of mankind, which, arising out of resentment, served to comfort him in his loneliness.” Fichte speaks of him as a “pathological-psychological problem to be solved only by a personal knowledge of him.” Hitschmann draws this significant picture of his older days: “His earnest, furrowed face with its bushy white hair surrounding his powerfully arched head belongs to one of the most distinguished of Germany's great men. His was a well-known figure in Frankfurt, tramping impetuously along the way in his old-fashioned garments, muttering aloud to himself and often uttering inarticulate sounds, at the same time striking the earth vehemently with his stick, and always inseparable from his poodle.” He always dined alone at a restaurant but if once engaged in congenial conversation could discourse well into the night, earnestly and seriously. His room, the scene of his concentrated work, was adorned with a gilded Buddha, portraits of Kant, Shakespeare, Descartes and Goethe, and pictures of dogs. He sought through his ethic to overcome his natural tendencies. He was in the highest sense a true, noble, unselfish man, profound, intellectual, a man of genius in his work, of high conception of the world and of life, a propagandist of the ideal intellectually and artistically. Such is the contradiction of his character, a character handed down from his vigorous but haughty, obstinate forefathers and which must be content with a life behind his books, wielding his pen. “To desire as little as possible and to know as much as possible, is the guiding maxim of my life,” Schopenhauer himself inscribed on a secret page.

His lasting service was the discovery of the Will as the life force, the “Ding an sich.” This Will is a blind compulsion, and is not only manifest as the true and indestructible nature of man, but is expressed in the external inorganic world as well. Individual will is only a part
of the whole, and the sexual instinct is the strongest manifestation of it, for it is the most fundamental expression of the Will to Live as it is the source of man's life and the desire of all desires. It was from the place which sexuality occupied in his own life that Schopenhauer formed this conception, and also developed through his system escape through intellectual freedom and by overcoming the world through ideal knowledge. His reaction formations and sublimation expressed his desire for release from the torturing compulsion of this Will. His inner conflict against sexuality and other tendencies was manifest in this dualism of his philosophy, and made him a panegyrist of quietism, which he carried even to the exaltation of Nirvana. His attitude of sexuality was typical of his whole unsatisfied nature. Here as elsewhere he was unable to utilize normal outlets for his own salvation so was compelled to rationalize in his philosophy the compulsion of the sexual instinct, the sin of the sexual act and his means of escape. One of his critics remarks that he alone of all philosophers had need of a "Metaphysic of Sexual Love." He himself recognizes the motive power that lies in the instinct when it is turned to intellectual activity. He more than most men overcame and denied this Will and found an ascetic philosophical salvation. His ascetic ideal was the reaction against the instinctive life, his ideal of knowledge his sublimation of it. He, however, is an example of the impossibility of freedom through pure knowledge. He acknowledges the subjective-intuitive nature of his philosophy and yet makes the mistake of trying to find objective knowledge through this purely subjective source. He praises esthetic pleasure as a release from the Will and yet reproaches the sensuous quality in Wagner. He tries to deny all interest and emotion in the highest intellectual pleasure in his attempted escape, failing to realize that he himself is a striking confirmation, in his intense subjectivity, of the Will to Live, bound inevitably with interest. Nevertheless, his exaltation of the intuitive source of philosophy, in reality, of the unconscious, was a work of genius.

His ethic, particularly his Ethic of Compassion (Mitleidsmoral), manifests plainly reaction from original instincts and the evil and hostile feelings of early life. The contrast between his ethical ideal and his isolated, embittered life represents a reaction, and an only partially successful sublimation of these tendencies. His ethical system was a late development and yet he made it the keystone of his philosophy. His double attitude was evident also in his excessive sympathy for animals which opposed itself to a cruelty toward his fellow men. His rationalizing tendency is manifest in his conception of sympathy as a "direct pure knowledge" rather than as a product of the reactionary mechanism, whose roots he might seek in unconscious tendencies. He contrasts here with his critic Nietzsche, who sought for and discovered the roots of even the highest development in per-
sonal human sources. He recognized the sadistic-masochistic foundation of Schopenhauer's exaltation of humility and self-denial, of his ascetic ideal.

Schopenhauer's strongly marked pessimism was well rooted in his early life and had moreover sufficient nourishment through the circumstances of his later life, which were an expression of it and at the same time tended to increase it. His acknowledged suffering under the stern discipline of his father reveals the early existence of rebellion and hatred in this relationship. His mother's early tenderness had doubtless laid the foundation of a hidden intense love for her, which later was in severe conflict with the mutual scorn and hostility existing between them, and his suspicion of her attitude toward his father and of her subsequent behavior. His original feeling toward the father, as mentioned, had given way to an excessive respect and reverence after the father's death. His conflicting feeling toward the mother had made him unable to regard women with respect and unable to attain to success in love. His social isolation also was both the result and the further cause of his pessimistic view of the world. He was both acutely sensitive to slights and of a nature incapable of satisfying his demands. He manifests thus the neurotic character and disposition, and projects through the paranoid mechanism this pessimistic attitude upon the world. Unable to meet the real world he develops a philosophy which denies the reality of the world, and makes of it only an idea. He manifests the typical compulsive neurotic attitude of indecision, skepticism, mingling of knowledge and faith with marked superstition and an animistic mode of thought, of which even his conception of the will partakes.

One of his valuable contributions to thought is the emphasis upon the unconscious. He is aware of the existence of a part of our nature exceeding in its extent and influence our conscious mental life and recognizes in part its manifestation in dreams. Schopenhauer's instinct for research had indeed its origin in the child's instinct for knowledge, particularly as existent in the sexual sphere. He remained upon the plane of those questions which occupy the child, problems of life and death, brooding over these subjectively instead of passing on to a life of active research. Yet he escapes the complete neurotic character through the qualities of his genius and his ability for concentrated and purposeful accomplishment in this realm of subjective thought. His philosophy itself is the most convincing expression of his will. Nietzsche says: "Philosophy itself is this tyrannical instinct, the intellectual Will to Power, for the 'creation of the world,' the causa prima."

2. Psychoanalytic Observations upon the History of Philosophy.—The author's purpose here is to discover through the principles of psychoanalysis how far philosophical systems are conditioned by unconscious wishes rather than by the demands of objective knowledge,
as well as to sketch the unconscious bases of the character of the philosopher. The unconscious makes two great demands of philosophical thought—that it shall provide a supersensual world and introduce a God into its system. Both philosophy and art bear within them a longing after death, perfect rest and satisfaction. This arises from one of the two streams within our natures, the unconscious longing for the eternal mother, according to Jung, to whose work¹ von Winterstein makes frequent reference in this discussion. The other is the forward stream of the libido, and upon the alternation of the two streams depends all evolutionary progress. The artist and the hero enter into the unconscious and arise from it to rebirth. The neurotic on the other hand becomes submerged, drowned in his libido, while again a third class of men live in ignorance of the unconscious and attain no distinction.

The unconscious represents the universal, for individual differences belong only to the conscious realm. The infantile longing after this universal, after immortality, which represents the inability to renounce the pleasure principle, leads to the demand for another world. Greece experienced a withdrawal from external interests with the decadence in social interests expressed in the history of the Peloponnesian war. Socrates made the first advance toward a philosophical expression of this attitude but it was Plato who perfected it. Socrates, the master of rationalism, left to his disciples the construction of a world of ideas, which Plato attempted, a world of supersensual purity, unmovable and unchangeable, only artificially connected with the world of sense. It was the one idea of man to lay hold of some unchanging reality in contrast to the ceaseless flux about him. The infantile sense of self seems to be the one lasting thing in relation to outer objects. The metaphysical idea of the eternal arises out of the subjective feeling of eternity, changelessness and timelessness. The intellectual side consists in the desire to gaze upon the forbidden, one's own unconscious. The desire expressed by Plotin to seize upon the Absolute is the infantile longing to sink within the original mother depths, where all distinction between subject and object is dissolved. Dissatisfaction with those paths which lay open into reality created the desire to win knowledge indirectly, not from actual empirical sources, to find the idea above one like the father who was raised above his children, a conception met with among primitive explanations of the creation of material things through the procreation on the part of some superior being. The platonic "Eros" or love seeking an external object is really seeking to be exercised upon the image of the intellectual, which suggests, von Winterstein says, Freud's observations

upon the series of love objects which must conform to the original mother type. Plato projects his love into the processes of the external world in order to bring beauty and truth of idea to expression in external form. "The idea is the desire awakening image and thus the goal and purposeful cause of the earthly instinct." Plato's theory of ideas has nothing to do with a scientific penetration of the external world. It is rather an example of that psychic slothfulness of which Jung has treated at length. Its tremendous and persistent influence on later thought is due to the fact that it is indeed deeply rooted in man's nature. The Socratic-Platonic philosophy, our author says, might almost be said to have marked the entrance of the western world into a neurosis from which it has not yet recovered, one that however had its service to render to progress. The inner world gained the ascendency.

The intellectual conception of that period was of the visual type with an emphasis upon seeing. It manifested the character of the neurotic desire for certainty. It was a narcissistic peeping tendency, a self-introspection, which might be called an intellectual narcissism. Freud calls attention to the progressive stages of a compulsive neurosis, in which at first the compulsive act is as far as possible from the original sexual repression, but gradually the sexual makes its way through so that the final compulsive act is an imitation of the original repressed sexuality. The mystic process of knowing as described by Eckhart resembles this, in which he says that there is a union between the knower and the known. Knowledge originally meant knowledge of the sexual secret. The idea of knowing as sexual union is an ancient one and is frequently expressed in the biblical phrase "He knew her." In this sexualized sense lies an explanation of the fact that the seeking of knowledge contains the pleasure rather than objective knowledge itself. Self-knowledge is then the ideal unity of subject and object. Eckhart represents the ideal of knowing in the Trinity, in which the Father and Son are related through the self-knowledge of the Father, the love between them being the Holy Ghost. The God ideal is thus self-knowledge, the projection of the narcissistic ideal. The relation between father and son, this identification of subject and object was probably the unconscious motive of withdrawal from the world which resulted in narcissism and the depreciation of the creature as merely non-existent. This points to the deeper connection of homosexuality and narcissism and therefore this mystical philosophy gives expression to a sublimated homosexuality and a spiritual narcissism. The ethical object is the identification of self with God and the possession of him. Behind God is the Absolute, self-concealed, the object of his own knowledge and of his own love and joy in knowledge. In other words it is the greater circle of the unconscious surrounding the small circle of individual consciousness. Here occurs the same mistake as in the conception of eternity. The individual origin, rooted in the mother,
which might have served in a high degree as a symbol of the Absolute, becomes the Absolute itself. Rationalism and mysticism both place the deepest experience in man in contrast to religious projection, and in this are not far from the libido theory. Rationalism makes knowledge its paramount purpose, mysticism, union with the Godhead. God is more than the heightened image of the father. He becomes the personification of psychic phenomena, the projection of the wish-fulfilling, all-powerful, all-wise endopsychic instances of the unconscious, which the father afforded to the child.

There are two philosophical systems which express the relation of God to the world. The first is the emanation system first promulgated by Heraclitus and taken up by the Stoics, by whom God was conceived as the being of fiery, warming and creating power, the continuous source of renewal and the goal to which all creation was continually returning, all forms of being representing varying degrees of the completeness of this principle. This too represents, in the subjective ecstatic condition after which the Neo-Platonists and other exponents of the emanation theory strove, the narcissistic identification with the father image. The celebrated paranoiac, Schreber, fully exemplifies this. Böhme illustrates in his emanation theory the transference of the neurotic conflict between conscious and unconscious, the problems of body and spirit, over upon God, not a solution but a mere shifting of the difficulties. He rationalizes the contrast in his own nature in a God of a double nature, a gentle, beneficent being and a stern, destructive power. The creation theory on the other hand conceives a world created by God from nothing, the latter term denoting absolute void or the chaos of unformed material. Here is a revival of the primitive conception of the bisexual cosmic power, which however consigns the female element to the inferior material place while the intellectual creative power is assumed to be the male. The omnipotence of thought holds a supreme place in this conception of the divine fiat of creation. The incest resistances directed toward the mother result in this attributing the creation to God alone, but in the Christian religion, the creative power is accorded to the Son and the conception of an ideal infantile family is introduced. An infantile doubt over one's paternity has led to various myths of origin directly from the father, an idea that is not wanting in some of the interpretations of the Christian religion which represent God as an androgynous Being giving birth to his Son.

The author turns now to the examination of the conception of the world which prevails in philosophy. Materialistic dualism has been in favor in the form which conceives the physical and the psychical either as phenomena of the same unconscious nature, or as two conditions, objective forms, attributes of one Absolute. Monism is the theory of positivism and of idealism. Though these two divisions are by no means identical, they may be psychoanalytically examined together.
The marked feature is the depreciation of the external world and the exaltation of the world of ideas, again the omnipotence of thought. Kant's doctrine leads to this. The monadology of Leibniz, Berkeley's theories, Fichte's subjective idealism and the objective form of Schelling, with the absolute idealism of Hegel all arise from the same unconscious source. The failure of libido interest in outer reality leads to a feeling of strangeness in regard to it which in turn brings about the overvaluation of thought. Descartes manifests these characteristics in common with the neurotic, an isolation from reality, over-emphasis upon thought and doubt concerning God, while he was on the other hand a faithful churchman. It is significant to find that the father played a large part in his life. His doubts were solved in his Cogito ergo sum, which was a summing up of the importance he gave to thought. We are not to understand, von Winterstein says, that the philosopher and the neurotic are identical. Certain neurotic characteristics have a value as a stimulus toward intellectual activity in a certain direction, toward discovering certain aspects of life. Sometimes the unconscious impulses act as incitors to investigation, at other times the phantasy material constitutes the actual content of philosophical thought. The satisfaction which it grants to others is no criterion of its value as wish material or objective knowledge, because of its subjective relation to them also.

The mythological philosophers were of the visual type, visionaries in contrast to the sober thinkers whose libido was merely the motive power sublimated into a true desire for knowledge. The withdrawal of the libido from reality was common to all Greece but received full development in Plato's thought. There was no place for woman in this libido repression which prevailed during the centuries which followed him, when men sought escape from the body in union with God. The strong impulse toward homosexuality which arises out of the relation to the father substituted for an earlier intense fixation upon the mother is manifest in Plato's relationship and feeling toward Socrates. Plato possessed a high grade of ability for sublimation, which was probably combined with strong sexual denial. His doctrines of the soul, of the relations between body and soul, his longing for the ideal home of the soul, for immortality point to this. Plato's highest creations manifest the return to the ultimate depths from which he arises to the heights. "Every celestial flight leads him in fact down into the fathomless unconscious." Later philosophers also reveal the projection of inner feeling upon the outer world. "In all the paths of thought man meets only himself, and knows it not." The cleft between mind and nature is closed by transcendentalism, in God.

Each later idealistic philosopher lived out his affects in narcissistic love of self in God, in self-sufficient solipsism of varying degree and in various forms of thought. Schopenhauer was the first atheistic idealist, putting his Will in place of the Most High God.
Idealism is asocial in its tendency but a remnant of social feeling prevents the philosopher from the asocialism of the psychotic. The predominance of the father image, however, common to idealistic philosophy as also to paranoia, contributes to a more or less social character, while with the neurotic as in a certain degree with the lyric artist the predominance of the mother image leads further from the social world.

In contrast to the idealist are those materialists who, without an inner life, see no reality to the things of the psyche and wish for no world beyond the material. A realistic dualism, on the other hand, is in accord with the Freudian theories of adjustment to reality.

In regard to the personality of the philosopher in its relation to his thought, von Winterstein quotes some pregnant sentences from Fichte in which he says that "the kind of philosophy a philosopher chooses depends upon what sort of man he is. . . . His choice (between idealism and dogmatism) will depend upon his feeling of self-reliance and activity or upon that of dependence and passivity." Nietzsche gives repeated expression to the relation of the philosopher's personality to his thought. There are two principles that draw the philosopher's attention, the causal connection of events and relation to reality. Freud has discussed the fate of the instinct for investigation after the first strong repression of the infantile sexual curiosity. It may become a form of neurotic brooding or of non-neurotic investigation, or it may in the same way turn to philosophy. Philosophy that partakes of the neurotic character will bear the affects of the sexual processes and it will occupy itself with the original subjects of infantile thought. The second form of activity will on the other hand be freed from sexuality even while it is motivated by the sublimated libido and will thus serve intellectual interests. Descartes had turned an excessive infantile desire for knowledge into hard intellectual work, to which he attributed his system of thought.

It is worthy of note that in the life history of many a philosopher the father complex seems to occupy an important position. Many are born in clergymen's families. They seem never to be freed from the father complex, either the positive or negative aspect of it. The mystic philosophers are masochistic. The original passive homosexual attitude toward the father develops into a system which strives for pleasurable union with the Absolute. The sadistic type is found in the non-mystical philosophers but the two types are not sharply distinguishable for the rebellion of the former against the father manifests itself also in a refined intellectual cruelty.

Most philosophers are of the compulsive type of thinkers as a result of their ambivalent affective state. There is also a need to get at the cause of things, the "thaumazein," wondering over everything, which Aristotle gives as the cause of philosophy, which reminds one of the neurotic doubt and compulsion to understand.
The source of philosophy and its characteristics, particularly in the sublimation it offers, may be summed up in two central points. These are the psychic narcissism of the philosopher and his relations to his parents.²

3. From the “Psychology” of Hermann Lotze.—Ferenczi calls attention to the agreement of the results of the intuitive thought of Lotze and the empirical conclusions of Freud. Lotze says that we no longer take for granted the disappearance of psychical events or ideas and give our attention only to memory. Rather, applying the physical law of continuity, we consider forgetting a phenomenon which demands explanation. Ideas can disappear only in so far as they become unconscious. He explains also the psychic mechanisms depending on strength and contrast of ideas by recognizing the part played by interest, which, with its pleasure-pain accompaniment causes the idea perhaps of lesser content to repress that of greater content or to suppress even the external stimulus. He notes further that the problem of consciousness has absorbed attention to the exclusion of the broader content of the psychical life, the problem of feeling and instinct strivings in contrast to the intellectual problem of consciousness. Again, instincts in their origin are associated mostly with pain but through association with motor impulses in time come to avoid the pain. He speaks also of the consciousness of the Ego through its own sensations alone, in which he approaches the psychoanalytic conception of the narcissistic origin of the Ego-consciousness. The consciousness of self depends on feeling alone and is distinct from the intellectual representation of it which we afterward make to ourselves.

² This is necessarily a very incomplete survey of a masterly treatment of a subject of wide scope. Not only the content of the article but its vigor of thought and excellence of expression recommend it to a much more complete study on the part of the readers of the Psychoanalytic Review.—L. B.

This book is an elaboration and amplification of the essays on the herd instinct published by the author in the Sociological Review in 1908 and 1909 and which attracted much favorable comment at that time. To this elaboration he has added an application of the principles involved to an interpretation of the German and the English character as exhibited in the war.

In brief Trotter's thesis is that there is a fourth instinct. The three primary instincts, self-preservation, nutrition, sex, have the common characteristics of "attaining their maximal activities only over short periods and in special sets of circumstances, and of being fundamentally pleasant to yield to." The fourth instinct, the herd instinct, "exercises a controlling power upon the individual from without," it introduces duty for the first time with the resulting conflict.

The herd instinct he takes some little pains to analyze and to show that it possesses the same character as other instincts and is therefore properly classified. It has come into existence, like multicellularity, to aid the individual in escaping the rigors of natural selection by creating a larger unit for selection to act upon and thus permitting a wider range of individual variation (specialization) of the individual constituent elements. Trotter believes, therefore, that inasmuch as man is a social animal "all human psychology . . . must be the psychology of associated man, since man as a solitary animal is unknown to us" and that "the only medium in which man's mind can function satisfactorily is the herd." Because of these views he finds himself out of touch with much of current psychology and thinks that it is abnormal psychology which has made the most valuable contributions and rescued psychology from sterility by humanizing it. Of all the contributions in this field that of Freud stands out as the most important. The general validity of such propositions as the significance of mental conflict, the importance of the emotional experiences of infancy and childhood in determining character, and his conception of the structure of the mind, as comprising the conscious and the unconscious, he believes will be increasingly apparent.

Of these various concepts he discusses most instructively the concept of conflict. He thinks that the work of Freud has been concentrated too strongly upon one part of the conflict, namely, the instinctive impulse (and that only of the sexual): to the repressing forces he has given too little interest. These repressing forces have their origin in
the herd instinct so that "the specific sensitiveness of the gregarious mind" is a necessary element for the establishment of a conflict. The two necessary elements in the development of the mind then would be "the egoistic impulses of the child and his specific sensitiveness to environing influence." There are therefore three groups of forces of which the personality of the adult is the resultant: "first the egoistic instincts of the individual pressing for gratification and possessing the intense mental energy characteristic of instinctive processes, secondly the specific sensitiveness to environmental influences which the mind as that of a gregarious animal necessarily possesses, a quality capable of endowing outside influences with the energy of instinct, and thirdly the environmental influences which act upon the growing mind and are also essentially determined in their intensity and uniformity by instinctive mechanisms." Freud, he thinks, has devoted himself principally to the first group. He has given us an embryology of the mind.

There are three types of gregariousness in which the social instinct manifests itself, namely, the aggressive type of the wolf and the dog; the protective type of the sheep and the ox; and the social type of the bee and the ant. This latter type, the type of "socialized gregariousness, is the goal of man's development." To attain this goal, however, is not going to be easy. At present the amount of lost motion, of wasted energy is enormous and it seems as if it might be impossible to correct this.

Two great types of mind embody the characteristics which must be utilized to solve the problems of future progress. The resistive type which gains in motive what it loses in adaptability—and the unstable type which gains in adaptability what it loses in motive. With regard to these types he asks the questions: "Is, for example, the stable normal type naturally in some special degree insensitive to experience, and if so, is such a quality inborn or acquired? Again, may the characteristics of the members of this class be the result of an experience relatively easily dealt with by rationalization and exclusion? Then again, are the unstable naturally hypersensitive to experience, or have they met with an experience relatively difficult to assimilate?" He concludes that both of these types "must be regarded as seriously defective and as evidence that civilization has not yet provided a medium in which the average human mind can grow undeformed and to its full stature. . . . The pressing problem which in fact faces man in the immediate future is how to readjust the mental environment in such a way that sensitiveness may develop and confer on man the enormous advantages which it holds for him, without being transformed from a blessing into a curse and menace of instability. . . . It needs but little effort of foresight to realize that without some totally revolutionary change in man's attitude towards the mind, even his very tenure of the earth may come
to be threatened. ... Living as he does in a world where outside his race no allowances are made for infirmity, and where figments however beautiful never become facts, it needs but little imagination to see how great are the probabilities that after all man will prove but one more of Nature's failures, ignominiously to be swept from her worktable to make way for another venture of her tireless curiosity and patience."

The book is intensely interesting, full of suggestions and the author sees well the importance of the psychoanalytic movement in its wider reaches. It will well repay a careful reading.


This little book belongs to a class of literature which is constantly becoming more abundant and which emphasizes a very healthy attitude on the part of the people who read them, namely a desire for some real knowledge about themselves which will be helpful in the practical problems of living.

Professor Groves hardly claims to have written a treatise on Moral Sanitation. His book is more of a running commentary or a collection of thoughts, designated as chapter headings, tied together by the comments of a man who has read widely and thought much over the problems of human conduct and believes profoundly that in a scientific study of man's behavior ought to be found the principles upon which efficient living must be based and that these principles are to find their way into the highways and byways of social life, into the factory and be applied by the workman at his task, into the family and be applied by the parents in the education of their children, into the church and provide the reasons for its moral precepts, in fact into every place where man's activities carry him. Professor Groves's attitude towards conduct is wholesome and constructive. He believes that a man is entitled to the privilege of wholesome work in which he finds self expression and that he is entitled to the boon of happiness and that the really great social problems that confront us are perhaps the very ones of providing a means to these ends.

Professor Groves, like many another broad-minded man, has come to believe that the principles worked out by Freud and embodied in the methods of psychoanalysis can no longer be neglected by the moral teacher who desires to do the best that can be done, that the psychoanalytic principles, in other words, throw a light upon the springs of human conduct, which it is invaluable to know about if we are to improve our ways of living.

*White.*

A most interesting and helpful catalogue of symbols grouped under twenty-one classes, each of which is then subdivided according to religion and country, and finally the exact form and general significance of the symbol given in each instance. Some of the classes of objects treated are numbers, animals, angelic personages, architectural forms, gems, fruits, etc. Turning to one of them we see that for the Egyptians the pomegranate signified fertility because of its many seeds.

The book is valuable as a catalogue of several hundred symbols from which one may easily get a valuable suggestion as to a meaning which is obscure.

White.


This book consists of the William Earl Dodge Yale lectures on the Responsibility of Citizenship, delivered by Mr. Osborne during the current year. Their substance is, in the main, the setting forth of his views on crime and criminals and the function of the prison in society. These views are for the most part already familiar to many who have taken note of what has been going on at Sing Sing Prison, and the reviewer will not discuss them in detail; in fact the book would ordinarily not be reviewed in the pages of The Psychoanalytic Review because it is not a psychoanalytic subject, nor is it approached from a psychoanalytic point of view, except that it does demonstrate certain principles that are fundamental in the art of living.

Mr. Osborne’s big idea is that in order that the prisons may serve to rehabilitate the prisoner and send him back to the community as a useful citizen it must prepare him for his life after discharge from prison by producing conditions within the prison as nearly as possible like those outside with respect more especially to the matter of personal responsibility; in other words, he believes, and has attempted through the medium of his Mutual Welfare League, to throw the responsibility of self-government upon the prisoner. Of course all of this has been gone over before, but the vital error he finds in previous experiments of this sort is that the experiment has only carried out the principle of self-government in form and not in substance—that the prisoners actually must be permitted to establish their own scheme of government, and to carry it out with practically no interference from the warden’s office. Only under these circumstances, where authority and responsibility are commensurate, can there be borne home to the soul of the prisoner those distinctions between right and wrong upon which the orderly conduct of society is founded.
It was Socrates who said that knowledge was virtue, and I think Mr. Osborne would agree with him in such a statement, except that it is perfectly plain that it makes a great deal of difference what we mean by knowledge. The lecturing of a convicted criminal by the judge who exhibits anger and resentment and hate in his denunciation of the poor wretch who is sent to prison may convince the prisoner intellectually or may only reiterate what he already knows. The beatings, the deprivation of food, the dark cell may do the same thing in prison, but knowledge acquired in such ways is of no value. Mr. Osborne appreciates, as the psychoanalyst would say, that knowledge is virtue, but it is only virtue when we have learned to know in the same way that we love. To know as one loves is not only to appreciate intellectually, but to feel the fundamental truth in a way that makes it essential to act upon it.

Mr. Osborne’s experiment in its present stage must be interesting to the psychoanalyst because as one reads his book one can easily see that it is his dominating personality, his real, sincere affection for these poor wretches, his thorough understanding of the fundamental stupidity of the whole machinery of man-hunting, known as the criminal law—it is these things which make his experiment a success, and it is these very things that this experiment stands in most danger of. It is exactly the situation of the psychoanalyst with reference to his patient. It is the situation of a positive transfer. Now comes the most difficult part of the whole proceeding—how to handle the transfer. From this point of view the book is of enormous interest and if for no other reason its review in these pages is justifiable. Let us hope the experiment which has so much of good, so much of promise, which is calculated to lift the treatment of the criminal some little ways at least out of the slough of hate into the light of understanding, may steadily progress to a larger and deeper usefulness.

White.

NOTICE.—All business communications should be addressed to The Psychoanalytic Review, 64 West 56th Street, New York City.

All manuscripts should be sent to Dr. William A. White, Saint Elizabeth’s Hospital, Washington, D. C.
THE SOCIAL AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OF INFRA-HUMAN PRIMATES WITH SOME COMPARABLE FACTS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR.¹

By Edward J. Kempf, M.D.

CLINICAL PSYCHIATRIST TO ST. ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The careful analyses of a large number of psychotics, including individuals of both sexes, of every educational level and of many nationalities, have consistently shown that the most important etiological determinants of psychogenic psychoses, considered in a broad sense, are invariably sexual. Of such cases received at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, a large proportion of men and women show a striking similarity in their biological constitution, and their psychoses show a definite conformity in certain psychopathological principles. Particularly is this true of many young men received from the army and navy. The cases referred to are at present classified as dementia praecox types, to which group, as deteriorating personalities, they characteristically belong.

The psychopathological mechanisms involved in these cases and their relation to the psychoses will be discussed in another paper. The two important principles that seem to underlie each case are (1) that the individual is the host of well-developed motives, generated at the phylogenetic level, to perform certain sexual acts which he is unable to dissociate or in many instances to even control without (2) intensively developing another series of motives (at the habit level) which seem to functionate at the levels of the personality.

¹This study of the behavior of monkeys was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington to Shepherd Ivory Franz, Scientific Director of St. Elizabeth's Hospital. The paper was read in part at the sixth annual meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association.
of which he is conscious. They are organized unconsciously for the purpose of controlling or at least diverting the undesirable, otherwise unmodifiable sexual tendencies.

These sexual motives or cravings are in every instance undesirable either (1) because they are biologically unproductive in type and require what are severely, socially censured forms of stimulation of socially censured areas of receptors, or (2) because the affective needs are fixed upon some forbidden or unresponsive object.

Freud, in his Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, formulated the processes of evolution of the sexual tendencies in the child and their fixation in the adult. This work gives a most acceptable foundation for further investigations into the causes of abnormal sexual tendencies. Naturally attention should also be directed to the phylogenetic determinants, as found in infrahuman primates, for such sexual phenomena as are invariably found in the genus Homo.

Hamilton,² influenced by his clinical experience and Freud's contributions, studied the sexual tendencies in monkeys and baboons under environmental conditions which were practically normal for these animals. My observations thoroughly corroborate his although made under unnatural environmental conditions, namely in cages. The generally misunderstood functions of erotogenesis and other affect geneses must be given consideration before psychiatrists establish conclusions about unknown, easily phrased, hereditary and constitutional deficiencies in an individual, as the cause of his psychosis.

We can no longer hold that the individual is solely responsible for his tendencies to homosexuality, autoeroticism or perverseness in his sexual life. His progenitors developed, perhaps needed such interests and we must bring about an enlightened course of sublimation of the abnormal sexual tendencies which often cause so much suffering. It is no more possible to wipe out a well-concatenated system of reflexes of such potency as the erotogenic by an ideal or moral criticism than for a Christian Science healer to evaporate the appendix with local applications of faith and new thought.

In order to obtain more insight into the phylogenetic determinants of man's social and sexual life and some knowledge of the infrahuman primates' social and sexual life, six macacus rhesus monkeys were observed for a period of eight months. The macaque is an ideal subject for observation in that it is very easy to generate in him an affective reaction (used in the sense of a desire) and watch

its influence on his behavior. His wishes in some instances are slightly but transparently disguised. In him we find man’s phylo-
genetic determinants completely exposed.

**Distinct Differences in the Personalities of the Monkeys**

The personalities of the six monkeys were as distinctly different as so many people and are described here in detail so that their social and sexual adjustment to one another will be more intelligible.

For convenience the monkeys were named A, B, C, D, E and F. A, B and C were about six months old when acquired. C was a female. D, E and F were males who had reached sexual maturity and were capable of the complete sexual act.

A was very timid and shy. He gave way to the demands of all the others and adapted himself as best he could by any other means than that of using force. Despite the oppressions of the others and his timidity, he was a happy, fastidious little monkey. He would often chuckle with delight when he procured his food, even though it fatally revealed his success to his companions. He usually inspected his food and wiped it with his hands before eating it. When attacked by the other monkeys he invariably took refuge in flight. He was always on the alert to avoid injury by any of them and constantly watched their features, probably the most reliable indicator of the emotional attitude of the other monkeys, to detect the presence of hostile motives in any of them. When they were all congenial he would permit their physical contact and liked to lie on his back even with his abdomen and throat exposed to be picked over for fleas. Sometimes he showed his teeth when cornered and often squealed in anger when scratched, but he rarely fought back and when he did its occurrence was only observed in the manner of a scratch or two at B followed invariably by flight.

When a grown cat, and at another time a kitten, was placed in a cage with him he immediately developed a typical anxiety state, in which his agitation and behavior were very similar to the behavior of a patient in a state of anxious, agitated, depression; one who has no appetite, is afraid to sleep, constantly is in motion, wails and wrings the hands, etc., and who has a retarded stereotyped stream of self-depreciatory thought. Although the cat showed no disposition to be offensive and squatted peacefully on the floor of the cage, A paced continuously back and forth across the perch with hair over the shoulders erected, lips loosely protruded, mouth open, face blanched and pupils dilated. He screamed every few seconds. The
sound was rather hoarse and throaty, somewhat like the bluffing bark of his species but mingled with it was the shriek of terror note that he would utter when he expected to be seized by me. The four walls made it impossible to place a comfortable distance between himself and the cat, so he tried to keep the cat bluffed and occasionally struck at her, but rarely ever touched her. He constantly watched the cat and was always ready to avoid her if she happened to get near to him while she was nosing about to find a way out of the cage. Although A and the cat were together for twenty-four hours and the cat made no attempt to attack except to spit at him when he struck at her, A's anxiety subsided but very little. During this period the cat ate freely, but A had little or no desire for food.

Once A, B and C were each given a small orange, probably the first they had ever seen, judging from the way they examined the fruit. All three familiarized themselves with their oranges through exposing to them all the receptors that would give them sensations of the various characteristics of the fruit; such as looking, touching, holding, smelling, biting, tasting, etc. A bit his orange first. B and C watched his experiment with keen interest. It oriented them still more. Monkeys seem to learn a great deal through imitation after they have once acquired the essential sensorimotor elements necessary for the solution of a problem in their repertoire of experience. A was always uneasy lest his food should be taken from him by B or C, which may explain his hurry to bite into his orange. The orange squirted into his face and he promptly dropped it. For some time afterwards timid A would not try to open an orange. The other monkeys quickly learned to open their oranges. A was always more fond of B than he was of any of the others. He would lose his appetite and worry when placed alone in a cage. The other monkeys would show some uneasiness when separated and call a few times but they always became quiet and adjusted in a shorter time. A would never threaten to attack in order to help his comrades.

B was about the size and age of A but very different in his reaction tendencies or disposition. Where A was timid, B was courageous and aggressive. He dominated A and C, taking food from them.

3 Certain sensations or lack of sensations, that is, certain reactions of some of the receptors would often be sufficient to cause food to be dropped. For example, the lightness of a peanut shell, or when tired of peanuts, the form, color, etc., would be sufficient to cause it to be ignored even though food was wanted.
at will, and at times even competed with $D$ and $E$. The larger monkeys punished him occasionally when he became too bold. $B$ was very fond of $A$ and sometimes allowed him to take a piece of extra food which he had laid beside him for future eating. $C$ was never allowed this privilege during the observations. $B$ liked to grab all the food that he possibly could and frequently sat with all four paws filled. $A$ and $C$ usually took one piece at a time.

When the cat was placed in the cage with $B$ he at first assumed an offensive attitude but this rather quickly subsided. Unlike $A$, he did not hesitate to tear out handfuls of the cat's hair. He soon allowed the cat to pass near him and frequently tried to examine the cat's anus. At times he made sexual advances to it, smacking his lips and looking at its anus. He also assumed the sexual position in the presence of the cat as though trying to induce sexual play. This behavior also occurred with the kitten.

When $A$ or $C$ were taken from the cage $B$ became enraged, advanced to the wires, screamed his anger, showed his teeth and threatened to attack. $B$ showed no anxiety when he was being taken from the big cage.

$C$ was about the size and age of $A$ and $B$ and was very much like $B$ in aggressiveness and inquisitiveness. When first received $C$ dominated $A$ and $B$, but this relationship was permanently changed by the influence of $F$. One day while $B$, $C$ and $F$ were caged together $F$ severely chewed $C$'s ears. $B$ probably took part in this attack for on that day it was noticed that $B$ took food from $C$ for the first time. Although $C$ had always taken food from him previous to this time, from then on she timidly gave up her food without even attempting to escape with it unless she was extremely hungry.

Like $B$, $C$ was always enraged when $A$ or $B$ were molested and the expression of emotion was always characterized by shrill screams, exposure of the teeth and erected dorsal hair, while at the same time she advanced stiffly on all fours to the attack and in one instance made a furious assault when $A$ was caught by an experimenter. $C$ took food from $A$.

$C$ never made sexual advances to the cat nor tended to be friendly. She usually punished the cat whenever opportunity afforded.

$A$, $B$ and $C$ were more fond of each other than of the large monkeys, probably because of fear of punishment by them.

$D$ was apparently a matured male. He was usually slower to learn and slower to move than any of the others. When food was placed in the cage or held to the wire, if $D$ did not punish the other
monkeys first, he rarely got his share. Neither did he often succeed in taking food from the others. He dominated all of the group except E. E alone consistently tried to take food from him. Once or twice B tried it when he was very hungry. D was more fond of E than any of the others and when E was present he tended to punish F, showing a reaction that might be termed jealousy because he often punished F when the latter approached too near to E.

E was the largest and strongest monkey of the six and recognized as leader of the band. His wishes were never disputed. He was very kindly disposed toward the other monkeys and rarely punished any of them except F. E forced any of the others to submit as his sexual object when it was his pleasure. When the cat was placed in his cage he promptly projected an attack of bluffing by making himself appear as large as possible. His dorsal hair was erect, he emitted deep, hoarse barks, stared threateningly and champed his teeth as he lunged forward on his rigidly extended forelegs. When the cat failed to retreat, but returned the stare and sat ready to strike back, E fairly outdid himself in trying to display his great strength, even to changing the sounds made by his champing teeth to grinding his molars. He never struck the cat and after a few minutes he made sexual advances to his strange visitor.

E was apparently more intelligent than the others, because he often resorted to ruses in order to snatch food from them, showing a consciousness of his motives to snatch the food and a disguise of them in order to place himself in a position where he might successfully grab the food.4

F, a quick, alert monkey, was very different in many of his reaction tendencies from any of the other monkeys and was not liked by any of them. They all had other favorites. He was much more cruel than the rest and delighted in punishing the three young ones. He was afraid of E and D, and usually held himself aloof from them unless they made friendly advances to him. He was quicker and seemed to learn more rapidly than D and E. Because D and E were stronger he always packed his cheek pouches before eating so as to be sure of getting sufficient food. He rarely failed to get more than his share. F was dominated by E and D at the food box and he dominated A, B and C at the food box. He often tried to force the latter to submit as sexual objects but he never was observed to try to force D or E to become his sexual objects. On the contrary he submitted for either D or E as the sexual object until either had

4 E's method of snatching food was more fully reported in the Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. XIII, No. 15, p. 410.
gratified his sexual hunger. Occasionally then D or E submitted as sexual objects for him. A, B, D and E and the female C, played less with F than with each other. F’s sexual position was different from that of the rest in that although he occasionally assumed the characteristic sexual position, that is, the elevated buttocks and lowered chest and head, he rarely maintain it longer than necessary to induce a sexual approach from another monkey. Almost invariably he raised his shoulders and head to a full height by resting on his extended forearms, and exposed his teeth as if to bite. He never stopped watching his sexual patron. He never was observed to touch the lips of his sexual patron or object, probably because of his fear of the teeth. This compromising sexual position seemed to be the result of the activity of another motive or affective reaction besides the sexual one. This second motive was probably fear intermingled with anger because he invariably exposed his upper front teeth, drew back his ears and often uttered the shrill squeal that he and all the other monkeys uttered when frightened. The exposed front teeth expressed a warning for defensive purposes, making the aggressor more cautious. It is probable that such fear and hatred affective states, intermingled with his sexual affective state, made him the least sought sexual object and play object of the group.

If, whenever projicient-motor phenomena exhibited by an organism are observed to be similar to previous projicient-motor phenomena of that same organism, we may assume that similar, compelling affective-motor phenomena are occurring in this organism; and further hold that this is true for all similarly constructed organisms, then we have a working hypothesis as valuable to the science of behavior, psychiatry and psychology as the hypothesis that two molecules are identical in construction and function because the chemical reactions to a series of other previously identified molecules are the same, is necessary to the sciences of chemistry and physics.

Therefore, if the most habitual sexual position of all the mon-

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The term projicient is here applied to the activities of the skeletal muscles and their sensorimotor nervous system. It is used because it more clearly expresses the actual function of the skeletal musculature of being used by the affective sensorimotor system to project or extend the motive into contact with the environment so that the exteroceptors may be exposed to appropriate stimuli. The affective sensorimotor system is used to apply to the whole autonomic nervous system and the visceral, circulatory and facial muscles. The facial muscles seem to have the function of affect genesis as well as projection of the affect.
keys consists of extension of the hind legs, elevation of the buttocks, lowering of the shoulders with flexion of the arms, turning of the head to face backwards and vigorous smacking of the lips, with final raising and turning back of the head so that the lips may be brought in contact with the lips of the mate, we may then assume that the monkey's affective state is such that adequate stimulation of a well-defined type is required; and that just as the behavior of the projicient-motor system is similar in several monkeys so is the behavior of the affective-motor system similar. If this behavior is expressed spontaneously before another monkey we may be sure that his affective state is such that his sexual position is compelled to the degree of its repetition, and definite stimuli are needed just as, in principle, food is needed to appease hunger, although they are not so vitally essential. If he assumes the sexual position after a beating and only maintains it momentarily, we assume that another motive is at work in the individual, and if he runs away we are safe in assuming that a defensive motive is active within him, and if during flight he shows his front teeth, draws back his ears and squeals or shrieks a shrill, piercing high pitched sound, that the motive is complicated by fear and anger which might determine his behavior to end in a defensive fight if the persecution is pushed too far.

A and B or D and E, when paired off in separate cages, usually assumed the sexual position for one another upon the slightest expression of desire for it by the other, and usually responded to the wishes of the one in the sexual position whenever that position was assumed.

The individual's method of expressing his desire that the other monkey should assume the sexual position was shown by a characteristic smacking of the lips, pulling upward on the hind quarters of the sexual object, touching, looking at and often smelling of the genitalia and anus of the object. If the affective-motive (desire) was slight this was all that happened. If the exposure of the visual, olfactory and tactile receptors generated more sexual affect it was manifested in the more vigorous play of the aggressor and more animated smacking of the lips. Its intensification was often further expressed by the soft voice sounds. This usually aroused like responses in the sexual object and the play continued until the summation of affect, resulting from the stimulation of most of the major receptor zones, had generated a very active sexual craving. Insertion of the penis into the anus was finally made, followed by rapid strokes and kissing of the lips until mild general convulsive move-
ments resulted. In dogs, rabbits, and sometimes in the case of E, it had been observed that the convulsive movements were followed by a condition not unlike a transitory functional paralysis, in that for some moments walking movements were made with apparent difficulty. The transitory functional paralysis attending a complete orgasm seems to be the ultimate reaction sought for as the erogenous play advances from one stage to another, and after a period of rest the play begins all over again. Similar functional changes are observed to follow some forms of epileptic convulsions; and psychotics, particularly women, are fond of complaining of their exhaustion after fancied, perhaps hallucinated, sexual relations which are supposed to have occurred during sleep.

Perhaps some observations of the behavior of these monkeys will best illustrate their usual social and sexual behavior.

All the monkeys were mildly hungry when the observations reported here were made.

A, B and C were in a cage together. E was admitted. E mounted A immediately. B tried to touch E's genitalia while E was mounted on A, who had assumed the sexual position for him. E struck at B's hand and B moved behind E. B tried to mount E while E was still mounted upon A. E pushed B away. Then B pulled A away from E and assumed the sexual position before E. E then mounted B. After a few seconds E again mounted A. B pulled A away a second time and substituted himself backing up to E. A then pulled at E's scrotum while E was mounted on B and B barked threateningly at A for interfering. A was intimidated and moved away. B stopped barking. Then A returned again. This occurred several times in a few minutes. Finally A refused to be intimidated by the warning barks, and B's anger became intensified. Evidently A's erotic state was stronger than his fear state although his cautiousness revealed the compromise. Then B scratched A viciously. A screamed and retired. For several minutes A did not take part in the play and showed little spontaneous activity. He was depressed. Later A again started to interfere with the sexual play of B and E and this time E scratched at him.

All of this time C isolated herself by sitting in a corner and chewed the food in her cheek pouches. When E pulled her out of the corner to play with her she joined in the play as long as necessary. Later B and C played with E but when E tried to pull A into the play A showed his teeth and emitted squeals of mingled anger and fear. He was still affected by the previous punishment.
and he made many incoördinated movements as he climbed up and down the wire screen to escape. Incoördinated movements, as a functional disturbance, seem to result from conflicting affective-motor states that are adjusting to one another. They may result from conflicts between intense affective states such as fear or hunger, or during one dominating affective state such as fear, in the comparatively simple reflex adjustments for escape, as in trying to climb up and down the screen at the same time.

Later B, C and E were playing freely. Suddenly F, who was with D in another cage and watching the play, barked viciously at the players. His barking was of a characteristic kind which was always followed by an assault which frequently terminated in the sexual act. B instantly projected similar sharp, chattering, barking sounds at C. Like F’s, his erector spinæ muscles were tensely contracted, tail and head were slightly elevated and thrust outward. He also squinted his eyes and smacked his lips. From what followed, his motive was to divert the attention of F from himself to C, but also the sadistic punishment of C that followed generated a marked wave of eroticism in all the monkeys. C gave every evidence of panic. She screamed, exposed her teeth, turned her back and tried to escape. B caught her and bit her savagely. This unusually intense aggressiveness in his behavior may be explained by the fact that B was already the host of intensely erotic motives before this occurred, and erotic motives are always strongly aggressive.

D and F, who had previously been indifferent toward one another, became very active. D mounted F and vigorously attempted to copulate. F continued his barking. E caught B and mounted him, stopping his pursuit of C.

About ten minutes later B again started this peculiar form of assault upon C. This time C promptly projected a similar counterattack upon A, diverting B’s attention to A. A became panicky and tried to run away. He exposed his teeth and squealed shrilly. (This panicky behavior seems identifiable with that of men and women who are hallucinating homosexual assaults.) C continued her threats and gradually approached A. E mounted B, while C chased A about the cage, scratching him. F and D, who had ceased playing, now renewed their erotic interests and mounted each other

6 Strikingly similar squinting of the eyes and smacking of the lips (but of course more suppressed) were observed in the homosexual advances made by two American diners to several Hawaian serenaders in a ship’s dining saloon.
in turn. C continued her vicious pursuit and B continued the same form of barking that was originally projected at C and probably urged her on. B was held by E and could not pursue. Then E released B and reached for A when he came near. Finally E mounted C. C promptly quit barking at A and A at once stopped running. So quickly did his behavior change upon cessation of its stimulus, C's attitude, that he at once returned to E and C, as if to take part in the play. B assumed the sexual position beside C while she was mounted by E, evidently as an invitation to E. Then A chuckled his pleasure, uttering a series of notes identifiable with his expression of pleasure upon acquiring a favorite food.

Sadistic forms of play, such as the persecution of C by B or A by C, as shown by the sexual reactions of the other monkeys had a distinct erotic influence, perhaps an erotic value; and may be comparable to the erotic influence of bull fights, cock fights, dog fights and prize fights so popular with men.

When D and F were admitted to A, B, C and E, F renewed his assault upon B, which was so vicious that B screamed with terror. B's defense was to seek the protection of E by getting behind E and even crawling under him. E struck at F. E has been seen to throw F off the perch to prevent him from reaching B. In this instance F finally caught B, who became catatonic and passively allowed F to manipulate him.

Monkeys will often protect their favorites from persecution by other monkeys even at the risk of severe punishment. The monkey whose protection is sought is usually the sexual favorite. C was observed to viciously attack F when F was punishing B. B was C's favorite and she solicited his sexual interest more frequently than that of the other four.

This method of projecting a counter-attack upon another individual was a defensive procedure frequently resorted to. The projected but defensive attack was always made upon some weaker monkey, and where it could not be, or in a way in which it could not be defeated in its purpose by the victim getting too far away to distract the original persecutor. When D or E threatened F he would quickly, when possible, counter-attack B, C or A. When B was persecuted he would divert it upon C or A, and C would divert the attacks of F upon A. A had no weaker monkey to attack but would probably have made use of the same impulses. This valuable method of defense used by the infrahuman primate has been even more zealously developed by man in his social relations.

In every instance of defensive counter-attack by a monkey two
motives played a very active part; *fear of the persecutor*, and *anger at the threatened offense, which was projected upon a weaker individual*. It is the most characteristic defensive method of the paranoid, who logically systemizes a counter-attack upon some object from which he will not be diverted, and pursues the charge so persistently that it not only prevents anyone from discussing the underlying complex which persecutes him, but it prevents him from becoming conscious of it. In this manner he protects himself from himself and others. In every case of paranoia fear of an unmodifiable tendency which persecutes him works in the background of his paranoid system. Daily all people substitute and disguise, counter-charge, or use polyvalent or symbolic phrases to protect themselves from the unpleasant charges and criticism of associates. The parrying value of logic in the great religious controversies, the polyvalent phrases of politicians are universal examples of this practical defensive trick which man inherited from the monkey.

**THE CATATONIC ATTITUDE AS A REFLEX DEFENSIVE ADAPTATION**

In the macaque the catatonic type of adaptation is a defense quite frequently used by assaulted monkeys when no other escape seems possible. *A, B, C and F* were observed to become catatonic at various times when intimidated by a stronger monkey.

The following observations will best illustrate the nature of such catatonic adaptations.

*D* and *F* were caged together. *C*, whose genitalia were swollen and bleeding, probably menstruating, was admitted. *F* began to pet her and examine her. *D* scratched at her and growled threateningly. *C* promptly fled into a corner, showed her teeth and turned her back. Then *D* reached down and pulled her out of the corner by her head. She allowed him to pull her head far to one side and passively held it in this awkward position for nearly a minute (esti-

7 Turning the back upon everything in the cage seemed to show that no acquisitive interests were entertained, thereby assuring complete dominance of the situation to the opponent and no tendency to conflict with his acquisitive interests. This interpretation is based upon the promptness with which the stronger monkeys force the weaker monkeys to postpone their interest in food when it is put in the cage. Threats are not projected at the monkey so long as he sits meekly in a corner with his back turned, and threats are generally stopped when the weaker monkey goes into a corner. Following such threats I have seen very hungry monkeys refuse to take food even if it touched their hands. When the monkey was only slightly hungry a threatening glance was sufficient to cause a retreat, but when his hunger was excessive actual punishment was often necessary.
mated) after $D$ had abandoned her (flexibilitas cerea). $F$ now approached and pulled her head around. She was perfectly plastic. He pulled her lips apart and examined her teeth. She continued plastic. He studied her face with much interest. Then he bit gently at her throat. Then he parted her lips again and examined her gums and teeth with his eyes and fingers. Then he slapped her several times and continued to watch her mouth. Finally $F$ left her. There was apparently a certain amount of sexual satisfaction in this for her because now she raised her buttocks and held herself for further examination. $D$ and $F$ did not respond to this. A few minutes later $C$ unhesitatingly seated herself between $D$ and $F$. Then $D$ took her muzzle into his mouth. $F$ separated her arms while she was still seated. Then he examined with his fingers and eyes the area occupied in the male by the scrotum, and upon not finding it closely applies his nose apparently to further orient himself. He tried to lift her up so that he might examine her buttocks. She resisted the latter procedure. Even though he persisted she did not seem to be afraid and did not expose her teeth.

Catatonics experience sensory images (hallucinations) of being examined, manipulated, having eyes removed, viscera removed, bones broken, being sexually assaulted, etc., and frequently reveal afterwards that mingled fear and eroticism determined this reflex unconscious type of adjustment to the fearful yet pleasant sensations. The researches of Cannon and Crile have demonstrated that profound metabolic and functional variations occur when strong affective states are aroused. The physiological disturbances in such cases have led to inferences that probably cerebral lesions and toxemias were the cause of catatonia. The frequent abrupt abandonment by the catatonic of his attitude indicates that it is a reflex adaptation rather than of toxic or organic origin.

**Sexual Favors Offered to Retain Food and Protection**

Sexual favors were frequently offered so as to retain possession of food. Food was occasionally shared with a sexual favorite by a stronger monkey, who at the same time refused some of it to another monkey toward whom he was sexually more indifferent. $B$ would allow $A$, a sexual favorite, to take food that he had gathered, but would threaten $C$ if she came near. Sexual favorites also obtained protection from assault by other monkeys and frequently sought this protection.
Observation.—A, B, C, E and F were caged together. D was admitted. All of the monkeys made chuckling sounds presumably expressing pleasure, for none seemed to be afraid, and the sound was almost identical to that often emitted when food is obtained which is eaten ravenously. E mounted D. B pulled an orange out of the food box and D grabbed it. E tried several times to grab the orange from D and approached D cautiously. D turned his back and assumed the sexual position. E mounted D and no longer tried to obtain the orange.

Observation.—A, B, C and F were caged together. A piece of apple was handed to B. F tried to grab it. B evaded F and then made sexual overtures to him, smacked his lips and assumed the sexual position for him, but also slyly continued to eat. F did not molest B further.

Another piece of apple was handed to B. F again tried to grab it. B immediately assumed the sexual position and F mounted B. Then B sat up before F and ate his apple openly and unmolested. This procedure was interesting because the sight of food held by a weaker monkey usually invited a prompt assault. Usually the weaker monkey would run away or try to hide the fact that he was holding food. Prostitution is essentially the giving of sexual favors for economic advantages and physical protection. It is interesting to note that in man so soon as the sexual favor is spontaneously offered for its true affective value, the social censorship weakens.

A series of brief mountings followed and all four monkeys associated so closely together that they were more or less in contact with one another. This very rarely happened when the sadistic F was present. Then A, who was extremely timid and fearful of F, grabbed F and tried to pull him into the sexual position and mount him. F then drew A up to him and A did not show the slightest apprehension, a fact which, when compared with all the observed adaptations of A to F, was remarkable.

D was then admitted and F mounted D. A and B looked on eagerly from behind F, lowered their heads and apparently tried to see F's attempt to make an anal insertion.

Here also may be noted the excellent demonstration of A's erotic acquisitive faculties when he was not obsessed by fear. The relationship of promiscuous acquisitiveness with eroticism will later be discussed more fully with examples.
The Mechanism of Erotogenesis

The biological potency of the individual monkey, relative to the sexual act, hence reproduction of the species, is dependent upon the functions of the sexual reflexes, considering the organic constitution to be normal. The sensorimotor sexual reflexes do not work unless the appropriate stimuli are applied. The appropriate stimuli which will cause reactions of a frank sexual nature, in one sense, constitute quite a variety, and they vary both with the individual and his affective state. Their stimulating values shade from the subliminal to those causing maximal reactions which latter are apparently selected when obtainable. Stimuli which tend to cause maximal reactions apparently fluctuate in value, depending upon the state of sexual fatigue or affective craving and the newness of the stimuli.

In another sense, when all forms of stimuli are included that may cause some form of reflex response when permitted to play upon a certain receptor field, say forms of light stimuli playing upon the visual receptor fields, the kinds of stimuli that may cause frank sexual excitement are decidedly well defined and comparatively limited. This is true also for all other receptor fields and their forms of sexually appropriate stimuli. By such principles we can understand how a monkey's behavior, which is characteristically that of anger at a cat or snake, may quickly change to sexual excitement when it sees the cat's or snake's anus.

Much of the future work of psychiatry will be concerned with the reconstruction of the personality in the sense of shifting the values of undesirable forms of stimuli, which have become adequate for the primary sexual reflexes, to such forms and zones of receptors as meet with the approval of his race.

A, F and C, two males and a young female, though mechanically appropriate for use as sexual objects, were differentiated from B and D as less fitting, judging from the comparative infrequency of their selection by E. This is best explained by the probability that E was peculiarly sensitized, "conditioned," to react more affectively to the acquired and inherent qualities of D and B than to A, C and F. E, when sexually semifatigued or indifferent, as shown by his repeated but brief, futile attempts at copulation with the willing D or B, would freely expose other receptor fields to erotic forms of stimulation besides the visual. In this behavior he was like all the others. He would expose his visual and olfactory receptors to the anus and genitalia, the gustatory and visual receptors to the lips and genitalia, and the tactile receptor fields to the body and more espe-
cially the genitalia of his sexual object. He would also expose his primary erotic zones, the anus and genitalia, to manipulation. Within a brief time, varied probably according to the degree of his fatigue or the excited state of his object, he would display intense eroticism and copulate vigorously.

A patient, physically normal, was in an anxiety state because when he attempted sexual intercourse with a woman, who was otherwise personally attractive to him, he always had to visualize the face of a man (a former sexual object) to replace the face of the woman. Another patient always visualized the face of a certain type of woman whenever he attempted sexual intercourse with any woman. Still another patient, sexually indifferent at the time, resorted to oral erotic acts to arouse himself sufficiently to have sexual relations. A young soldier was admitted in a serious anxiety state because he had lost his heterosexual potency after oral sexual relations with a woman. The normal act after this experience was disagreeable. Such instances are fairly common observations in the sexual lives of men and women. Invariably they become anxious, worried, or even panicky because they try to force their erotogenic reflexes to react to socially authorized forms of stimulation when it is a functional impossibility for them to do so. Like an isolated band of male monkeys who revert to homosexual relations, groups of isolated men also normally revert to forms of homosexual relations whenever esthetic, athletic and refined interests are not strongly and consistently encouraged. This frequently occurs in prisons, asylums, and among soldiers and sailors. Too severe moral restrictions of heterosexual interests in such men is an extremely serious innovation and one that must be given the gravest consideration before the misconceptions of certain types of well-intentioned moralists are applied.

E, often, after incomplete copulation with D would withdraw and prostrate himself on the floor so that he could rub his penis on the boards and continue this until an emission of semen resulted, accompanied by a mild, diffuse twitching of the muscles of his trunk and limbs, and a final relaxation of his muscles. E was also observed to attempt masturbation while mounted upon D and trying to make an anal insertion. D has been seen to reach back and manipulate E's genitalia while E was mounted upon him, and also manipulate his own penis as a part of the erotogenic play.

Sexual indifference may result from either the inappropriateness of the sexual object or from fatigue of the sexual sensorimotor system through excessive stimulation by a too constant object, or
when other affective disturbances are present such as anger, fear, hunger, etc.

When monkeys have lived together for several days erotogenesis does not occur through stimulation of the distance receptors (visual, auditory and olfactory) alone, but the additional stimulation of cutaneous tactile and labial tactile receptors and intensive olfactory stimulation are resorted to. This is corroborated by Hamilton’s observations.

Sexual reinvigoration may promptly occur upon presentation of a new sexual object of adequate type. For example, after D and E had been caged together for several days they became sexually indifferent to one another, for little or no sexual play occurred. Then when C (a comparatively inappropriate sexual object) was admitted they did little more than bluff her by staring and growling at her. C promptly isolated herself by going into a corner. When B was admitted, almost immediately E began to play with B, mingling overt sexual acts with playful wrestling until the affective state was one of marked eroticism, as manifested by their persistent attempts at copulation. Hamilton has observed similar phenomena, and has reported that monkeys, when they are sexually semifatigued, expose their erotogenic receptors to intensive stimulation of an adequate nature before copulation recurs, and yet the same monkey in such a condition of sexual indifference to his companion, if allowed to have another mate, may rush into a sexual embrace with great excitement and without previous stimulation; apparently reacting to the new stimulation of his distance receptors. Similar behavior also occurs in man; such as the frequent sexual interest between social and business companions, the married man and his mistress, the married woman and her lover, and the affective indifference between many married couples. Perhaps no other features of the constitution of man has caused so much social turmoil and self-imposed distress as this phylogenetic predisposition of his affective-sensorimotor system. He likes to think of it as an impersonal thing and calls it the work of the devil, evil, immorality, the result of the sins of Adam and Eve, the wickedness of the flesh, and threatens his unruly neurones with the pains of hell fire and even castration. Hatred, anxiety, divorces, insanity, suicides, murders and social ruination commonly result from the conflicts with this phylogenetic predisposition of erotogenesis.

A sexually obsessed social system, as it is at present constituted, cannot be favorable to the biological welfare of our species. It certainly does not tolerate the biological sincerity of the individual. A
patient's mother was freely referred to during this excitement and clearly identifiable with the hallucinated image.

The sexual interests of male monkeys which have not reached the adult stage, as above indicated, are much more related to the same sex than to the opposite sex. The tendency seems to be towards an increase of interest in the opposite sex after the adult development has been reached, but even then the total or even a very decided abandonment of homosexual interests has not been observed. Because of its uniform occurrence during the growth of monkeys, the precedence of the homosexual stage to the heterosexual must be considered normal in the evolution of the individual. Perhaps this is partly due to competition for mates and punishment of the weaker rivals, the young males and females. The homosexual as well as the heterosexual functions appear to be developed through experience. F tried to find C's genitalia where he found the genitalia of males. D, E and F were larger than A, B and C and had to learn how to accommodate to the stature of the smaller monkeys in order to perform the sexual act. A, B and C had to learn that sexual favors procured protection, food and immunity from assault. Pain and unpleasant experiences, fear and hunger inhibited the sexual interest, while pleasant conditions were conducive to free play of the sexual interests. C, the young female, was comparatively rarely sought as a sexual object. All five males showed much more interest in their own sex, but this may have been due to C's youth. Hamilton found that regression to the homosexual interests as a rule occurred quickly upon removal of the female or with the possibility of punishment by a dominant male. This seems to be comparable in man to the homosexual who dreams of affectionate relations with his mother (a fixed, unattainable, definite, heterosexual object, and hates his dominating father).

In man the universal precedence of overt or disguised homosexual interests during the growth of the individual is recognized as normal. The gradual transfer to heterosexual interests has been found, through the analysis of a large series of men and women, to be a delicate functional procedure with a constant liability to regression to homosexual interests until a thorough heterosexual transfer is made. If, because of the absence of a heterosexual object or painful heterosexual interests and fearful experiences such as disappointment in love, fear, pain, disease, etc., regression to the preceding homosexual affections occurs, the interests tend to become unmodifiable fixed after a certain age (about thirty?). Homosexual fixation and heterosexual failure is in a large group of individuals de-
terminated by the organic constitution of the individual, but a still larger functional group of males and females, who are organically normal, have had their sexual reflexes so "conditioned" by pleasant and unpleasant experiences that, despite all conscious wishes to regulate them, they have become fixed homosexual types.

Fixation at the homosexual level in either sex is recognized as a biological failure and is the cause of, in many cases, the gravest states of anxiety, with perhaps complete wrecking of the personality or suicide. Many individuals, after they have developed a comfortable margin of heterosexual affective tendencies, when they recall their past homosexual interests, experience so much unpleasantness that they vigorously censure anything, whether scientific or not, that may influence this recall.

It is most important that psychiatrists and students of human behavior should recognize the universal occurrence of anxiety in man—observed in native Germans, Armenians, Canadians, English, French, Japanese, Austrians, Americans, Negroes and others—resulting from the conflict with an irrepresible craving to become the homosexual object when they are unable to abolish the tendency. Individuals will boastfully tell of their homosexual experiences when another man was the sexual object and yet have the most intense distress, even to committing suicide, when they become conscious of an irrepresible affective craving to become the homosexual object. One young American boastfully related his experiences with a homosexual prostitute who gave him a dollar that he might become his sexual object. Later he performed oral erotic acts upon his wife's genitalia; but when he became obsessed with an irrepresible erotic motive to become the homosexual object he committed suicide.

Some of the most profound and irrecoverable tendencies to chronic dissociations of the personality are based upon the fearful anxiety caused by complete sexual inversion. Why it is universally considered to be more "effeminate," "weak," "unmanly" or "deficient" to be the homosexual object than to be the homosexual patron seems to have its foundation farther back in the phylogenetic scale than the influence of social culture. Hamilton observed eleven monkeys at large for several weeks and never observed that a sexually mature uncastrated monkey assumed the sexual position for copulation with a weaker fellow. In my band of monkeys the stronger male was never observed to assume the female sexual position until he had gratified his desires. The degree of eroticism and strength as firmly determined sexual play as the degree of hunger and strength determined the acquisition of
food. Homosexual submission in monkeys seems to be a form of expressing submission to a stronger monkey's power which would necessarily imply inferiority. A, B and C often assumed the sexual position before a stronger monkey when he became aggressive and he would usually stop his threats. Sexual inverted tend to become decidedly submissive in voice and manner.

Probably the irrepressible sexual craving to assume the female rôle in the sexual act causes so much distress because the individual's other wishes, namely to be "manly," "strong," biologically as potent as others, are so seriously conflicted with and belied.

Hamilton observed that eunuchs, although they attempted copulation with females, would assume the sexual position for smaller and weaker males. On the other hand, he noted that in two monkeys who arrived at sexual maturity at about the same time, one would as likely assume the sexual position as the other. E and D tended to do this also, especially after several months of sexual play, but whenever E and D were apparently equally erotic E dominated D. Patients, while in the panic stage of sexual inversion, often believe that they will be castrated (rendered impotent) and forced to become the sexual object of a more powerful male (father imago).

The homosexual behavior of the infrahuman primates clearly shows that comparative inferiority, physical weakness and biological impotence are acknowledged by the sexual object in his submission to the wishes of the aggressor. This, as an inherent characteristic, may be the biological root of the grave distress shown by men and women who cannot modify their tendencies to submit themselves as homosexual objects (biologically unproductive, hence perhaps censured by the species). Furthermore the incessant anxiety when it occurs with such deficiencies apparently permits two solutions: either resignation to the tendency and indifference to the censuring social demands in order to escape anxiety, as shown by the psychogenic dement; or incessant, uncompromising striving to acquire relief from the distress of consciousness of personal biological deficiencies by winning, or demanding as in the case of the grandiose paranoiac, the acknowledgment of indebtedness from his society for some valuable social service that he fancies he has rendered. The more valuable his service and extensive the recognition, the more potent as a biological factor does he feel himself to be. Thereby he makes a psychological compensation for his biological deficiencies. Such individuals, when the anxiety from the censorship of the social self is not too severe, often make most valuable contributions to the progress of civilization.
Hamilton is inclined to believe, even though homosexual play is preferred to heterosexual play in immature males, since it is less freely indulged in after maturity and relatively more heterosexual play occurs, that in their native habitat homosexual play may be altogether abandoned after maturity. The probability that homosexuality is very essential to the macaque for the development of his sexual functions and gregarious tendencies is suggested by the fact that the five males under my observation showed so much more sexual interest in one another than in C, even during what seemed to be her menstrual periods when she was most erotic.

In man homosexual interests occur so universally during the growth of the individual that, if considered in relation to his phylogenetic history, they must perform a very important biological function and should be given the most careful consideration in the near future in order that we may understand their psychological significance.

Monkeys, baboons and probably apes, children and many adults of both sexes, when erotic are bisexual and ambivalent in that they may become either the sexual object or the sexual patron, depending upon the influence of the sexual companion. In either instance the individual is in reality aggressive in the sense of seeking stimuli that will neutralize his or her affective state, even to forcibly removing competitors as in the reported behavior of B and A with E.

**Sexual Desire and Acquisitiveness**

When the monkey is not hungry and is sexually fatigued his acquisitive faculties are in their lowest stages and, provided that he is not uneasy about his safety, he is contented to sit quietly in a corner and sleep. When he becomes hungry again his acquisitive faculties are concerned almost entirely with the accumulation of food in his stomach and maintenance of his safety. If he is tired of his food, peanuts for example, he quite energetically works out puzzles to obtain other food. He has been seen to draw peanuts out of the puzzle box, then drop them and try for other pieces of food that were more difficult to obtain. But after his hunger is satisfied he sits about disinterested in the little things in his environment if his sexual hunger is also appeased. It is surprising, however, how energetic he is and what tremendous curiosity he has when he is sexually hungry even though not food hungry. He investigates everything, seems to be particularly fond of holes, crevices and movable objects, and likes to play. He apparently reacts with
sexual affect to a large variety of animated objects in his environment that do not cause fear, such as cats, dogs, foxes, guinea-pigs, snakes, men, children, etc. All seem to be more or less appropriate stimuli for his sexual acquisitive faculties, especially if he may play with and examine them. The examination may have an erotogenic influence.

Since the social favorites of the monkey are also his sexual favorites, does it mean that his social interests are but preliminary forms of play which, if adequate, will lead to overt sexual play? Are social and sexual interests identifiable? If the term sexual is applied to all forms of play that may eventually lead to marked eroticism and overt sexual acts, it includes practically every form of behavior that may be called social except that of mutual protection, assistance in supplying food and migration.

Hamilton has not recorded, and I was unable to observe, whether or not two monkeys would rush into a sexual embrace entirely in response to stimulation of the distance receptors. It is likely that previous contact forms of stimulation and a certain degree of familiarity would be necessary. Monkeys, however, who have familiarized themselves with one another will rush into a sexual embrace in response to merely distance receptor stimulation, but such reactions have already been "conditioned" by previous forms of mutual contact stimulation. Hence, we may consider that erotogenesis depends upon certain forms of play, like E's performances with D and B; and upon certain affective reactions toward one another as in A's surprising attempt at copulation with F when F was so unusually affable, or F's unpopularity as a sexual object because of his fear-hatred reactions and exposed teeth. Monkeys seem to adopt one another as companions for the libidinous pleasures that they give each other.

Man has found it necessary to protect himself from himself (his sexual tendencies) in his social relations and append a rigorous taboo or censorship of all suggestions that hint too freely of overt sexual interests. It is found necessary to have chaperoned most forms of social relations, which implies that practically all such social relations are habitually associated with the sex problem and are inherently a part of the same acquisitive tendencies. A soldier, stationed for four months with several companions far out in the wilderness among snow-covered mountains, complained that the terrible loneliness was responsible for the excessive masturbation among the men. Apparently the men became instances of the reversion to autoeroticism, in which the individual becomes a self-sufficient eroto-
genic mechanism and his own sexual object in order to avoid suffering depression from the loss of an object for his affections.

F, a relatively sexually isolated monkey, was more inclined to manipulate his genitalia than the other monkeys were.

The principle of adopting favorite sexual objects is worthy of further study. Hamilton reports a female monkey who was fond of copulating with a dog and sought him out whenever he entered the yard.

When a kitten was placed in the cage with A, B and C, A, who was afraid of the kitten, continually tried to intimidate it by threatening an attack. He made practically no sexual advances to the kitten. B, on the other hand, was not afraid of the kitten after a few minutes of observation and soon made sexual advances, examining the kitten’s anus, attempting copulation and later picking for fleas. Undoubtedly, as in the case of Hamilton’s monkey who sought to be the sexual object of a dog, and the baboons who readily selected certain monkeys for sexual gratification, we observe that when baboons and monkeys find animals which do not cause fear and are satisfactory sexual objects they tend to associate with them and in a sense to adopt them.

A cat has been observed to nurse rats, hens to raise ducklings and to protect kittens; children adopt pets and become strongly attached to them, personify them, substitute them as companions and have a marked sexual interest in them. A very intelligent woman adopted a puppy to suckle her breasts after she had weaned her baby. She told her physician that she felt very affectionate toward the puppy. Sheepherders, cowboys, hostlers and farmers have been known to adopt their animals for sexual purposes. Children and animals, adults and animals, and the reverse often react with eroticism at the erotic behavior of the others. Polymorphous perverse reactions are quite common in children and adults of poorly sublimated types and in some instances of otherwise highly sublimated types. Because of these facts and the adoption of nonprimates for sexual purposes by some infrahuman species, we are led to infer that primitive man’s (perhaps one might say the ape-man’s) acquisitive faculties relative to making companions of non-primates first resulted from efforts to gratify his sexual cravings. Later in man’s phylogenetic career he became conscious of the food, work and clothing value of his pets and their offspring. He accidentally learned, after long periods of time, to gather flocks and packs, perhaps through the casual benefit which he first derived from the young naturally resulting from the breeding of his pets.
One might prefer to believe that primitive man first adopted animals and fowls for future use as food or for work. This is contrary to the usual methods of learning because every new step forward in the more intricate development of the individual is an extremely laborious, difficult process and usually results from an accidental situation incurred while trying to pursue the ordinary, habitual methods of adaptation. Children associate with their pets as personified companions for play long before they learn of their usefulness for work, hunting or food. Most of the higher animals, including apes and monkeys, kill when they wish canivorous food at the time they wish it. This is much more simple than the complicated behavior of capturing and herding for future use.

The low-grade mental defective, who has sufficient capacity to attend to the simple needs of the present, may be wholly disinterested in or incapable of spontaneously performing any acts that have no present value except in their bearing on future needs.

Because of the monkey's tremendous erotogenic capacities his acquisitions were accumulated largely through his experiences as he sought an object for his affections. Perhaps through just such omnipresent acquisitive striving were, through trial and error, acquired the sensorimotor capacities which were so admirably suited for accidental, novel, spontaneous associations and resulted in developing the faculties of imitation, discovery, imagination and creation to the present complex state found in man. The acquisitive faculties of children are often tremendously increased even to precociousness when their sexual interests are secretly aroused by objects in their environment.

Other Sexual Substitutions and Sexual Sublimation

Man is greatly dependent for his uplift upon the effective sublimation of his homosexual and heterosexual erotogenic capacities, and many of his truly fine and valuable achievements in science, art, literature, religion and his social system are fruits of this sublimation of his sexual-affective motives. Upon the other hand much of the universal element of hatred, anxiety, persecution and distrust that largely determines the present constitution of our social system results from the discomforts caused by our unintelligent persecution and suppression of our vital biological needs.

One of the most important and at present most insistent problems of psychology and psychiatry is the acquirement of insight into the sexual evolution of man, and the possible, natural methods
of sublimation and refinement of his erotogenic capacities and the healthy suppression of perverse tendencies.

By sublimation is meant the natural substitution of useful, artistic, or abstract objects for the actual object required by the affect. For example, an unmarried sculptress who desires a child and cannot marry creates bronze and marble babies. The creative affect is satisfied to a comfortable degree and civilization is benefited by her artistic creations. If, however, she had not been trained to satisfy her affective cravings through her art, or some other adequate form of creative work, her persistent affective needs would eventually have either forced a socially censured motherhood or burdened society with a neurotic woman.

The easier it becomes for man to gratify his hunger, provide physical comforts and remove the causes of fear from his environment the more serious will grow the problem of sublimating his excess of libido.

**Conclusion**

In the infrahuman primates as well as in the genus *Homo*, homosexual interests predominate and normally precede heterosexual interests until the adult stage is well established. Homosexual interests occur in both sexes but are more common in the male.

The acquisition of an adequate sexual object for the affective cravings promptly proceeds if it is not inhibited by fear.

The transfer of the affective cravings from a homosexual type of object to a heterosexual object is a very delicate biological procedure and one that must not be inhibited by fear.

Reversion to homosexuality in isolated groups of males or females, such as prisoners, soldiers and sailors, normally occurs if adequate outlets for sublimation are not provided.

Submission as a homosexual object is implicated with biological inferiority in the infrahuman primate. This is probably the phylogenetic root of man’s conscious, ineradicable recognition of homosexuality as a biological deficiency.

In the infrahuman primate as in man, sexual submission is practised in order to procure food (clothing), and protection.

Catatonic adaptations are reflexly practised by the infrahuman primates as well as by the human primate as a defense.

Vicious, diverting counter-attacks upon an inoffensive object are used for defensive purposes by monkeys. This is in principle comparable to the persistent, systematized counter-attack of the paranoid
type of psychotic as a defense to avoid consciousness of his biological deficiencies which persecute him.

The infrahuman primate tends to adopt a variety of animals that do not cause fear, for his sexual cravings; a step preceding the permanent adoption of animals for his affective cravings by primitive man. This principle, of sexual substitution, was probably the foundation of that tremendously important step in man's biological career, namely the subjugation of herds, packs and flocks.

Probably nothing else so much as the failure of psychiatrists to recognize the true nature of the affective needs of individuals has obscured our insight into the psychogenic psychoses and neuroses. The phylogenetic constitution of man, as we find it completely exposed in the infrahuman primate, obsesses him with what he feels to be perverse tendencies as he strives to behave in an ideally civilized manner and plunges him into the depths of despair when he fails. Psychoanalysis of the individual's personality reveals to him his repressed phylogenetic strivings as they are "conditioned" by the earlier experiences of his life and enables him to adopt an attitude of mind which reduces this conflict with his "fixed" tendencies to a minimum and may save him from anxiety, despair and a psychosis. Furthermore, as Jung has pointed out, it should assist him in synthesizing an efficient, pleasing trend of sublimation.
But the obsession probably corresponded to the imaginary fulfillment of still another wish, namely, a wish for pregnancy. I have already stated that Stella's menstruation had always been irregular. During the period of her father's nocturnal ministrations, and on such occasions as she did not become unwell when she expected, she was always terrified by the thought that she was pregnant by him. (It should be added that this fear, which, of course, can be readily translated as the fulfillment of a wish, is not as absurd as it seems, for her knowledge of how impregnation is effected was at that time very vague.) A wish to be pregnant by her father as well as by others had even entered her consciousness at times, for she well remembered that she had frequently indulged in day phantasies having that as a theme and content. That the wish to be pregnant was uppermost in Stella's mind on that particular night can hardly be doubted, for Mrs. Denzer had two children the possession of which Stella greatly envied her and which she at times took pleasure in imagining were her own. An additional fact which I learned much later was that Stella was expecting to be unwell on the night the obsession appeared. But, since she had this expectation on the fateful night, her bandaging herself on retiring was not so entirely without reasonable motivation as it at first seemed. This act was in part prompted by the reflection that the flow was due to appear, and when on the morrow it had not done so, she had a sort of confirmation of the idea she had been assaulted; that is, she found herself displaying one of the symptoms of pregnancy.¹

To sum up, then, our present knowledge of the obsession, it formed an imaginary fulfillment to two wishes, one to be assaulted

¹Some additional data in regard to the non-appearance of her period will be produced later.
and the other to be pregnant and to have children. The wish to be assaulted, as Stella pointed out, was not so much a desire for the act itself as a wish that through no fault of hers she would be placed in such a position that she would have nothing further to lose by illicit sexual relations. The obsession also served as a means of obtaining compensation for the loss of her father’s sexual attentions and for denying herself the pleasure of marrying the young man who was then courting her. Just why she did not take advantage of this opportunity to gratify her desires in a normal way by marrying him will become clearer as we go on with the analysis.

But, before temporarily leaving the subject of this obsession, as we will have to do now, let me express a hope that no one will be hasty in judging the interpretation offered as fanciful and absurd, for at a later stage in the report of this analysis, material is to be produced, which, to my mind at least, forms most adequate and surprising confirmation.

**(d) The Main Sources of Resistance against Marriage**

We shall now again occupy ourselves with the theme of Stella’s relations with her husband. The analysis had been in progress, if I remember correctly, between two and three months when a very serious occurrence took place. Barney, who, without my knowledge, had for some little time complained of a cough and a tendency to become easily tired, finally presented himself at a public clinic, where, after being examined, he received the depressing intelligence that he suffered from pulmonary tuberculosis. This diagnosis was soon confirmed at other clinics, and, consequently, preparations were immediately made for sending him to a sanitarium in the country.

When Stella, who for a few days had been so fully occupied that she did not present herself at the dispensary, resumed her visits and communicated to me this distressing information I was surprised to observe that there apparently was not the slightest change in her mental condition, either for the worse or for the better. One would naturally expect a crisis of this sort to have produced some exacerbation of her symptoms or, possibly, the reverse and the fact that nothing of the kind occurred immediately arrested my attention, although at the time I could think of no way of explaining it. I did arrive at an explanation, later, however, upon the basis of the facts, which I shall now present.

The first fact which upon analysis seemed to have a bearing on the question in hand was this. Stella had once told me that some-
time in the first three or four months of her coming to the clinic she had conceived the idea that I was an Irishman, and that this thought had caused her to feel a certain aversion or resistance toward me. That she did feel so surprised her considerably, for she had never before been conscious of any prejudice against the Irish; and, in addition, her reason told her that despite her peculiar feeling to the contrary, I was not Irish. I learned eventually that she first felt this aversion toward me one morning when she noticed a spot of blood on my lip, where I had cut myself in shaving. We shall defer for a moment the analysis of this peculiar idea in order to take up the presentation of another.

One day, some weeks before the matter of her husband's tuberculosis came up, Stella inadvertently addressed me as Mr. Frink. This particularly impressed me because, to the best of my recollection, in all our acquaintance of over a year she had never done so before. I immediately asked her to explain her mistake, and she replied that she could not do so, adding, however, that there came to her mind the thought of a certain Mr. Schermer. Asked for some information about this man, Stella told me that she had made his acquaintance a few days before under the following circumstances. A certain relative of her husband had had the misfortune to be arrested for the violation of some sanitary law and at the moment of our conversation was languishing in jail. Stella had been detailed to interview Mr. Schermer, the head of a certain lodge to which the incarcerated one belonged, in the hope of invoking some financial and political aid in that gentleman's behalf. Mr. Schermer had listened to Stella's representations with many expressions of sympathy, but it soon became apparent that his position in the matter could be summed up in the words, "I am sorry, but I can't do anything."

Having concluded the description of her visit to Mr. Schermer, Stella paused. Urged to give further associations, she stated that there came to her mind a certain Mr. Frank, but immediately explained that this association was of no consequence, for she had thought of him merely because his name was so similar to mine.

We are accustomed to find that when two idea groups are connected by a superficial association—one of sound, for instance, as in this case—they are also connected by some deeper, more important, but concealed association. With this in mind, I asked Stella to tell me what occurred to her about Mr. Frank. And, since her association concerning Mr. Schermer had contained the
idea, "he couldn't do anything," I was not surprised when Stella told me that there had been confided to her by Mrs. Frank the information that Mr. F. was impotent. My explanation of Stella's slip of speech was, then, that she had identified me with some other individual who in some undiscovered particular resembled Mr. Frank in being sexually weak and Mr. Schermer in that he "couldn't do anything."

Now, I happened to know that at the time Stella was identifying me with both Max and Barney, for she frequently took occasion to remark that in our looks and manners she perceived many points of resemblance. But, feeling that there was some basis of identification deeper than mere similarity in appearance and manners, I asked of Stella, "Did you think Max was sexually weak?"

"I did," she replied, after a moment's hesitation.

"And do you think me so?" I continued.

"I hope you will excuse me," she replied, laughing, "but I think your are weak, too."

Upon considering this information, however, it at first did not seem to me that I had drawn such a wonderful prize, after all. I had supposed that Stella had in some way identified Max, Barney, and me; that is, that there was some unknown common factor which she ascribed to us all. The associations just recorded seemed to indicate that this was sexual weakness, and she had already told me that Barney suffered from premature ejaculation. Yet the view that she ascribed to all three of us some sexual weakness was difficult to accept, for by what conceivable process of reasoning could she have formed any opinion in regard to the sexual power of Max and myself? Furthermore, something in Stella's tone made me suspicious that her phrase, "sexually weak," did not comprehend all she had in mind, but merely served as a cover for something else she was not ready to betray. The phrase must have had some significance, however, for it had come up in connection with the dream already related when it was associated with the idea that she was "too strong" for her husband.

It occurred to me that sterility might be the concealed common factor, for Stella supposed her husband to be sterile and knew that I had no children. But here again arose the same difficulty. Though she might suppose two members of the triad to be sterile, how could she have formed any opinion in regard to Max in this particular?

I had, then, either to abandon my hypothesis that some repro-
ductive weakness was, in her opinion, common to the three of us, or else conclude that she had in mind some other sort of deficiency, possibly related to sex, and that it was this that she supposed to be common to Barney, Max, and me. This latter conclusion seemed to me most acceptable, for there had been a hint of this same elusive deficiency, whatever it might be, in the results of the analysis of the dream.

There came to light finally another transference phenomenon, which soon proved to be the key to a solution of the mystery. Stella began to manifest a considerable anxiety about my health. She would tell me I smoked too much, that I should spend more time in the open air, and that I should be careful about my diet. These remarks usually ended in her laughing at herself and saying that, since I was a doctor, I must think her very presumptuous in advising me on matters of health. But, in spite of this, as likely as not at the next visit she would repeat the whole performance.

This anxiety about my health might very well indicate that she suspected or feared that I had some malady of a general nature and not primarily sexual. But some essentially nonsexual illness might have, secondarily, an injurious effect upon one's potency and reproductive ability. Thus the hints that had come up to the effect that Stella thought Barney, Max, and me deficient in the sexual sphere might really have had an origin in her thinking that all three of us suffered from some physical but nonsexual malady. This supposition was supported upon analyzing Stella's peculiar thought that I was an Irishman, and furthermore the analysis of this idea disclosed what physical illness she supposed we had.

It will be remembered that her thought that I was Irish came on when she saw a spot of blood upon my lip. Blood upon the lips might well suggest hemoptysis, and, hence, tuberculosis. Now, Stella was accustomed to refer to tuberculosis as the "Con" and to a person suffering from that disease as a "Conner." But Connor is a familiar Irish name. I am thin and quite subject to colds; hence, when Stella saw a drop of blood upon my lip there could easily have started in her mind a train of thought having as its theme a question as to whether I were not a consumptive. But, if for any reason Stella had a resistance against the theme of tuberculosis, what more natural than that, if she began to suspect that I was a "Conner" in the sense of being consumptive and to feel a certain aversion to be on that account, this affect of aversion should be displaced by way of the other acceptation of the word (Connor) and
appear in her consciousness attached to the thought that I was an Irishman? In this way it becomes clear how Stella could feel a repugnance to me as being an Irishman and yet at the same time be convinced that I was not Irish.

This interpretation, I confess, might easily be regarded as rather fanciful were it not for the fact that the thought that I was Irish had such a significant starting point, viz., the spot of blood upon my lip. This, it seemed to me, placed my interpretation practically beyond question and justified my forming the hypothesis that the defect which Stella had supposed to be common to Barney, Max, and me was, in fact, pulmonary tuberculosis.

Let us now see how this hypothesis fits the facts at our command. The supposition that Stella thought—or perhaps I should say knew—that Max had tuberculosis explains, in part at least, several important things which at first were most mysterious.

The first one is the fact that, although Max appeared to be in love with Stella, he made no definite advances and did not ask her to marry him. This attitude was quite natural if he really had tuberculosis, for under such circumstances, no matter how much he cared for the young lady, he might well have hesitated either to make love to her or to ask for her hand.

Second, Stella's remark that she knew Max was not "a marrying man," which I had never been able to get her to explain satisfactorily, is now easy to explain. If she thought he had tuberculosis she would suppose that for that reason he would not intend to marry.

Third, it no longer seems utterly incomprehensible that Rose's remark concerning Max, "he'll be weak and sickly all the rest of his life," should have had such a profound effect upon Stella and have formed the starting point of an obsession. If Stella believed that Max had consumption, this remark, coming as it did from some one who had never even seen him, might well have startled Stella and filled her with a sort of superstitious dread.

Fourth, the fact which at first seemed so singular, viz., that Stella seemed to believe in Rose's prophecy that Max would be sickly all his life, no longer appears strange. If Stella believed Max had tuberculosis, she had good reason for accepting Rose's prediction that he would never be strong.

Fifth, the doubt in Stella's mind as to the advisability of marrying Max, which we concluded existed, without knowing its exact cause, we can now explain. Presumably it was her belief that Max
was tubercular that was the source of the conflict which resulted in her wishing that if she married him his life would be short.

Sixth, the idea that Stella was "too strong" for Barney, which was met with in analyzing the dream already recorded, and which, although Stella said the phrase had a sexual meaning, I thought represented some other sort of deficiency, can now be explained. The deficiency was tuberculosis, and Stella felt that she was too strong to be married to so weak a man. (Just why she was occupied with the question of relative strength will appear more clearly later.)

Seventh, assuming that the idea of deficiency met with in analyzing the dream really referred to Barney's being tubercular, it is possible to explain why Stella showed no particular reaction and experienced no change in her symptoms when Barney went to the clinic and the diagnosis of phthisis was made. That is, the dream occurred only a short time after I began the analysis of her case and if, as it seems, the weakness on Barney's part, at which the analysis of the dream hinted, was really tuberculosis, it is clear that Stella suspected Barney had this disease when she first came to me and long before he was examined by a doctor. This explains why the report of the doctor's findings failed to affect her—she was entirely prepared for it; the fact that her husband had tuberculosis was to her an old story, and the doctor's assertion of what she already knew of course produced no reaction.

It is clear, then, that the hypothesis that the weakness or defect which Stella apparently supposed to be common to Max, Barney, and me, was in reality tuberculosis, not only is perfectly harmonious with the facts that have been brought out, but it enables us to explain very readily many previously baffling things—things which, it seems to me, could be explained by no other hypothesis. For these reasons I felt perfectly justified in looking on it not as a mere hypothesis but as an exposition of actual fact.  

I therefore began to lay before Stella the explanations just set forth, with every expectation that she would at once confirm me in every point. But she did nothing of the kind. I asked her if she had ever thought me tubercular, and she admitted that such an idea had once or twice crossed her mind. She also admitted that shortly before Barney was examined she had wondered if perhaps he had

9 My belief was that Stella in some way knew that Max and Barney had tuberculosis—in the latter case independently of the doctor's report—and that because I am thin and have a smoker's cough she had transferred to me the idea that I too suffered from the same malady.
not some lung trouble, but in regard to Max she would make no such admission, saying, “Do you think I would have been such a fool as to want to marry him if I had suspected that he was sick?” To this I replied by calling her attention to the fact that by her own admission she had wanted to marry Max in spite of the fact that she supposed he would be “weak and sickly all his life.” But this, instead of making her agree with me, had just the opposite effect. She at once retracted her former admissions, disagreed with everything of any sort that I undertook to tell her, and so clearly manifested an inclination to combat at all costs my attempts to explain her neurosis that I stopped without having told her all the conclusions just set forth.

But, though Stella had not confirmed me in words, I looked upon her quite obviously unreasonable opposition as an unconscious confirmation. That is, I thought that she knew me to be right, and was, in fact, surprised to find how much I had been able to learn of what she wished to conceal. Her vigorous opposition was then determined, I believed, by the fact that there were other things she did not wish to disclose, for she now felt she could be sure of keeping them from me only by disputing every conclusion I made and making no admissions whatsoever.

I explained this to her without materially decreasing her resistance however, and there followed a very long period in which I made practically no progress in the analysis of her obsessions. She had no dreams, would give but few associations, “nothing came to her mind,” and she was late for every sitting. The only themes that she was always ready to talk about were the hopelessness of her case, the futility of psychoanalysis, and the impossibility of her being able to respect me either as a physician or a man after I had made against her such stupid accusations and persisted with them in such a stubborn and unreasonable manner.

All this I could readily interpret as an effort to avoid facing the perception that it was very largely her own fault that she was not getting well—that is, she endeavored to believe me and my method of treatment at fault as a defense against the perception that she herself was at fault in not doing her part by disclosing all she could.

I was soon convinced that there was something in her life that was so painful to her that she would almost rather remain sick than have it known, and on this account I would have given up the treatment had it not been for two reasons: first, the hope that in spite of her resistance I would some time find out what she was
concealing and so gratify my great curiosity as to what made her sick; and, second, that a set of anxiety hysteria symptoms came into prominence at this time and that I had no great difficulty in analyzing them. These kept up my interest and prevented me from giving up the work. I will not refer to these symptoms here, for they represent a sort of digression from the theme of the main obsession which is already long enough.

The long period of intense resistance was finally brought to an end in the following way.

Stella came one day and began immediately: "I’ve been awfully sick, Doctor. Last night I had a terrible attack of fear—the worst I ever had, I think."

"What were you afraid of?" I asked.

"Of the fortune teller, of course," she replied; "I thought surely I was going insane right away. I don’t see how my mind can stand such terrible fear."

She went on with her usual complaints, "I’ll never get well," "I’m lost," "I have no future," etc., but I interrupted her by asking: "Don’t you know what made you afraid? What happened to bring on the attack?"

"That I’ll nev—nothing happened—I don’t know what brought on the attack," she replied.

But she did not interrupt herself soon enough to prevent my realizing that what she had started to say was, "That I’ll never tell you!"

I had already become convinced that there was something of importance in Stella’s life that she was concealing from me. I now had confirmation of this belief, for it seemed plain that Stella knew very well what had occasioned the severe attack she spoke of. I therefore said to her that I was sure she could explain why this attack occurred, but she insisted that this was not so and that there was nothing she could tell me. I replied that I could not believe her, and also said that, since it seemed to me that she was intentionally concealing something important, I was unwilling to do my part in the treatment any longer unless she would do hers—in short, unless she told me the cause at once I would give up the treatment, for I felt that as long as it was concealed my efforts would do her no particular good, and that for me to continue would be simply a waste of time.10

She protested that I was very unjust, that she was concealing

10 Although it had some results in this case, the use of threats is not a technical procedure that can be generally recommended.
nothing, and ended by saying, "How can you think there is anything I would keep back after all the embarrassing things I have told you?"

I replied that I was satisfied I was right, and that at any rate, right or wrong, I would no longer treat her unless the important piece of information I expected was immediately forthcoming. She knew that I meant what I said.

At this point I was called out of the room for a few minutes. When I came back she said, "Well, doctor, I've been thinking it over and I've made up my mind. I know I shouldn't take up your time unless I let you know everything. At last I'm going to tell you my secret."

"Well," I asked, "what is your secret?"

"Con," she replied, briefly; "I've had tuberculosis. I've been in two different sanitariums."

Then followed a story, which gave an entirely new insight into Stella's psychic conflicts and soon proved to be the key to the solving of many of the mysteries of her neurosis.

Stella's tuberculosis began when she was thirteen and a half years old, manifesting itself by cough, marked loss of weight, and severe and repeated hemorrhages.\[^{11}\]

The diagnosis was made by several private physicians and also at the Broadway Clinic, from where after a little delay she was sent to a sanitarium in the country. There she remained for about five months, improving considerably, but finally she ran away and returned to New York because she was "so homesick." After remaining in New York for a few months her symptoms returned to such an alarming degree that she again applied at a dispensary and was sent to a second sanitarium. In this place, which we may call Oakwood, she remained for several months and improved a great deal. But she was again overcome with homesickness and finally left the institution in spite of the fact that the doctors advised her to the contrary. Having returned home, she continued to improve, so that before long she was entirely free from symptoms, and at sixteen years of age she was able to begin work in the store, apparently in the best of health. Unfortunately, this was not the end of her trouble. Later she suffered two distinct relapses, both of which as will shortly be seen gave rise to most important problems in her

\[^{11}\] It was on account of her lung trouble that Stella had to leave school at an early age instead of, as she stated at first, that her mother "needed her to help with the house work."
life and played a highly significant rôle in the development of her obsessions.

The history of her tuberculosis is what I referred to in the introduction as the important set of facts I was able to corroborate by outside evidence. And one of the instances of undoubted affective displacement which I had in mind was the incident which occasioned the severe attack of fear just referred to. On the day in question a nurse from the Board of Health had called at the house during Stella's absence in regard to something in connection with Barney's case. But Stella's mother who can not speak English did not understand just what was wanted and so when she told Stella about it the latter got the impression that inquiries were being made in regard to her own tubercular history. She reacted to this—a thing, as we shall see later, which might well have been the occasion for some alarm—by anxiety not about the tuberculosis problem but about Kishef. In short, she displaced her emotions from the thoughts with which they really belonged and attached them to an associated idea, the fear of the fortune teller. Just why she made this sort of displacement will be explained later.

The knowledge that Stella had had tuberculosis already begins to throw a new light on certain dark problems of her history. Thus, it is to be seen that the onset of her lung trouble coincided with that mysterious "nervous illness" in her childhood which followed the death of her beloved Aunt Ida, and in which she suffered from depression, anemia, and loss of weight. In short, it is now evident that this illness was at bottom not nervous at all, but physical. The "nervous" element in it—the depression—resulted principally from a realization of her condition and from the fact that because of the illness she had to be away from school and from her home. The anemia, loss of weight, etc., were due to the tuberculosis directly.

Nevertheless, Stella was not altogether wrong when she stated that this nervous illness was a reaction to her Aunt Ida's death, as we shall see in a moment. In the first place, Stella, after admitting that she had had tuberculosis, soon disclosed the fact that Ida had died of the same malady, instead of "from worrying about something" as she had at first alleged.

A fact of some significance is that Ida's death had followed very shortly after she and Stella had had a terrible quarrel. Stella, though extremely fond of her aunt, had nevertheless, in the heat of this quarrel, wished that Ida would die. When, then, Ida did die, Stella more than half believed that this murderous wish had killed
her. And when still later Stella found that she too had the same malady of which Ida died, she felt that this disease had come upon her as a punishment for her evil wish. This sequence of wish, wish fulfilment, and punishment no doubt had a considerable effect in fixing in Stella's mind a belief in the power and in the punishment of evil wishes, and this belief was apparently a factor in the development of the Kishef obsession.12

The most important consideration in connection with Stella's neurosis was not so much that she had had tuberculosis, but that people knew, or might know, that she had it. As she herself said, "I never worried so much that I had T. B.—I wasn't afraid of dying. What I did fear was that other people would find out that I was sick and that this would prevent me from getting married." In fact, when Stella first developed tuberculosis she was rather proud of it and liked the sympathy and attention it brought her. Soon, however—at least by the time she was sixteen—she took a very different view of the situation and would never admit to any one that there had been anything the matter with her, while she instructed her parents and relatives to follow her example. Her reason was, as she said, that if it were known she had once had lung trouble no one would want to marry her. Economic conditions are so strenuous in the sphere in which Stella lived that the young men cannot afford to let sentimental come before practical considerations in choosing a wife. Thus, if a girl had a tubercular history, she would not be likely to have any suitors, for, no matter how attractive she might be, none of the young men would care to marry her and run the chances of being burdened with an invalid. That this is so,

12 The fact that Ida died of tuberculosis did not dispel Stella's belief that a wish had killed her. It was not known that Ida was tubercular until a very short time before she died; not, in fact, until after the quarrel that has been spoken of. Stella's idea was that her wish had caused Ida to become infected with tuberculosis.

There is a Jewish superstition with which Stella was familiar that in each day there is one minute during which whatever wish a person expresses will be omnipotent. When Ida died Stella thought that she had "hit the minute"—that her wish for Ida's death at the time of their quarrel had happened to come at just the fateful moment. Just which minute of any given day was the fateful one no one, according to the superstition, ever knew. On a number of occasions when she wanted something very badly Stella made the ingenious experiment of trying to wish for it every minute of the day so as to be sure to "hit" the particular minute that conferred omnipotence. Unfortunately, on every occasion she eventually went to sleep or allowed her attention to wander so that the minute theory was never conclusively proved or disproved.
Stella knew from painful experience. In more than one instance some young man who had been paying serious court to her had suddenly ceased his attentions and avoided her thereafter, while investigation revealed that the knowledge of her history, conveyed to his ears by some busybody, was the cause of his sudden change of front. In Stella's own words—which, I think, are not a great exaggeration—"Among the Jews on the East Side, it could be known of a girl that she drank, that she stole, or that she'd had a dozen illegitimate children, and she'd still have some chance of getting married. But if it were known she had T. B., as far as marriage is concerned she might as well be dead—if she lived for a hundred years no one would ever believe she was really strong and no one would marry her. You can't convince an East Side Jew that anyone ever recovers from tuberculosis—unless, perhaps, he has it himself."

Now, in spite of the fact that as she grew older Stella did everything in her power to conceal her tubercular history, there was always danger of its being found out, and under the most inopportune circumstances. Through her visits to various clinics and during her sojourn in the two sanitariums, she had met a great many people—patients and others—who, of course, learned that she had tuberculosis. On this account her secret was never safe and the tuberculosis problem remained a constant source of anxiety and dread because it threatened to destroy her chances of a satisfactory marriage. At the same time she rebelled against the idea of concealing her history from the man whom she would marry, as well as that of becoming a burden upon him should her lung trouble recur. These conflicts and the part they played in producing the neurosis we shall take up in the interpretation of her earlier obsession.

(e) Analysis of the Assault Obsession.

This obsession came on at a time of great conflict and difficulty. In the first place, Stella had recently been deprived of a source of sexual gratification through the incident which put an end to her father's nocturnal visits. From one standpoint she was glad these visits had ceased, for she no longer had to reproach herself for permitting them. But, on the other hand, she felt a certain regret, for, in spite of herself, her father was in a way more attractive to her as a sexual object than any one else she had ever known, and the pleasure of his visits was not easy to renounce. She knew, furthermore, that with merely a look or a word she could give him to under-
stand that he was welcome to resume his attentions, and that he would not long delay in taking advantage of the hint. One conflict, then, concerned her feelings for her father and the question of what her attitude towards him should be in the future. That is, on the one hand, she wanted to get completely away from his influence, while on the other she was strongly tempted to give the signal that would restore the same conditions that formerly existed.

A still greater conflict arose in another connection. The fact that she was at the time deprived of her old source of gratification, as well as her wish to break completely away from her father, predisposed her to welcome some new sexual object as a substitute for him. It so happened that such a substitute was offered. A suitor had presented himself and was highly favored by her parents. She was not in love with him, it is true, but he was a manufacturer and in most comfortable circumstances, and this was a matter to which she was by no means indifferent. It is possible that despite her strong father complex a marriage might have resulted had it not been for a complication that had arisen. Stella had begun to feel ill, to cough, and to lose weight. These symptoms gave her good reason to fear that her old tuberculosis was active again. This made the question of marriage a most perplexing one. From one standpoint, a return of her lung trouble was in itself an argument in favor of marriage, for marriage offered a most favorable opportunity for recovery from the disease. If she were to accept her suitor she would be sure of more leisure, more comforts, and better food than had ever been her lot before, or than she could obtain in any other way. And she knew that all these things, in view of her health, were of great importance. But marriage would not only give her certain advantages in the fight with disease, but would also remove her from a position of great disadvantage which she might otherwise occupy. Unless she married she would have to work, and if she kept on working her condition was almost certain to become worse, so that sooner or later she would have to give up and go to a sanitarium. This latter possibility was something she could not face. Comparatively few people knew of her first attack of tuberculosis, but, if she had to go to a sanitarium again, practically every one of her acquaintances would know it, she would be branded as a consumptive for many years to come, no matter how fully she recovered, and consequently her chances of making a suitable marriage in the future would be reduced almost to zero. But in spite of the arguments in favor of accepting her suitor there was much to be
said against such a course. In the first place she did not love the man. In the second, she was convinced that if he knew her past history, to say nothing of her present fears, he would drop her instantly. If, then, she were to marry she would have to conceal everything pertaining to her tuberculosis and to do this was most repugnant to her. Not only was she reluctant to make false pretenses in such a matter as matrimony, but, in addition to this, she would always be in danger of having her husband find out that he had been deceived, for she might develop active symptoms of the malady, or the disclosure might come about through some one who knew of her earlier attacks.

It is to be seen that her immediate problems really turned upon the question of whether or not she was really having a relapse. To be sure, she had symptoms of apparently serious import, but they did not settle the question beyond all doubt. Thus, she could say to herself, "I feel badly, it is true, but how do I know that this is tuberculosis? I am no doctor, so I can't be sure. Maybe I only imagine that I don't feel well." Under such circumstances the logical course would have been to go to a doctor and have her lungs examined. This would have settled the question immediately. If her lungs were found to be normal she could have obtained a certificate to that effect and married with a relatively clear conscious in spite of her past history. But as a matter of fact she was unwilling to have the question settled. In her inmost self she was practically certain that her lungs would not be found normal, and she was not disposed to exchange what opportunity she had of doubting the return of her malady for the cold reality of knowing that she had a recurrence. On the other hand, she had certain resistances against marriage which were derived from her father complex, and though of course had she been examined and pronounced normal by a physician she would have been glad, nevertheless these resistances gave her a tendency to welcome any excuse for not marrying. An excellent excuse would be removed if she were examined and her lungs found normal. As was pointed out much earlier, she had a wish to return to her former relations with her father. The fulfilment of this wish was opposed by her ethical self, but in the event of her being deprived by tuberculosis or anything else of all opportunity to marry, the wish for her father would take advantage of such a situation and make out of the deprivation an excuse for the return.

Now all these conflicts and difficulties had been in existence
before Stella’s fateful visit to Mrs. Denzer’s, without, however, bringing forth a neurosis. We should suppose, then, that something in this visit must have reinforced these conflicts and thus given rise to the obsession. And such was actually the case. As has already been indicated, Stella’s immediate problems were, first, had she tuberculosis? and second, if she had it should she conceal it and marry in spite of her feeling that this was not honest? If some evil genius had set out to lead her into this particular kind of wrongdoing it is doubtful if he could have devised anything better suited to his purpose than simply taking her to Mrs. Denzer’s at that particular time. Nowhere could he have found an argument in favor of dishonesty more subtle or better calculated to appeal to Stella than that presented by Mrs. Denzer’s life. Like Stella, Mrs. Denzer had had tuberculosis as a girl—in fact, it was in a sanitarium that they became acquainted. Like Stella again, Mrs. Denzer had had a suitor—in the person of Mr. Denzer—at a time when she was none too sure of the soundness of her health and whom she felt she would lose if he knew her history or her condition. But at this point, unlike Stella, Mrs. Denzer had not hesitated. On the contrary, she had accepted him instantly and married at the earliest possible moment without giving the least hint that she had ever had trouble with her lungs. Her marriage turned out well. Thus, on the fateful evening of the obsession, Stella beheld her in possession of a nice home, a devoted husband, and two fine children, to say nothing of the best of food to keep up her strength and a competent maid to relieve her of all occasion for spending it. And when before the eyes of sick, tired, and penniless Stella there was displayed this so seductive spectacle which seemed to say to her, “If only you would be dishonest, you too might have all these things,” it is not surprising that something extraordinary happened.

Let us now consider just what this happening was. What, in other words, was the relation of the obsession to Stella’s various problems? It will be remembered that Stella’s first fear began when Mr. Denzer and the two other men returned to the house, and that it consisted in the feeling that she must remain no longer or one of these men would assault her. As has also been said, she had no actual reason to fear these men. All three of them were attractive to her. Mr. Denzer made a great pet of her, one of the men had told Mrs. Denzer that he would like to marry Stella, and the other was a medical student of that refined type that always excited her interest. Under ordinary circumstances each might have
been expected to excite desire in some form, rather than fear. In fact, this was the very reason that Stella felt herself to be in danger. The situation was one which, even before the coming of the men, presented colossal temptations. The arrival of the men, all of whom were attractive to Stella, reinforced the temptations to such a degree that she was no longer sure of herself. She could scarcely avoid thinking, "Oh, if I were not so honest! If only I had no conscience, what advantages and what pleasures would be mine!" That is, if it were not for her moral inhibitions she could either enjoy the sexual, hygienic, and economic advantages of marriage after the manner of her friend, or, throwing to the winds all thought of marriage, go to a sanitarium, resolved that upon her recovery and return home she would indulge herself without limit in the erotic pleasures afforded by the paternal finger. Her fear, then, was a fear of temptation, and expressed a wish to be robbed of her virtue, and to be "dishonest" in one or both of the ways indicated.

This fear took the form of a dread of assault for two reasons. The first was that an assault would, through no fault of hers, place her in a position where she would have comparatively little to lose by further sexual activity—would, in other words, fulfil her wish to be robbed of her conscience, or as nearly so as such a wish is possible of fulfilment. The second reason was that the words "honest" and "dishonest" had for Stella a double meaning. She was accustomed to speak of a virgin as an "honest girl" (apparently a direct translation of "ehrliche Madchen"), and thus "honest" meant to her chaste, "dishonest" signified unchaste, although these words in addition had for her the same meaning that is usually given to them. Thus her wish to be, or her fear of being, "dishonest" in the usual sense of the word—which here referred to her inclination to conceal her tuberculosis and marry under false pretenses as Mrs. Denzer had done—was represented in the focus of her consciousness as a fear of becoming dishonest in the other meaning of the term. "Dishonest" was thus a common term which expressed both types of the temptation to which she was subject.

During the night the fear that she would become "dishonest" changed to a feeling that she was "dishonest"—that she had been assaulted. This was brought about by a feeling of certainty that had come to her that she really was again suffering from tuberculosis. The absence of menstruation she had found to be a symptom, in her case at least, indicating that an active pulmonary process was going on. For several days before going to Mrs. Denzer's she
had been expecting to be unwell, and had the flow appeared she would have been relieved. When, in the morning, she awoke to find that it was still absent her fear that she had suffered a relapse changed to a conviction that such was the case and thus dispelled all expectation that she would be able to lead the life that her conscience dictated.

Stella's obsession that she was assaulted in her sleep represents, then, among other things, a downward displacement of her tuberculosis complex. Thus the fear she expressed to Rose that something "awful" had happened to her and had made her body "different" was fundamentally correct, but she located the trouble in the wrong region—in her genitals instead of her lungs. Also when she went from one doctor to another to be examined for a rupture of the hymen she was carrying out the perfectly logical impulse to go to a doctor for an examination of her lungs. Her wish to be examined was entirely right—the only thing wrong was that she had displaced the examination several bodily segments downward.

In the same way the obsession, by means of displacement, gave outlet to another impulse. Stella had threatened to tell her mother that she had been "touched" by her father, but this threat she had not carried out. When she developed the obsession she did tell her mother that she had been "touched" (to be touched is a slang phrase for intercourse—a virgin is a girl who "has never been touched") but the ambiguity of the word "touch" allowed her to discharge her impulse to tell, but without disclosing just what had occurred.

This obsession lasted some months. Fortunately Stella was able to get together enough money so that she could give up her work and go to the country for a time. This change gave her the start she needed, so that when she came home her physical symptoms eventually disappeared, and after a time she was able to return to her work in the store. Her obsession cleared up after the symptoms of lung involvement had disappeared, but not until she had at last decided to refuse the young man "because," she told herself, "she was not a virgin." The obsession reappeared from time to time up to the beginning of the Kishef fear, though never with any great severity. These recurrences coincided with those times in which she had some reason to doubt the soundness of her physical health, or was confronted with some sexual temptation or the problem of marriage.
The Role of the Tuberculosis Complex in Determining Stella’s Love Choice

When Stella had once admitted that she had had tuberculosis her resistance diminished enormously and it was possible to work out many things that had previously been inexplicable. Thus, I was able eventually to discover the reason for her sudden infatuation for Max and to answer the extremely baffling question of why she married Barney. Stella, once she had confessed the great secret of her tuberculosis, not only ceased to deny that I was correct in my conclusion that she had supposed Max, Barney, and myself to be tubercular, but she corroborated me in every particular. Thus, she confessed that she felt Max was a consumptive from the very first instant she saw him, and that she was confirmed in this belief, first, by the fact that, although apparently in love with her, he was so paradoxically reticent, and, second, by her learning that he, like herself, took a six weeks’ vacation every summer. For, said she, when poor people take long vacations it means they have to—they cannot afford it unless it is a question of health.13

Now, the singular fact that Stella’s infatuation for Max and her belief that he was tubercular began at the same instant was paralleled by a similar occurrence in her affair with Barney. Now that her resistances had diminished, Stella not only agreed that I was right in thinking that before he was examined she believed that Barney was a consumptive, but also told me that even before she married him she was convinced he had the disease. In fact, her family also suspected the same thing, and, calling him “der tote Mann,” did everything in their power to prevent the match.14

13 With the knowledge of tuberculosis which she had gained by the observation of her own case, and through being in clinics and sanitarium Stella was a diagnostician of no mean skill. Her ability to detect tuberculosis from the general appearance of a person was such that a physician might envy her. But a fact that is of more importance is that she had absolute confidence in her powers in this line and once she had made up her mind that a person was a consumptive she would have been slow to change her opinion even if a physician skilled in physical diagnosis had disagreed with her. I mention this in order to make it plain that though it might seem that she had insufficient grounds for being certain that Max and Barney had tuberculosis she was certain, nevertheless.

14 It may be noted at her first visit to me Stella said, in response to my suggestion that she put off her marriage for a time, that neither her own nor her husband’s parents would listen to any proposal of delay. As we have learned, quite the reverse was true, at least so far as Stella’s parents were concerned. They not only would have been glad to have her put off her marriage, but would have done almost anything in their power to prevent it.
it may be added, that sometime earlier in the analysis Stella told me she first felt that she wanted to marry Barney just after he had told her he had been giving some lectures at the Y. M. H. A. The fact that he lectured, she said, gave her the impression that he must be very intellectual, and for this reason she felt she would like to marry him. When after her confession I happened to ask what first made her suspect that Barney was not well she answered that while he was telling her about the Y. M. H. A. lectures she noticed that he was very hoarse and that this immediately aroused her suspicion. In other words, in her affair with Max, and again in her affair with Barney, a desire to marry had arisen *exactly at the same moment as the suspicion that the object of this desire was tubercular*. This looked to me very much as if a causal relation had existed between the two phenomena—I mean to say that apparently Stella had wanted to marry Max and Barney because she thought them tubercular. This sort of desire, at first thought, seems a very strange one, yet there were reasons enough for its existing.

In the first place, Stella felt that if she married a well man without having sound health herself she would be doing a wrong to her husband. But if she could pick out a tubercular husband she would in a way be doing him no greater wrong than he was doing her, and, thus, in a sense they would be quits. Again, if she married a well man she would have to reproach herself for exposing him to infection, whereas if her husband were already tubercular this occasion for self-reproach would not exist.

In the second place, she could look upon a marriage with a tubercular man as a temporary one. That is to say, she could expect that her husband might die, and with that superstitious faith in the omnipotence of her wishes which is so common among neurotics, she had a sort of belief that he would do so when it would most suit her convenience. Another reason for a belief that such a marriage would be a temporary one was this. At the time she married Stella knew practically nothing of the laws of divorce, and she thought that if she wished to be free from a tubercular husband, particularly if he were not well enough to support her, all she would have to do would be to state the case before the nearest judge, and, provided she successfully concealed the fact that she too had had the disease, he would give her a divorce instantly.

The chief advantage of a temporary marriage was that it would give her a chance for comparative rest from her work in the store, to build up her health, and thus get into condition to make a permanent marriage should the right man come along.
Another element in the case was her family. Because she had had tuberculosis they were very anxious to have her married and off their hands. In a way she wanted to assist them in this endeavor, for she realized that at times she had been a great burden. But, on the other hand, she resented their anxiety to get rid of her, and especially so because they made it pretty plain that on account of her history they felt any sort of husband was good enough for her, and, consequently, never made the slightest effort to get her one that would be really worth while. Consequently, Stella felt that it would serve her parents right if she contracted a, so to speak, second-rate marriage, and, as a result of her husband’s inability to support her, soon had to return to the parental flat. In other words, it would give her a certain spiteful satisfaction to make an unsuccessful match.

But there was still a more important reason why Stella wished to return home to her parents, namely her attachment to her father, which, it need hardly be said, was a very strong one. As is well known even quite ordinary family relations between a father and daughter are not infrequently sufficient to produce such a fixation of the child’s love upon the father that she is never able—or willing—to transfer it to a more suitable object. But where, as in this case, there had been actual physical sex-relation between parent and child the tendency to develop a fixation that would form a permanent obstacle to normal transference is of course very great. In fact, it is by no means impossible that even if there had not been the difficulties in the way of marrying which tuberculosis created, and even if Stella’s suitors had been much more numerous and desirable than was actually the case, she still might have been unable to break away from her father and fall in love in a normal way. At any rate, it is clear that since Stella’s feelings toward her father amounted to her being consciously in love with him—not even stopping short of the wish to bear children by him—that, however strongly she felt that she ought to break away from him and form a more normal attachment elsewhere, she was incapable of a thoroughly sincere effort in that direction, for the wish to succeed in it was constantly opposed by an equally strong, even though less clearly perceived, hope that she might fail and so retain her original state.

If then we bear in mind that because of her love for her father, Stella was reluctant to take any step that would mean a permanent separation from him, it not only helps us to understand why she chose a consumptive for a husband but puts us in a position to com-
prehend the analysis of the Kishef obsession, upon which we are about to enter.

(g) The Affair with Max and the Analysis of the Kishef Obsession

In this obsession Stella's tuberculosis played the same rôle as it had in the assault obsession. The prime object of her vacation in the country, which led to her acquaintance with Max, had been the restoration of her health. For again the hard work in the store had been too much for her, and she had perceived signs of returning lung trouble. It is to a recurrence of her tuberculosis rather than to the sort of love that is described in story books that the loss of weight and similar symptoms which accompanied her infatuation are to be attributed.

The infatuation itself was determined very largely by the elements we have just described in discussing the influence of tuberculosis on Stella's love-choice. That is, although she would not have admitted it, she was already alarmed about her health and worried by the knowledge that soon her vacation would be over and she would have to go back to work in the store. When with her first glance at Max she saw he was tubercular and at the same time attractive, she felt that marriage with him represented a way out of her difficulties, and this thought, though not clearly perceived by her consciousness, made her say to herself "Here is the man I must marry" and was largely responsible for her seeming infatuation. That over and above considerations of mere expediency Max was extremely attractive to her can hardly be doubted.

When her vacation ended and she returned to work in the store she knew that the rest had done her comparatively little good and not only that she was still far from well but also that she had a good prospect of becoming worse if she kept on working. Naturally she began to feel that she should consult a doctor, and possibly go to a sanitarium, but here again, as at the time of the assault obsession, she could not bring herself to face this painful necessity, or, indeed, to admit that it really existed.

When, earlier in the day of her first visit to the Mahoshef, she accompanied Rose to St. Christopher's Clinic, thoughts about tuberculosis and the need of consulting a doctor must have been in her mind. To visit any clinic would have inevitably brought up such reflections, but St. Christopher's was particularly well suited to have this effect, for Stella had been told there by one of the clinic physi-
cians, when she once applied to be treated for nasal catarrh, that he found signs of active tuberculosis in her lungs.

Now that we know that Stella's tuberculosis complex must have been stimulated by the visit to the clinic, it is easy to explain her sudden change of front in regard to consulting a Mahoshef. Before going to the clinic with Rose she had scoffed at all that lady's suggestions of magic, but immediately after the visit she veered about and expressed a desire to see a fortune teller after all. The reason is plain enough. The need of going to a doctor for an examination and treatment was brought forcibly to her mind by going to the clinic. She could not bring herself to face the ordeal of an examination, however. What she did do, then, was to make a compromise. Instead of going to a doctor she decided to visit some one like a doctor—in short, a magician—for she had often heard from Rose and others that these individuals could cure all the ills that flesh is heir to. Thus her visit to the Mahoshef was really a substitute for a consultation with a physician—and the motive for it was a wish to get rid of that great obstacle to marriage, tuberculosis, rather than a desire to have Max's state of mind changed by supernatural means. Without doubt she thought his mind was in the proper state, anyway—that he would marry her if his body were sound.

Some time before making this visit Rose had said to Stella, "You are so much in love with Max that you'll make yourself sick worrying about him. You know you once had hemorrhages, and you can't be very strong now. If you let yourself get so worked up the old trouble may come back." Stella replied to this that she never really had tuberculosis and tried to convince Rose that this was so without being at all satisfied that she had succeeded, although Rose did not dispute the point and pretended to be convinced.

When, then, at their first visit to the Mahoshef, Rose, having preceded her into his presence, returned crying, "He knew what your trouble was right away!" Stella, demonstrating the truth of her own proverb, "Auf dem Gonef brennt die Hüttel," began to feel uncomfortable and to wonder if he could possibly have guessed that she had tuberculosis. But at the same instant it dawned on her that Rose might have given him some hint of her history, for, knowing that Rose was suspicious and feeling sure that she had not succeeded in convincing her that she had ever had the disease, Stella thought it not unlikely that Rose, shrewdly suspecting that the problem of tuberculosis was worrying her a good deal, had communicated this
suspicion to the Mahoshef with the kindly intention of giving him every possible advantage. The vague fear of the Mahoshef, which, as we have said, Stella felt all through her first visit, can now be accounted for by the fact that she suspected that he had some idea of her tubercular history.

It will be remembered that Stella began to believe in the Mahoshef when he boasted to her, "I can do everything—for me all kinds of Kishef are easy." This meant to her an implication that he could not only make love matches but also cure diseases, and it was the latter point that interested her, for this was just what she had hoped he could do. Her faith in him which then began was, in part perhaps, a remnant of the old superstition of her childhood, which had been reinforced by the wonder tales which Rose had told with such convincing sincerity, but more largely it was a wish product. That is, she believed because she wished to believe. Her faith was the ordinary *spes phthisica* which leads consumptive patients to put so much reliance on all sorts of outlandish remedies.

Finally, the idea that the Mahoshef possessed the powers of a doctor, or that he could be regarded as a substitute for one, was strengthened when, as has been said, he offered to sell her a cure for rheumatism. Thus, when Stella said to Rose after leaving the Mahoshef, "I'm so happy, now I can marry Max," her thought was "Perhaps the Mahoshef can cure Max and me of tuberculosis and thus make it possible for us to marry," rather than any idea that some change in Max's emotional state was to be brought about.

In her conversation with Rose two days later Stella said, "I had rather get him in the right way. After we are married I will tell him all about it." And what she had in mind was her tuberculosis history. Her words were clearly the result of a feeling that for her to marry without telling her suitor of her history was a "wrong way" of getting a husband.

At the same time, her remarks showed that her faith in the ability of the Mahoshef to cure her was by no means absolute, for had she been positive that he could make her entirely sound and well she would have felt little guilt about marrying, no matter what her past history had been. When, then, Rose told the story of the man who by drinking menstrual blood was made to love, Stella's already overtaxed credulity gave way, for to be confronted with the task of believing a tale so utterly absurd and beyond the bounds of probability was the proverbial last straw. Thus, without clear consciousness of doing so, she had to say to herself, "If Rose can
believe a thing so foolish as that, how can I put any confidence in her when she tells me that the Mahoshef has such wonderful powers? What a fool I have been to think he could cure tuberculosis!"

It was natural, then, that when a moment later Rose said, "Do you know, Stella, that if Max has magic done to him he will be weak and sickly all his life and can't live to be over fifty, if even that long?" there should form somewhere in Stella's mind the ironical and contemptuous reflection which may be expressed as follows: "Indeed, you are more right than you realize, friend Rose; he will always be weak and sickly if he has magic done to him—and if he doesn't have it done to him! He has tuberculosis, and, in spite of what any Mahoshef or doctor can do for him, he will always be weak and sickly, and of tuberculosis he will die."15 But, naturally, there also came the thought "The same thing, I fear, is true of me," which was expressed in the same ironical way, "Just as truly as Max is going to die of Kishef, so truly I am going to die of it. The same sort of magic that will cause his death will also cause mine" (that is, what we will die of will be tuberculosis). This thought, then, "I am going to die of the fortune teller's Kishef (in the same way as is Max)," which is simply another way of saying, "I have tuberculosis, and I will never be cured of it," formed the starting point of her obsession.

15 This pessimistic reflection corresponds to the opinion as to the curability of tuberculosis which is held by the old-fashioned Jews of Stella's acquaintance. Most of them believe that real consumption can never be cured.

(To be continued)
Kaplan in a recent valuable work on the Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis¹ has some very practical suggestions relative to the subject of dream symbolism, some of which I here utilize, in free translation, as they are apropos at this point.

He reemphasizes that the language of the unconscious is a symbolic or picture language. Much conscious language is also purely pictographic. It is important then in the dream to attempt to piece together this conscious and unconscious use of the symbol through the common and distinctive features of both.

"Thus the hand hollowed like a ladle is a gesture for a drinking vessel and is based upon immediate association, but the Indians make the same gesture to express ‘water.’" "Thus the plastic image of the horned bull’s head may for the Neapolitans express besides its immediate meaning of strength, as the main peculiarity of the bull, first, danger, particularly that of being assailed by an angry bull, next danger in general, and finally by a third displacement, the ‘wish to be protected from danger.’"² The symbols of the conscious life are quite as ambiguous as those of dreams and myths. "In sign language of the deaf mute it is not said: ‘He died because he was addicted to drink’ but ‘drink, drink, die.’ The signs for drinking are several times made, then as sign for death the head with closed eyes is laid on the right hand and a gesture made toward the ground indicating ‘sleep down there.’"³ That means that Every separate symbol has a certain indefiniteness, and only from the interrelation of the symbols can their sense be perceived. Another common quality of the conscious (purposive) and the unconscious (purposeless) symbolism is that they both express only the present; extent of time has to be inferred. That accords well with the evidently sensational nature of the symbol; everything sensational belongs to the present.

¹ Grundzuge der Psychoanalyse, Vienna, 1914.
³ Ib., p. 195.
Those who cannot avail themselves of sound language resort to sign language; deaf mutes and strangers who are unacquainted with the language of a country; likewise children are forced to seek the help of gestures in order to be understood. The gesture is in one sense the language of the mentally weak. But that is true of every form of symbolism. "(The pictures) are the more desired and more eagerly sought the more a concept is removed from sense perception and the more a suitable image fails to represent it.

"When for example a speculative savant thinks of the world, or more correctly the undeveloped universe containing in itself the germs of all things, as an egg... if the Roman emperor holds a ball in his hand as the sign of world power, the globe in miniature... or if one of the church fathers wishes to grasp the divine Trinity in the schema of a visible triangle or a sounding harp, when he knows no better representation for eternity and the continuous recurrence of human things than a snake with its tail in its mouth, then the metaphysical concepts God, world, globe, eternity, Trinity, etc., force the imagining spirit to this conception and flit before him, nebulously trouble and pain him like mere outlines, until he masters them by means of a clear picture."

Even an abstract science like mathematics, Kaplan significantly points out, had to go through a sensational-symbolic phase. The concepts of differential and integral calculus, which modern mathematicians have learned to grasp as abstract relations, and most of the analytical statements were at first fixed with the help of surfaces bounded by curved lines and with operations with such geometric figures. Strict mathematicians now regard it as an outrage in pure analysis to get any help from concrete geometry. If the origins of symbols in the line of evolution are studied, they are seen to originate when man intellectually grasps at something that his power of comprehension finds too remote. Conversely the symbol may also originate if his former higher power of comprehension is reduced (for example in dreams and in mental disorders). In both cases he gradually slips away while trying to catch the idea lying at the bottom of the symbol and falls into a lower form than is striven for by evolution.

The symbols employed by consciousness, as they have an explanatory function, must be of a material character. They must readily bring to consciousness the relation with the thing that they

5 Herb. Silberer, Ueber die Symbolbildung, Jahrbuch, III, 675. Silberer's work, which is very valuable in this connection, should be consulted.
are supposed to indicate. For example, Kleinpaul tells the following: "In German village inns I recall the laconic notice, 'No pumping (credit) here' but instead of the word pumping a picture of a man pumping water." What the pumping meant was clear to everyone. Quite as clear are the so-called legal symbols. Thus in olden times "the setting of the foot on land or other property was a sign of legal possession" or "the old Norse scotation consisted in a little earth from the purchased or pledged land being shaken or thrown into the fold of the coat or cloak of the new owner; that assured him possession." (Representation by sample.) It is a concrete representation of the transfer of the right of possession, which may be quite comprehensible to everyone.

Picture language is the clearest of all, provided it is understood. Yes, provided it is understood! And who can say that he has rightly understood? . . . Whoever speaks in pictures (figures) always has the advantage, that he appeals to the understanding of others and may eventually change this understanding into doubt. An advantage often used. This advantage is taken by the unconscious which employs the symbols not to make clear, but on the contrary to substitute. Closely connected with this is the fact that most (explanatory) symbols of the conscious life have still a hidden sexual meaning. (They are therefore overdetermined.) Setting the foot on the land is a sign of taking possession, this legal gesture having, however, a less innocent sense. For "We take it as a sign of possession if the lover secretly steps on the foot of his adored, or the bridegroom on the bride's." The significance of the earth as mother earth, as symbol of woman, is widely recognized. Here apparently is another case where the original sexual sense (the possession of the woman) is translated into the harmless (as a legal symbol). In any case it should not be forgotten that the concrete sexual relation has always existed, but on the contrary the legal relation of private property in land arose comparatively late in the history of man.

"If it is said that in order to forget anything as soon as thought of, one should throw his slipper back over his head, that is quite likely a symbolization of doing away with the power of remembering." Here the symbolizing action is of a purely materially de-
scriptive nature. But it is surprising that a slipper should be thrown; why just this object? The answer is easy, if it is considered that if one wishes to be free from an unhappy love one scrapes the dust from the heel of the right shoe, puts it in the shoe and throws it from a water-way backwards over the head into the water and goes home without looking around." Every charm for forgetting was probably originally a means of avoiding unhappy love; the action symbolized the departure of the sexual object. That the slipper symbolized the female genital is fairly universally recognized. Thus in Fr. Müller's Faust: "He would be pleased to be the slipper mender (paramour) of the Queen of Arragon." Also the expression, a slipper hero, under the slipper, etc.

Many expressions are intelligible only when they are exposed as symbols of the unconscious. So, for example, in Ruppin it is said to one who has forgotten something: "You have surely stubbed your big toe." Stubbing the big toe is frequently the same as masturbating. In every expression a deep psychological sense lies hidden. Whoever has formerly practised many autoerotic gratifications, infantile masturbatory types, not necessarily genital, and then has repressed this fact from consciousness, becomes forgetful, because the wish to forget becomes generalized and is displaced also upon indifferent matters. Here is a source of much forgetfulness among children and adolescents and bad school work.

Kaplan further calls attention to Semi Meyer's criticisms of the psychoanalytic method, which are quite in line with those of L. H. already cited. "Everywhere an associative substitute is at the earliest possible moment dragged in by the hair. Why does that happen in dreams? Nothing of the kind occurs in waking life." To that it may be replied that the critics are not acquainted with everyday life, as it is revealed in morals and customs, in law and in religion, otherwise they would not make such statements. In Frankfurt if "in pledging a piece of land a bag of earth is brought before the court and laid on the deed," the bag of earth is probably to be regarded as a representative of the pledged piece of land. Still more remarkable is the "Clagefurt custom of hanging the thief first and

12 Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, VII, Sartori, ib., p. 158.
13 In a "Jugend" poet I found the sentiment, "New shoes and new lovers are uncomfortable."
16 J. Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer, p. 159.
investigating afterward." Crime must be expiated; that is clear to the primitive man, and so they hang the first man that comes along, in order to satisfy their desire to make some expiation. The hanged man appears to be the substitute (symbol) for the actual thief, who has probably succeeded in escaping justice. Such things are worked out in old historical times, to be sure, not in dreams of course but in actual life. The Westphalian expression, "The crow has brought me a nut" means "I have got a husband." It is clear that even in waking life, if not so frequently as in dreams, "an associative substitute is at the earliest possible moment dragged in by the hair."

Herbert Silberer has shown that the sensational-symbolic representation of thoughts can be to a certain extent artificially produced. If in a fatigued condition, especially before going to sleep, one forces himself to follow the thread of a (theoretical) thought the abstract relations will take on a concrete form and will cause an hallucination. A trial of the experiment leads one to suppose that the phenomenon depends on an individual factor, as not everyone will succeed in evoking the hallucinatory symbols in himself. Still the prime significance of the experiences as related is not affected. Not every one can be a poet or an artist, and yet the investigation of the psychology of artistic creation has universal human value. Silberer's method experimentally confirms the fact that in certain circumstances the psyche grasps at sensational-symbolic representation. One of my own patients has utilized this method for several months and has obtained remarkable insight into the unconscious and much freedom from severe compulsions.

In further illustration Kaplan speaks of two symbolic hallucinations (hypnagogic visions) which he was able to evoke in himself. Just before going to sleep he forced himself to think about the tragic heroes and criminals. There then arose the First Vision. A half lighted room. A man and woman. It appears the man has surprised the woman. But he is hit by the woman.

The theoretical thought which here struggles for expression is as follows: "The tragic hero signifies the criminal in us. Because he has overstepped the ethical norm suggested by society, he must finally fall, like the criminal who must expiate his deeds in punish-

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16α Ib., p. 531.
ment." In the vision one sees actually the criminal whom his deeds do not profit but who gets his punishment (the tragic situation). But as, according to psychoanalytic views, the sexual symbolism plays a dominating part in the unconscious, there appears in the vision not only the criminal but the sexual criminal.

Another time before going to sleep Kaplan thought of the connection between the Flying Dutchman and the incest feeling. There arises the Second Vision. Infinite stellar space. The Flying Dutchman cloaked in a dark robe soars in this space. The scene gradually changes. He sees before him Raphael's Madonna brilliantly lighted. The change took place in the condensation of the stellar space into the canvas of the picture.

The vision has given a sensational form to the theoretic thoughts: "Because he rested too much on the mother (Raphael's picture)—he must be very unrestful when grown up (the soaring of the Dutchman)." That the confirmation comes only after that which is to be confirmed is quite congruent with not logical but psychological succession; one thinks first of a thing and then one tries to comprehend it from the conditions of its existence and origin.

The hallucinations, Silberer notes, are usually connected with the unconscious. In order to turn a theoretical thought into a hallucination it is necessary to have, besides the individual factors, two things: a very sleepy state and an intense activity of thought. "A connection between the hallucination and the waking thought . . . results only if the latter is full of energy. If one sets about aiming at a transmutation of the waking thought into a symbol one must supply the latter with attention by force of will. If this is not done, the complexes already loaded with affect will get possession of the person going to sleep and, without regard to the waking thoughts, will themselves seek to attain symbolic representation." If it is noticed that a very sleepy state, or one related to it, does not appear well adapted to maintain theoretical thoughts by means of attention, it becomes clear why the scientist does not solve his problems in the hallucinatory way, why he is not a visionary but a thinker. The visionary is the unrestricted thinker, who for that

20 The interpretation of dreams is based regularly on the fact that many dreams must be read backwards in order to be understood. Freud.
reason follows the regressive path to its conclusion in the hallucination.

If strong affective states predominate in the mind of the individual, they make the "pushing forward" of the idea difficult, as they "deprive the function of attention of a part of its energy in claiming it for the autonomous complexes. The affects are not satisfied by disturbing the apperceptive function. Besides the negative result they perform also a positive work in that by virtue of the attention energy turned to them they seek to give currency to the complexes to which they belong." This state of affairs is found in the case of the power of the myth-making phantasy, dream, fable, religion and the visions of psychoneurotics.

The second vision, Kaplan states, is not only the materialization of a definite idea, it has also a concealed background. It has already seemed remarkable that one should meet the Dutchman in the rôle of a phantastic aviator instead of on the open sea. The infinite stellar space was however the scene of a countless number of stereotyped flying dreams, which the author dreamed as a child. The Flying Dutchman is therefore the writer himself. And during the last five or six years he has been forced to wander from one place to another without ever settling anywhere. His longing for home is, however, very great. The Flying Dutchman therefore turns into a little child that rests on the arm of its mother and may therefore feel safe from all troubles. A complex is associated with the theoretical thought and finds its expression in the hypnagogic vision. This analysis, Kaplan shows, provides one at the same time with a very valuable insight: The adult yearns retrogressively from the struggles and privations of life toward the safe haven of childhood. On this is based the chief factor of the power of the infantile in the mental life of the adult. This constantly recurring infantile form of representation must constantly be kept in mind.

I had thought to go into Stekel's very illuminating chapter on dream interpretation, but this has already been provided for in the last, January, 1917, number of the Psychoanalytic Review. The beginning analyst should read this carefully as it clearly brings out how the various parts of the dream, when analyzed, lead to the unconscious of the dreamer.

Before closing this chapter I would again emphasize how important Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams" is for the analyst. For the very beginner it is a very difficult text, but as soon as one

22 Ib., p. 685.
has commenced earnestly to pick out the dream meanings by the method of free association, this work can be read and reread to advantage. I have read it several times and with additional experience each rereading shows new matter and helps to explain what has been heretofore quite dark. There are still parts of it quite inexplicable to me although several thousand dreams have been torn apart and subjected to analytic research. Even the expert urine analyst has much to learn of this comparatively simple product of the kidney activity; how much the more in need of extended research then is the enigma of the activity of the mental machine during the sleep period.

One way of looking at dreams has enabled me to understand them much better and also permitted a graphic representation, which I here hazard, as possibly affording some help to others.

It is fairly well recognized that all final expressions of the human activity, conduct or behavior—as they are variously termed—arise from the depths of feeling. From the unconscious this "wish" or desire part of us gradually rises into consciousness to further the "work in hand," through appropriate, that is, "censored" activity. "The cerebral mechanism is arranged just so as to push back into the unconscious almost the whole of our past." This is Bergson's way of expressing what Freud calls the "censor" "and allows beyond the threshold only that which will further the action in hand." This latter we call conduct or behavior—the filtrate through the censor. "Our past then is made manifest to us in the form of impulse, it is felt in the form of feeling, whereas only a small part is known in the form of idea."

This struggle upward I have tried to picture by an inverted cone. At the bottom is the core of generalized and highly condensed feeling and impulse, the rich background of the unconscious and archaic inheritance of all past experiences and values. From this well of feeling there comes surging to the surface some group of wishes, which, rising, separate out into the most primitive symbolic expressions of the same. As these symbols rise towards the surface they undergo various branchings, resymbolizations—the mechanisms of condensation, displacement and distortion that Freud so well describes. Finally they arrive at a point where the censor, or psychic diaphragm, cuts them off, they are now presentable to the censor. Then through secondary elaboration the manifest content of the dream appears in consciousness and is the material upon which the analyst works.
The method of free association now endeavors to lead backwards along the pathways that the feeling ascended from its sensational core to its resymbolized concrete intellectual image.

Manifestly there are many, many trends in this upward surge and no graphic can encompass the complex splittings, but I shall take a comparatively simple dream and endeavor to fit it into this graphic form of representation and illustrate a few of the points which have been discussed at length.

The patient dreams: G. (sister) and I are settled down. M (brother) and S (his wife) come around to the house to see us. S has a check to settle a little debt. G. is no longer there. M says
"I'll be damned if we do." I awake, and there is some sort of an idea of decision to live in a certain sort of a way. There is a sort of an implication in the dream toward conservation of resources or fight for a living. The dream is extremely simple in form. The multiplicity of arising associations cannot be given, for discretionary reasons. Furthermore the dream is to be used only to illustrate in part the scheme which has just been spoken of.

Before reducing certain features of it to graphic form attention should first be called to two of Freud's statements in his "Interpretation," which book, as has been said, should have been thoroughly read by the analyst, or else these articles on technique will be of little service. He says one looks first of all for the feeling in the dream. If there is any distinct sense of feeling tone it must be used as the main pathway of approach to the dream. Then again, if spoken words occur in the dream they may be taken more or less in a literal sense. That is they are less distorted products of the dream work, most conscious.

The feeling tone of this dream does not tell much of anything save as to a conflict of the dreamer, whether by saving his money he can conserve his resources and continue not doing any work, which latter is so difficult, if not impossible, for him, or to get out and hustle and be obliged to work.

But there is the heard speech, "I'll be damned if we do." Do what? I shall start my cone then with this statement and speak of this stratum of the dream as the conscious stratum. In this stratum there are three characters only. M, the brother, S, the sister-in-law, and the dreamer. One has been eliminated, G., the sister. This is represented in the graphic by the small circles as marked. The position as to the next stratum of the dream appears also in the manifest content, G. and I are settled down, S and M come to see us.

Why has the sister been eliminated at the conscious level? If one trend of the dream be expressed in this graphic way it is not impossible to see that the dreamer has finally forced himself to the conviction that his unconscious incestuous bond to the sister is one of the important links in the construction of his neurosis. The conscious attitude to the sister, it need hardly be said, is one of "intense antagonism." Nor is it to be wondered at that the sister also has a severe neurosis. The dream also shows that the way in which he handles his money, or rather the way in which he permits his brother to handle it, is his conscious, behavioristic manner of hanging on to the unconscious incestuous phantasy through its displacement to the anal erotic hate complex.
For the first time, following this dream, the patient, using Silberer's hallucinatory method, was able to finally reproduce the early infantile erotic sensations in relation to the sister. This relationship he had most persistently resisted as a possibility.

This illustration is almost too simplistic to present, but if the analyst will try to picture to himself, in terms of the different strata of the dream thoughts, the condensations, distortions, splittings, displacements, etc., of the dream work, he will be able graphically to work out the chief stages in the unconscious erotic wishes of the patient and thus aid his patient to see them for himself. One can combine this form of graphic with those which immediately precede and obtain a fragmentary glimpse at the restless movements of the unconscious libido trends in their rapid differentiations and integrations. These finally result in action, showing themselves either as the metabolism of the body cell groups, or as conduct.

Before finishing this series of articles I would call attention to a further bit of the work of the unconscious, glimpses of which may be read in the dream and which throws a searchlight into the possibilities of the future of the race. It has been held up as a reproach to psychoanalysis that it looks backward only. This is not in the least true. True it is like the weaver who must stop his machine to pick up a dropped stitch in order to go forward. The psychoanalytic method is a method for finding these dropped stitches—fixations—which prevent the use of part of the individual's energy for sublimation purposes. It goes back into the machinery to repair this difficulty in order that the individual may live a fuller and more complete life.

Practically all of man's activities come out of his unconscious. They push forward to keep the race in that path which will lead to further evolution. If 100,000,000 years have seen the ascent from colloidal ooze to man, what will the next same time span reveal and what agencies are at work to keep the individual and the race in the "strait and narrow path that leadeth unto righteousness," that is, race immortality?

In order to obtain a closer practical view of just what is meant, I cannot do better than to refer to Maeder's23 stimulating work on the progressive aspect, the so-called prospective function, of the dream in the individual conflict. For it is the individual who embodies the epitome of the race and the individual activities which constitute racial development and progress. Moreover it is the

23 Maeder, The Dream Problem, Monograph Series, No. 22.
dream which reveals most completely this individual in his controlling tendencies, if we consider it as revealing the two aspects, that which draws him back within himself and retards progress and likewise those tendencies which belong to his intrinsic and immortal spirit of progress.

Maeder’s emphasis, therefore, upon this side of the dream and its therapeutic value is merely a furthering of the complete psychoanalytic work. It is the goal toward which all of Freud’s work tends, toward which his whole effort is directed. Yet it was necessary in the beginning to lay repeated stress upon the necessity for “the most exhaustive occupation with (the complexes)”24 and thus Maeder thinks the revelation in the dream of the progress of the patient in regard to his conflict and his life task has lacked emphasis.

It must not be forgotten that the illness is due to a conflict between these opposing tendencies, so that the dreams, arising out of this same unconscious, which is the source of activity and conduct, would be expected to present both sides of the struggle. As Maeder points out, the reaction formula is already in the child. On one side are his egoistic wishes controlled by the pleasure-pain principle, through which he seeks to have them fulfilled. Offset against these is the life plan to which his inherent progressive tendency, his immortality, compels him. The whole aim of the analytic investigation of the dream, as Freud has expounded it, is to liberate this progressive tendency, the libido, from its fixations on the opposite side.

Maeder’s point is this, that the dream itself in its manifest content as well as in its appropriation of clinical setting in the course of treatment, makes use of what, according to Freud’s terminology, may be called intrapsychic perceptions and images of the situation as it exists in the unconscious, or what Silberer terms autosymbolism. By this means the dream manifests the stages of development of the neurotic conflict or in general of the personality itself. It shows, as Maeder’s illustrative dreams make clear, the patient’s insight into his problem, his conflict and the progress he has made toward acceptance of the life task. It presents therefore both the resistance and retardation which arise and the resolving of these, which is largely accomplished through the analysis of them as they thus appear in the manifest content.

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tion. The first consists of a number of dreams occurring at successive periods of the analysis, with also a few dreams chosen from other patients. In the second place he borrows from Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams" the recurrent dream of the poet Rosegger and submits these to the same test for the prospective and healing function, extending thus beyond Freud's original analysis into the teleological service the dream rendered to the poet's actual attitude toward life. Finally he has utilized a second dream reported and analyzed by Freud, that of a nurse, in which the dream reveals the unwillingness of the individual to solve her problem and bring herself into an adjustment with life's demands.

Perhaps one of the clinical dreams will be best for incorporation into our discussion. I must content myself with an abbreviated reproduction of these dreams and their analyses and their place in the treatment as Maeder has reported them. "The dreamer is a youth of 18; he comes of a good family, of old stock which possesses, however, numerous neurotic features. He grew up between a father who was severe and violent in his demands, but who taken altogether, was quite lovable, and a mother who is gentle, yielding, sensitive and cultured. . . . He succeeded in being his own master, by allowing his own desires and moods and interests to dominate his life. Gradually tremendous gaps were noticed in his development. There followed a chasing from one school to another. After some years the youth emerged from these circumstances, quite unimproved and extraordinarily ignorant. Psychoanalytic treatment was then begun, side by side with suitable teaching and education. . . . after two years he was able to do a good piece of work in proper time. The dream analyzed belongs to a time during the analysis when the youth had overcome the worst difficulties and the severest conflicts. . . . The dream runs as follows: [I omit the first part, which is not here analyzed and also the gathering of associations, quoting the analysis made from them.] "With a bicycle, we [dreamer and his sister] then rode further, to the lake [in Zurich], where we met O. and a man on horseback in a green uniform. He rode on a horse that had a beautiful blue coat. Before he came to the bridge he dismounted and showed the left foreleg of the blue horse to a boy, who suddenly appeared. Afterwards some gentleman spoke to us about Dr. D. and spoke of a check number which he had taken by mistake. I then offered to take it with me [to the doctor who lived in a higher part of the town] but he said he had already arranged something with his sister."
“... According to the dreamer, the scene with the blue horse is the center of interest in the dream, the emotional interest is very strong here. It is necessary to remark that the horse has much significance for the dreamer himself and for his whole environment. . . . If we use the material, thus obtained [through the associations], for interpretation, we find, in the first place, in the surface layer, on the objective level (to use Jung’s excellent expression) the following:

“The blue horse is the beloved. . . . The horse represents more—the girls who have a magnetic effect, the mother, whose sexual significance is brought out by the scene in the bath during childhood [according to the associations].

“The green officer, his model, is the dreamer himself, who rides the horse, his beloved, with whom he made the tour (ride) that time. A parallel to this is furnished by the first part of the dream. . . . His sister, who here replaces the beloved, is the one with whom he carried on most of his childish tricks and for whom he has a strong transference.

“The officer examines the horse with the boy. The latter [a stable boy] is also identified with the dreamer, . . . his meaner ego. . . . By the choice of this symbol the dreamer measures his own value, saying ‘I am also a low down fellow.’ . . . One has been riding the horse too hard. In the same association we have also the masturbation, against which our dreamer has been fighting in vain for some time. . . . Accordingly, the dreamer is also identified with the horse. . . . And so we have arrived at the lower stratum, what Jung calls the subjective level. The horse becomes a symbol of the libido; a symbol of his own libido. In this stratum, note well, all symbols refer to the dreamer himself, and they are to be regarded as personifications of the different tendencies of his psyche. What on the objective level was regarded as the symbol of the beloved, becomes, on the subjective level, a symbol of that libido which has a tendency towards the object (the tendency is symbolized by its goal!).

“This part of the dream tells us then: L. (the dreamer) has ridden too hard, something is not right with me, and must be looked into. . . . That is to say, insight is dawning on the mind of the dreamer. After external separation from the beloved, . . . he was still intensely bound up in her internally. Because of the analysis he feels impelled to break with her, as he gradually came to see—although merely intellectually—how harmful their adventure had been for his development. . . . Inwardly he was not willing at the time to break
with her; but he hid himself and his opposition behind me, the scape-
goat. This dream shows us a further step. . . . His insight into his
situation, the correct valuation of his adventure, becomes at the
time of the dream emotional, not merely intellectual. This insight
with the double character of intelligence and affect, is very signifi-
cant and forms a cardinal point in the cure by analysis; for whoever
possesses this insight is really acting on his own principles and con-
viction and thereby occupies a different relation towards the analysis
from at first. The physician is no longer one who asserts this or
that; something which one accepts or rejects, according to the pre-
dominance of the positive or negative attitude, but he has become a
leader who sees and points out what one carries in oneself and only
recognizes with difficulty; the physician is now he who helps one to
know oneself better and how to rule oneself. . . .

"The last part of the dream which deals with the conversation
about the doctor and the number, is little plastic in its manifest
content, and is poor also in its latent content. . . . An entire side of
the problem of the development of the libido in the youth is still
untouched, he is not yet capable of clearly viewing the realization of
the insight he has won, much less of bringing it to pass. . . . This
. . . segment is for Maeder a symbolic expression of the future and
as yet insufficiently elaborated material. . . . The principal stress of
the manifested dream is laid on the wonderfully beautiful blue color
of the horse, by which, in his opinion, is expressed how . . . great
an attraction enjoyment still holds for him. This picture contains a
valuation, which may serve as a standard for the dreamer's attitude.
The task before the dreamer is the conquest of the kingdom in which
the reality principle, to use Freud's excellent expression, reigns.
. . . This is a point of cardinal importance in the analysis. It . . .
indicates . . . the beginning of upward progress.

". . . The psychoanalyst does not appear merely as physician
in the last part; but also in the middle portion of the dream, namely,
hidden behind the boy and probably also under the form of the
officer. These two conduct the examination. The dreamer's identi-
fication with the boy points to the negative side of the transference
he feels towards his physician; the physician takes the place of the
father whom the dreamer fears. . . . But gradually the physician
has become to the youth a model in some points. . . . Thus the
dreamer identifies the two models. . . . I must add that the youth
was advanced considerably through this analysis, and that he at-
tacked the further solving of his problem with great earnestness."

Maeder's consideration of the dream in this aspect by no means
denies the existence of a close connection between the latent and the manifest dream content. We can see here how both belong to the complete picture and the manifest content, as he states, can be valued and interpreted only by means of the latent dream material. The affect also, which accompanies the dream, as the above analysis shows, gains in this way a distinct value in recording the patient's progress. Particularly it expresses that most important step in the treatment, the passing over from a mere intellectual acceptance of the facts of the analysis, whether in interpretation of the underlying complexes or in recognition of the task to be accepted, to an emotional appreciation and appropriation of the same. *Intellectual acceptance can work no cure* but may prove seriously misleading to the patient who is attempting to grasp the situation and to the beginner in analysis as well. Therefore the value of this function of the dream in bringing not only to the analyst but more significantly to the patient himself the realization that the self-revelation and the actual life task in its concrete forms is being seized upon by the wish nature. For thus they become a part of that unconscious which Bergson so impressively describes “leaning over the present . . . pressing against the portals of the conscious” in order to “further” the work in hand for the individual in his share in racial achievement.

The seriousness of the task with which the psychoanalyst is confronted would be overwhelming were it not for the nature of the material with which he has to deal. This it should be remembered is dynamic and plastic. The very method which psychoanalysis employs enables one to take this material bit by bit, slowly, cautiously, the greater vision as well as the dynamic possibilities for good or ill always kept in mind, and by careful detailed work search out the libido lost in its regressions and remove the encrustations often of a lifelong maladjustment. Then, still through the analysis largely effectual on this side also by means of the dream, as we have seen, this libido is guided and stimulated to the acceptance and successful accomplishment of life's tasks. One enters through that recognition on the part of the conscious of the long divorced forces of the unconscious into a mutually intellectual and emotional knowledge of oneself, which means at last a true valuation of oneself. The libido is indeed free.

The magnitude of this task together with its infinite reward to both patient and physician has urged upon me minute details of caution and of direction. I have tried to show the value of a participation on the part of patient and physician in the greater cosmic view both of the origin and development of that unconscious which must
be investigated, as well as of its potentiality for the future of the race. There is necessary, likewise, the detailed appreciation of the individual effort to realize his position in society, his failure or success in handling the forces within him, and the guiding of his libido trends into a successful adaptive relation to cosmic progress.

He fails, as we have seen, principally through the difficulty which persists with individual and race alike, the difficulty of severance with the past and entering into an independent creative attitude toward the present and future. This problem is a very concrete one because of the love relation in which life begins and through which alone, in its broadest sense, progress continues. Therefore the problem resolves itself very definitely into the "family romance" situation, or in Freud's classic term the OEdipus situation. For this reason the psychoanalyst must recognize and accept the transfer-ence phenomenon as the most important manifestation on the part of the patient and learn to use it as the most powerful factor in receiving the patient's groping after assurance and health, that is after an effectual adaptation to reality, and use this bridge actually to transfer the libido striving into reality and the life task.

The attempt has thus been made to point out the great trend of psychoanalysis and to set up a few guiding posts for the physician who would place himself actively in this movement. One thing further must never be lost sight of. The existence of the unconscious, though in one sense merely a pragmatic hypothesis, yet represents an undeniable and inescapable fact. We do "desire, will and act" with our past. It is preserved in some way and preserved for some useful purpose. This immeasurable and unfathomable past cannot, however, be allowed complete nor unguided control. There must be direction and regulation. Hence the need to understand it, its content and its history and how to utilize its affective value. Hence also the external barriers and restrictions which culture throws out from time to time as guides and limitations to aid in its control.

These are indispensable aids but they are not fixed. This past is the product of a stream of energy which so far as we are concerned is inexhaustible. It has not expended itself in building up the past, it contains unmeasured resources for the future. The millions of years back to the colloidal ooze only point to the millions of years ahead to which we know not what. We only know that infinite possibilities of development lie before us which must continuously outgrow external barriers and limitations and form new ones. We know also that the thwarting of the creative impulse as it tries to
express itself in the various libido trends causes illness in any of the bodies activities and that these barriers sometimes exceed their usefulness and increase to too great an extent the existing repression and obstruction.

Society's great task therefore is the understanding of the life force, its manifold efforts at expression and the ways of attaining this, and to provide as free and expansive ways as possible for the creative energy which is to work marvelous things for the future. It is peculiarly the physician's task also to understand the failures and, searching out their causes, to bring back the misdirected energy to racial service and individual health and happiness. The reward is twofold and it comes in the direct path of detailed psychoanalytic service. It lies in the bringing of the individual into liberating self-knowledge and thus into racial achievement; it moreover establishes the physician himself in a vital contact with the unconscious, the great energetic source of all that life means, and it compels him to swing into line with cosmic progress and its creative possibilities. His is no small share in freeing and directing the energy whether in his patients or likewise in himself and in setting it to the molding and forming of reality.
PAIN AS A REACTION OF DEFENCE

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As is indicated in the title, pain has been the prominent symptom in this case and that without an adequate physical basis. The history is presented in some detail because it seems to show rather clearly the mechanism by which a physical is frequently elaborated as a result—in a certain type of personality—of a more or less conscious moral conflict. In this case the writer feels that attacks of pain, of the nature to be described, have acted as a way of escape from the intolerable situation created by the action of conflicting forces in the patient's personality. It was her defense indeed for a line of action, which—without some such justification—she herself would admit to be evidence of great weakness. This was, in short, the total failure to take her place in her home—the patient being a married woman, thirty-eight years of age and the mother of four children.

Before going on to the history itself several points may be noted in regard to some common characteristics of such cases which are suggestive of the genesis of the conflict. Firstly the very existence of such a conflict implies a failure in the process of organization of the personality around one main line of activity or interest which normally occurs during the period of adolescence and which is so necessary if the individual is to be an efficient social unit. This failure will most frequently be evident in the persistence of a childish attitude in relation to the environment or childish type of emotional reaction, or the clinging to a relationship which changed conditions renders impossible. This means that the essential transition from adolescence, from childhood to maturity, has never really occurred because the qualities it involves have not sufficiently developed. This failure being largely developmental, all factors such as defective heredity, poor physique, unfortunate early environment, have their influence, the most important possibly being a lack of early training in habits of self-reliance.

But then, too, these individuals characteristically lack the power
to look at themselves in an objective way and so are largely uncon-
scious of their failure, they frequently enter on new relationships,
even such as make far-reaching claims upon them, without either
giving up the old or wholly surrendering to the new. Sooner or
later, however, it becomes apparent that both cannot continue. The
individual becomes conscious that his life lacks unity and effective-
ness, being pulled now in one direction, now in the opposite by con-
flicting desires. More important still in the face of this conflict he
faces a paralysis of the will which renders the solution almost
hopeless.

Perhaps it will be answered that very few of us present a fully
integrated personality and that some measure of such conflict is
nearly universal and results in no obvious mental or physical abnor-
mality. This is, of course, undeniable, but the significant point is
that in this type of individual the question as to which shall domi-
nate is never settled or indeed never frankly faced. On the con-
trary the fact that there is a conflict between instinctive desire and
the demands of their life is often rigidly suppressed from their
consciousness.

Finally, when, as in the present case, the instinctive desire is
given sway at the expense of the other demands, a need is felt for
some justification for this and it would appear that the physical
symptom supplies this need. As has been said before this is the
writer's feeling as to the case presented below. Whether this be
justified or not must be judged by the case-history itself, for after
all facts are the only valid test for our theories.

Case: Now, after this somewhat detailed essay on general prin-
ciples, let us see if the facts in the present case are adequately ex-
plained by our theory. In presenting this history, the main facts
as to the present illness will first be given, and then the other avail-
able facts which may throw light on the patient's special type of emotional reaction.

This patient is a woman now about forty years of age, married,
and the mother of four children. She is bright and vivacious by
temperament; unusually keen on the intellectual side; has quite
marked artistic talent, and generally is a good sample of the cultured
and well-bred American woman with numerous interests and quick
sympathies. Physically she is of the type with highly organized,
easily upset nervous system, but shows no apparent weakness. Nor
have repeated examinations by good men shown any adequate reason
for the fact that she has practically led an invalid's life for four
years, giving up entirely the responsibilities of her home.
Inasmuch as the breakdown dated from the death of the patient's father, with whom her relationship had been of an unusually tender and intimate sort, the story of her relation to that event and the accompanying circumstances will be given as nearly as possible as narrated by herself: For months (before he died) she spent almost as much time with him as she did in her own home, but for ten days before his death the nurse who had been looking after her own children was away, so that she had to stay at home. She was called to be with him a few hours before he died. Just after his death, which was at 2 A. M., she went into the room and stayed alone, and she said that she then prayed earnestly to him that he would show himself to her again. She added that at the time she did not pray to God because her father had never taught her in any way to be religious, so that she did not know how. At this time, also, she sat a long time by the bedside and made a beautiful pencil sketch of her father as he lay there. That night, her husband said, she seemed to be in communion with her father's spirit: "that she seemed to hold on to his spirit, retaining it on earth." After a time she felt she "had no right to retain his spirit, so she let it go and it floated off."

The night before the funeral she had a long dream about her father. It was a dream which seemed to take possession of her, body and soul, and she "went down layers and layers and layers below the ordinary dream level." Her father came to her just for one moment and he had a look of strain and fatigue on his face, and said that he "had been through everything to get there." Later, she felt that in praying to him to come back she had gone against nature, and that she should bring up her children to have more faith than she had, so that they would understand better and not ask for something that would be unnatural. She is very sure that she did see her father; that is, not his body, but that his spirit, just for a moment, touched hers. She has no doubt but that it was supernatural. At the funeral itself she was very happy instead of dreading it, as she expected to do, and this she attributes to the dream she had the night before. She thinks "her sickness" may have dated from that time; it was such a tremendous experience. At any rate, she has not been well since.

This event occurred in March, 1911, and there were, in the following few weeks, various other occasions when her father appeared to her. On one of these occasions he "came in her sleep, dressed as if to go out. He did not speak but had a beautiful smile on his
face.” This meant to her that he had come to tell her “that everything was all right.” The note is made that after this she grew steadily more nervous and distraught. From this time on she uses the term “illness,” though the only evident abnormality then was a peculiar and excessive reaction to a severe emotional shock, which had been preceded by a considerable period during which she was under a heavy physical and nervous strain. This excessive emotional reaction was shown chiefly in states of great nervous tension in which self-control became more and more difficult.

Hoping that a change of scene would be helpful, in July the family moved to a country village where they had a cottage, and on the way the patient said she thought her “head would fly to pieces.” While there, a slight operation became necessary, for which she went to a small hospital, and this greatly upset her. While recovering from this, she rose one night, dressed herself, and was going to drown herself when found, then decided she would go to her husband who was at a considerable distance. When leaving the hospital, she was evidently under considerable tension and said her “mind had split,” but this gradually passed off.

As things did not go well after this, the patient went to another private hospital at H——, where she stayed several weeks and improved greatly. In October she had recovered her normal self-control enough to go home, where she felt very well. Her husband, however, thought she was somewhat exhilarated. During the early winter she became depressed, and dwelt much on those things she said she had missed in life. The idea of suicide now came to her mind, but she made no attempt to carry it out. In this connection, it should be said that on account of his helplessness during the last few months before his death, her father had discussed with her the propriety of taking his own life, and an eminent scientific friend of his——whom the patient also greatly admired——gave it as his opinion that he had a right to do so.

As matters in the house went on badly on account of this depression, there being great difficulty in keeping servants, etc., on the advice of several physicians, the patient quite willingly went to another hospital—one for mental cases—in March, 1912, just a year after her father’s death.

Now another factor became more and more evident: that of her approaching confinement. From the first she said she did not want a child, and later wished it would die, extending this after to a wish that the other three children and her husband would die also,
so that it would be right for her to die also. Early in June she went back, though unwillingly, to the hospital in H—— to be confined there, and the baby was born soon after.

The nurse who attended the patient at this time was evidently coarse and indiscreet in her manner or talk, and this greatly annoyed and worried her, making her recovery very slow. She had been expecting to go back home in the early fall, but suddenly her thought became very strongly centered on religious topics, and delusions with a religious coloring appeared, so that this return was impossible. She read the Bible a great deal, and early in October began to talk of Christ appearing to her. Then one night she felt some rather severe pain in the pelvic region, and this she thought "a spiritual pain" sent to indicate that God wanted her to go to India as a missionary. This idea, however, gradually faded away, and she became less confused, but was still afraid to be alone or in the dark, and in a generally apprehensive state. As she was unable to go home, it was arranged that she should come to the private sanitarium where she has since been. This she did quite willingly in the latter part of October, 1912.

The following abstract as to the examination made on entrance will indicate her physical condition at that time: "She has a good appetite and has no discomfort after eating. There is no evidence of dyspepsia. Pupils are of moderate size, equal, respond to light and accommodation. Tongue protrudes in median line, rather narrow, good color, slightly coated at the base. The hand grasps are very strong, the right slightly more so than the left. Knee jerks active, equal. No ankle clonus. Heart and lung examination negative, as also that of the stomach and abdomen. Patient stands easily on either foot alone with eyes closed. Patient was interested in the physical examination."

The patient's history since this time—some two and a half years—may be summarized as a semi-invalidism with rather irregular alternation of periods when she has mixed in the very quiet life of the sanitarium, and of others when she has stayed altogether in her own room, much of the time in bed. At these latter times, the patient's mental state has seemed to be one both of considerable mental confusion and distress, occasionally even of apprehension. She seems to live over, on these occasions, various incidents of a painful nature which occurred during the year of acute illness which followed the death of her father; and, indeed, the persistent and unusually strong reaction to certain past experiences is one of the
outstanding characteristics of the patient. It would seem that these memories act as never settled problems which keep continually claiming attention and creating a consciousness of the conflict between past desires and present responsibilities. As a matter of fact, the desires are evidently still present and active in the unconscious field, and the responsibilities have never been frankly faced or accepted. Several points should be mentioned as to these emotional crises: (a) they may be brought on by any circumstance which brings forcibly to her attention any of the "irreconcilable factors" in her situation; (b) they are characterized nearly always by more or less agitation and an "absent" expression which greatly resembles that of a hypnotic subject; (c) the only sort of therapy of any use has suggestion as its strongest element—whether persuasion, or a strong, nauseous but largely inert prescription. For a long time these fits of nervous agitation and general psychic upset were the chief features in "the illness." Very soon, however, another factor entered, which to the ordinary observer would seem to require a physical rather than mental explanation—that of severe attacks of pain. The development of this symptom will now be given briefly.

Reference has been made above to a single attack of pelvic pain occurring late in her convalescence from confinement which had been given rather a mystic interpretation by the patient. Several months afterward (early in the spring of 1913) patient began again to speak of this sort of pain, and in April a gynecologist was consulted to see if there were any pelvic displacement which might be at the root of this. No uterine abnormality was found, but the appendix was slightly tender on palpation. After this examination there was seldom mention of this special symptom for a long time. There were, however, frequent attacks of severe pain in the back of the neck which were greatly relieved by electricity.

In January, 1914, however, the pelvic pain reappeared with now a new feature. The patient then said she "imagined that she felt the head of a child pressing in the pelvis." This came on at intervals, associated frequently with delusions of some sort, e. g., that a certain slight acquaintance had an important message for her which would make everything right, etc., and usually came at times when she was tired or emotionally upset. Then, again, she went to a specialist for an examination, and aside from more or less viscerophtosis, no cause was found for the pain. An abdominal belt was prescribed for the ptosis and for a time seemed to give considerable relief. The effect, however, was only temporary, and indeed these
attacks have occurred with more or less frequency ever since, usually lasting only a few hours, but sometimes longer. The following is a typical entry in the history as to the character and associated circumstances of these attacks of pain: "Has had considerable pelvic pain this week from which she is rapidly relieved by strong continued pressure over the ovaries. Was upset coincident with a visit from her husband." Besides these more definitely localized symptoms, there has also been frequent complaint of severe pain, but without any definite localization. Nothing more has been heard of the headaches formerly so troublesome—in which the back of the neck was the site and which were relieved by electricity.

It will be noticed that the usual determining feature both for the attacks of pain and the mental "upsets" is some emotional stimulus, such as a visit from her husband or some other member of the family. It is important to note, in this connection, that there has been for years friction with other members of the family, especially the brothers and sisters, and that during her "illness" there has been considerable criticism of the patient, some of it to her directly and much which has come to her indirectly. The important influence of this family situation on the patient will be touched on later.

Lastly, the situation seems in many ways to remain almost stationary, with the alternation of good days and "disturbed days," and very little increase in self-control, as even yet the patient says the only occupation which does not make her "nervous" is making dolls' clothes.

To summarize: We have a woman of nearly forty who had a "nervous break-down" consequent to the physical and emotional strain of her father's illness and death. Before recovery from this, pregnancy and confinement accentuated the trouble. Mental symptoms—hallucinations, visions, and various religious ideas—making their appearance and rendering home life impossible, she began sanitarium life, which has now lasted some two and one half years. This has been characterized by great emotional hyper-irritability, periodic times of combined mental conflict and nervous agitation, and attacks of severe pain—all with no discoverable physical cause.

Analysis: Let us now see finally whether the patient's history and temperament will afford any clue to how these symptoms have developed. First of all, the patient was, all through childhood and even when she grew up, a very close companion of her father, who was a well-known university professor. With this, there has been a great lack of sympathy between the patient and her mother, who
was of a totally different temperament. This one-sided, or rather unequal relationship, she was evidently acutely conscious of, as she said at one of her upset times that her "brother had said that her mother would never forgive her for having loved her father more than she (the mother) did."

The most significant thing about this unusually close sympathy between father and daughter was the fact that the father continued to be the dominant personality in the patient's life, to whom she looked for guidance, understanding and comradeship, even when normally these would have been found in her husband and home. Then, while there were no disagreements with her husband, there was friction and much obvious discontent because her husband—a professional man with only a very moderate income—felt himself unable to afford many things which she wanted and to which she had been accustomed. This latter element operated in a negative way by making the home circle less satisfying and so making the father's companionship all the more attractive.

With this fact in mind, consider the effect of the death of her father. There was, first of all, a sort of defiance of the inevitable separation as shown by the desire "to hold her father's spirit on earth" and the prayer that he should come back again to her. This goes on to produce what is essentially a divided life in which her failure to take up the ordinary home duties is largely caused by the fact that evidently she was still dwelling largely in the past comradeship with her father, which she could not, or would not, give up.

There was evidently the wish present—more or less unconscious—that this might in some way be resumed, and this even went so far at one time as to wish out of the way all the obstacles to it, when she wished that all the children and her husband would die, as it would then be all right for her to die, when such relationship could be resumed in the other world, as it was no longer possible in this. It would surely seem as if the consciousness of the irreconcilable conflict between this desire and duties which she could not ignore, were the origin of these periods of mental agitation. The habit of staring absently at some object, and producing a condition of autohypnosis, is also the result doubtless of the deliberate dwelling on the past, or as she would put it, a sort of holding converse with her father, which was, at any rate, a withdrawal from the ordinary world for a mystic one of her own creation.

Then as to her pregnancy and its effect on the situation: At first the coming of this baby seemed to stand chiefly as an additional
obstacle in the way of her desire—a new and stronger recall to the affairs of ordinary life, when this was just what she wished to escape. With this fact largely determining her state of mind, it was very unfortunate that the nurse who attended her in her confinement was very coarse and even disgusting in dealing with the physical side of the situation and so made her revolt from the ordinary physical claims of life all the stronger.

Now, many people suffer the loss of near and dear relatives with often the addition of a severe physical strain and yet do not react in any such way as this. Evidently the chief reason for this general psychic unsettling lay in some characteristic peculiar to the individual herself. This it would seem reasonable to connect with the unusually intimate relationship which had long existed between father and daughter. As this had evidently bulked even more largely in her life than her own home circle, it had at once introduced a conflict—albeit an unconscious one—into her life and had also prevented her from developing a morally self-reliant attitude in dealing with difficulties. When, therefore, a severe test came, she completely failed in the effort to meet it—in fact, the reaction was in effect an attempt to resist the inevitable loss rather than to summon strength to bear it. This is borne out by the whole course of succeeding events—the deliberate drawing away from her home cares in these spells of semi-hypnosis, the desire to avoid having another child, the occasionally expressed wish to take her own life, etc.

It is significant that before the death of her father, patient seems to have had no especial religious faith, saying at one time that she did not pray even then as “he had never taught her to do so.” But after this event there came more or less occupation with thoughts of “the other world” evidently as she considered him in such a connection. This developed into a tendency for a time to “spiritualize” all sorts of trivial occurrences, especially bodily symptoms and feelings. The “spiritual pain” with its bizarre interpretation (sent to show her she was to be a missionary to India) late in her convalescence from confinement is typical of this. The fact that a sort of mystic faith was both a support to her and quite in keeping with her own attitude, as a more practical work-a-day one with its demand to sink the self would not have been, would seem to sufficiently explain this development.

Two very important features still demand some explanation: the development of a seemingly baseless pain, and the fact that she seems to grow little better either in control or in self-insight.
The character of the pain, its treatment, and association invariably with emotional stimuli has been already spoken of. Patient has, for instance, declared to the writer that she would often be feeling “perfectly well” when in bed, but, deciding perhaps to dress and come down for dinner, before she had finished dressing there would come very severe pain and simultaneously “terrible thoughts about the family”—meaning the brothers and sisters whose criticism she resented so much. On another occasion she was quite upset and had an attack of pain come on when she met a brother and his wife in the vicinity of the sanitarium. Afterwards she remarked that she “was not so sorry to have them see” her at this time as then “they will believe I am really ill.”

Being in many ways very conscientious, very affectionate, and genuinely interested in her children’s welfare, she obviously feels the call, as any normal woman would, to fill a mother’s place, and not merely see them occasionally for an hour at a time and delegate the rest to a governess. Accordingly, conscious as she is of the need to justify her situation, the criticism of the family she has resented the more. For the past two years she has felt herself “misunderstood and wronged” by them and for quite a time decided to read no letters from them until her husband had seen them, as so often they “upset her.” Her expressed attitude was that she preferred not to see or talk with anyone who felt in “a critical spirit” toward her, as she thought she should reserve all her strength for “getting well”—though she never just defined what she meant by the latter.

Frankly, then, this pain seems to represent a continuance of an accidental experience, or the exaggeration of discomfort from ptosis, through an unconscious elaboration into a justification for her life of invalidism. It is natural, in this connection, to find that the patient is extremely hyperesthetic, both emotionally and physically. It seems as if frequently there was the attitude: “They think I can and ought to be up and live like others. Well, I'll try it and just see how it results.” And there certainly seems to be a sense of satisfaction—though not admitted, of course—at the result, as if to say: “Now they must admit I have done my best and any failure is not at my door.” Indeed, she has said as much frequently.

Finally, the stationary situation is the natural consequence of the total refusal of the patient to admit any view which would throw any responsibility on her for the situation. Her acute resentment of criticism even from a medical source, her willingness even for an
exploratory operation which was once suggested—which would serve as a sort of public justification whatever was done—and her resolute avoidance of fundamental issues: these all indicate an attitude which makes a real "recovery" hardly to be looked for.

If some degree of disintegration of the personality without mental deterioration is characteristic of the hysterical type, as Janet insists, it would seem that many things point to this patient being in that class. The habit of auto-hypnosis, the character of the pain and its associations, and the emotional conflicts, all are more or less characteristic of such cases. At any rate, it seems safe to say this patient's "illness" or whatever we may term the breakdown, has been very closely connected with an unusual dominance of a childhood relationship through adult life, and the failure to develop moral self-reliance. The inferences are obvious.
SOME STATISTICAL RESULTS OF THE PSYCHO-
ANALYTIC TREATMENT OF THE PSYCHO-
NEUROSES

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The chief criticism which has been directed towards psycho-
analytic treatment of the neuroses, has been that there are no statis-
tics available showing the results of this method, the same as is the
case in other departments of clinical medicine. It appears that this
skeptical attitude was justified and it was with the purpose of dis-
arming or minimizing such criticism that the following statistical
study was undertaken. These statistics are based entirely upon
personal investigations and experience.

The following results were obtained in a series of 93 cases of the
various psychoneuroses and also of certain psychoses which were
subjected to treatment with the psychoanalytic method. Some of
the cases were quite severe, while others were mild, but in a large
majority of these, other methods of treatment, such as drugs, rest,
electricity, explanation and the various ordinary methods of psycho-
therapy, had been tried in vain. In fact, in certain of the cases, it
seems justifiable to state, considering the inefficiency of other therape-
uttic methods, that the neurotic condition would have gone on
indefinitely, thus leaving the patient in a condition of life-long misery
and incapacity, had not psychoanalysis been utilized.

In the sexual neuroses, such as homosexuality and sadism, psycho-
analysis was the only method which offered any hope of a cure or
even an amelioration of the condition. In a large percentage of
cases also, psychoanalysis was used as a last resort. This statement
is made for the purpose of minimizing the usual criticism that the
case would have recovered without the long psychoanalytic pro-
cedure. The fact that certain cases were absolutely unaffected by
other therapeutic procedures, but recovered under psychoanalysis, is
sufficient to invalidate any such critical attitude. Psychoanalysis,

1 Read before the New England Society of Psychiatry, September 26, 1916.

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therefore, is a rational therapeutic procedure requiring a specially elaborated technique and is based upon sound modern psychodynamic interpretations of the mental mechanisms of the neuroses.

The results as shown by the following table were most gratifying. So far as known, this is the first statistical study of psychoanalytic therapy. I have given the results only on those cases in which a complete psychoanalysis was done. All of my complete analyses are given in the table, regardless of the results. As can be readily seen, the study limits itself entirely to the practical results, without entering into the theory of psychoanalysis except for a minimum amount of necessary explanation.

**Table of Results of Psychoanalytic Treatment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis</th>
<th>Recovered</th>
<th>Much Improved</th>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>Not Improved</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety hysteria</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hystera</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anxiety neurosis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic alcoholism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsion neurosis</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual neurasthenia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuality</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychasthenia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stammering</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dementia praecox</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paranoiac condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manic-depressive insanity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analyzing these results, several important questions have to be taken into consideration, viz.:

1. The types of cases which best lend themselves to psychoanalysis.
2. What constitutes recovery in the various diseases.
4. Determination of the progress of a case.
5. A discussion of the statistical results.

**1. Types of Cases Suitable for Psychoanalysis**

The cases to which psychoanalysis is applicable consist principally of the severe hysterias, the compulsion neuroses, the sexual neuroses, stammering, the anxiety neuroses and finally certain psychoses such as the paranoiac states, manic-depressive insanity and dementia praecox. In fact, I have come to believe, that early cases
of dementia praecox are distinctly amenable to psychoanalysis, since at this stage the contents of the psychosis are readily accessible and furthermore in the early stages of the disease the mental mechanism is strongly allied to hysteria.

2. What Constitutes Recovery?

In the anxiety states, a case may be said to have recovered if the fear disappears during the day and the anxiety dreams at night. In the compulsion neuroses, recovery may be designated if there are no further compulsive thoughts or acts.

In homosexuality, there must be a complete disappearance of the homosexual erotic feeling during the day and of the homosexual wish-fulfillment dreams either literal or symbolized, at night.

A case of dementia praecox (schizophrenia) can be said to have recovered if the patient once more comes into complete touch with reality. In an interesting paper on the process of recovery in schizophrenia, Bertschinger has pointed out that there are three ways through which it is possible for a patient to regain control of his subconscious sphere, namely through correction of the delusions, through gradual alteration of the delusional form (resymbolization) and through evasion of the disturbing complex. These various methods refer to spontaneous recoveries, but I believe that in dementia praecox cases which are favorably influenced through psychoanalysis, the mechanism of recovery is quite different, namely, a complete transference to reality due to an actual breaking up of the mental process which originally produced the schizophrenic reaction.

In those cases which did not progress to recovery, the duration of treatment was for a sufficiently long period to demonstrate (1) either the impossibility of a complete transference (resistance) or (2) inability to break down the disturbing complexes or (3) a desire on the part of the patient to retain the neurosis, since the neurosis acted as a withdrawal from a reality which was felt to be unbearable. Under these conditions it could be easily seen that further therapeutic efforts would be useless. This wish to retain the nervous disturbance has also been observed by Oppenheim in the psychoneuroses of soldiers in the European war, due to the dread of being sent back to the front.

3. Duration of Treatment

The duration of treatment in the various neuroses varied from a month, in the mild cases, to four or six months in the more severe types. Patients were seen either daily or three times a week, depending upon the severity of the neurosis and the progress of the case.

4. Determination of the Progress of a Case

The progress of a case is best determined by the gradual disappearance of the neurotic symptoms, or the change in the character of the dreams. Experience has shown that the latter offers the best objective evidence of the success or the failure of the psychoanalytic procedure, since the source of both the dreams and the neurosis is in the unconscious. Therefore from the dream, we can determine the transferences or resistances and the patient’s attitude towards his neurotic symptoms. In the sexual neuroses, such as homosexuality, the purely sexual character of the dreams actually undergoes a change during the progress of the case.

Homosexual individuals are greatly troubled with either literal or symbolic homosexual dreams. If the psychoanalytic treatment is successful, the character of these homosexual dreams gradually changes and they finally disappear and are replaced by dreams of a bisexual nature, what I have termed hermaphroditic dreams. Finally as the treatment further proceeds successfully, the dreams become distinctly heterosexual and with this, the homosexual tendency disappears. Thus the dreams, in the psychoanalytic procedure, furnish the objective evidence of the progress of a case and are therefore of decided prognostic value.3

When recovery or improvement took place, it was found to be due to the actual therapeutic effect of the psychoanalytic procedure and not through any method of rational explanation or reeducation of the neurotic symptoms. In fact, in the technical procedure of the analytic treatment, as it has been elaborated through personal experience, all explanation of the patient’s neurosis or of reeducation in handling his neurotic symptoms, has been carefully avoided. The favorable results obtained could therefore be interpreted as produced by the mechanism of transference, the breaking down of resistances and the setting free of those infantile limitations which were the prime factors in developing the neurosis and giving it its automatic character.

3 For further details, see my paper “Homosexuality, its Psychogenesis and Treatment,” New York Medical Journal, March 22, 1913.
5. A Discussion of the Statistical Results

In looking over the table of results, it will be noted that the largest percentage of recoveries (9 out of 11 cases) occurred in the homosexual group, while in stammering, which is really a severe form of an anxiety neurosis, no complete recovery was recorded, although five out of the six cases subjected to the analytic treatment showed a great improvement. In the two cases of homosexuality, in which only a marked improvement was obtained, this result was probably due to an insufficient length of treatment in overcoming the resistance. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that had these two patients remained under treatment a longer period of time, they likewise would have recovered.

Of course recovery in these, as in all such cases which are being treated psychoanalytically, depends upon the rapidity and intensity of the emotional transference, for without a proper transference, the successful therapy of the psychoneuroses is impossible. Because transference is so successful in the hysterias, the compulsion and anxiety neuroses and in homosexuality, the percentage of recoveries is large, because it is so difficult in the cases of stammering, recovery never occurred. In dementia praecox, the difficulty of access to the unconscious sources of the psychosis renders transference extremely difficult. For this reason only early or mild cases of dementia praecox are suitable for psychoanalytic treatment.

It is through the technical methods of psychoanalysis that we are able to watch the development of the transference and guide its direction and it is this factor above all, which makes psychoanalysis the most effective of psychotherapeutic methods in handling the psychoneuroses. A negative transference or resistance interferes with the success of a psychoanalysis and it is the duty of the physician to determine whether this resistance is produced through some present situation or due to infantile factors. Stammerers exhibit the strongest resistances which I have met with in psychoanalysis, because the stammering is a defence reaction and hence no recoveries could be recorded.

In the anxiety hysterias, some of the cases showed cyclothymic fluctuations. On the whole, the results were gratifying, viz., 9 recoveries out of 16 cases. The unrecovered cases were due to strong resistances, in one case to a strong incest-complex. In several of the cases, the distressing feeling of unreality completely disappeared.

In the group of the hysteria cases, many of the somatic symptoms disappeared after a short psychoanalysis, for instance, the
rapid cure of an hysterical blindness in an eleven-year-old girl. In another child of twelve, an over-emotional attachment leading to peculiar behavior during the day and terrifying dreams at night cleared up promptly.

The anxiety neuroses, in spite of rather a high percentage of cures, presented serious difficulties in treatment. In one of these the anxiety led to a severe insomnia which was cured in two months, although previous hypnotic treatment at the hands of another physician was ineffective. Three of the cases showed psychical impotence and the results of treatment were most gratifying.

In one of the cases of chronic alcoholism, recovery took place although the periodic alcoholic indulgence was of over twenty years duration and all other forms of treatment had been tried in vain. In this instance, it was shown that the alcoholism was a reaction to a strongly repressed homosexuality.

In three of the cases of the compulsion neuroses, the compulsive act took the form of kleptomania and in each of these cases, the recovery was complete. In another case, the fear of contamination greatly improved after six weeks treatment.

In the homosexual cases, the results were far more gratifying and with a much higher percentage of recoveries than under the older method of hypnotic treatment.

Since psychoanalysis is the most effective method yet devised for the treatment of that form of an anxiety neurosis which manifests itself in stammering, it has been concluded that a complete and radical cure of stammering is impossible, although as the statistics demonstrate, great improvement may take place. The duration of treatment was long, in three of the cases consuming six months.

The two cases of dementia praecox designated as recovered, present an interesting problem for discussion. One of these showed a typical schizophrenic negativism, which cleared up after two months intensive treatment. The patient, a young woman of twenty-nine, has remained well since, a period of three and one half years. In the other recovered case of dementia praecox, the schizophrenic reaction manifested itself in a typical shut-in personality and a withdrawal from reality. Success in both of these cases was attributed to the rapid positive transference and to the accessibility in penetrating to the disturbing complexes.

Of course, such a conception of the disease is purely a psychodynamic one, since there is little that is distinctive in the pathology of dementia praecox, excepting perhaps the disintegration chemical products which are found in the cortex in cases of so-called acute katatonic "Hirntod." It is possible that psychoanalysis may be quite effective in treating early or latent cases of dementia praecox in the sense of Bleuler, that is, those individuals with oddities of character, reticence, seclusiveness and other abnormalities of mental make-up.

The paranoiac state showed great improvement after two months treatment. In this case, the disturbing mechanism was found to be a repressed homosexuality, the same psychogenesis as has been recently emphasized by Freud and Ferenczi for all paranoiac states. The nature of the constitutional make-up of many schizophrenic and paranoiac cases makes treatment difficult and it is only in a certain group that one can expect help through psychoanalysis.

The manic-depressive case recovered in six weeks treatment in the midst of the depressed phase, although previous attacks had been of much longer duration.

The case of sadism presented great difficulties because of the strong resistance and the persistent mother-complex, but finally recovered after six months steady treatment.

It seems, therefore, that in psychoanalysis we have a therapeutic procedure which is based upon rational psychodynamic conceptions of the various neuroses and psychoses and it consequently must remain as the most efficient psychotherapeutic method yet known to medicine. It starts with certain conceptions of mental mechanism, conscious, and unconscious, and proceeds to unravel these through a well-elaborated and difficult technical procedure. The method is particularly applicable to those psychoneuroses which have failed to improve under any other procedure and it is the only method which penetrates to the fundamental disturbances and so effects a radical cure. Other psychotherapeutic and physical methods merely teach or train the individual to evade his disturbance, psychoanalysis reaches to the basis of the disturbance by penetrating into the unconscious sources of the actual neurosis.

Personal experience with the use of hypnotism and suggestion as contrasted with the psychoanalytic method, has shown that the latter is a therapeutic procedure of much greater efficiency and of higher value in reconstructing those disintegrated personalities which result from a severe psychoneurosis.
The future of psychoanalysis depends upon a careful statistical study of the effects of the method by different observers, on the various neuroses and early psychoses. By this means we can determine the reasons for success or failure, and with these data at hand the technical methods can be more definitely elaborated. Certain imperfections in the technique still exist and these can be better remedied by the study of a large series of cases rather than by the analysis of one or a few cases which show a special symptomatology.
CRITICAL REVIEW

ADLER'S CONCEPTION OF THE NEUROTIC CONSTITUTION

By Bernard Glueck, M.D.

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Side by side with the present-day tendency in psychiatry to emphasize the interpretative phase of mental disease rather than the descriptive one, there has grown up a strong movement towards a delineation and elaboration of the mental substratum, of the soil if you please upon which mental disease develops. This is naturally more particularly the case with the so-called functional mental disorders, but it is true to a certain extent also of those diseases which have a more or less well defined anatomico-pathological basis. Take for instance alcoholism, a pure intoxication of the central nervous system.

A mere diagnosis of alcoholism may be a sufficient diagnosis from a purely practical point of view, but it is unquestionably an incomplete diagnosis from a scientific point of view—the only point of view which promises further advance in our knowledge of medicine. A diagnosis of the latter type would be first of all exquisitely individualistic, it would take cognizance of alcoholism as it relates to the particular individual under consideration, it would be based upon a research into the whys and wherefores of not only the specific causative agent of this disease, but also of the particular mode of development, type of reaction and expression which the disease had assumed in the particular patient under consideration. This method of research, however, has reached its highest development, thanks to the psychoanalytic school, in the functional disorders, and here the craving for more enlightenment has embraced, aside from a thorough search into the meaning of symptoms, a diligent and already quite fruitful exploration into the underlying soil which gives birth

to and houses the array of phenomena known as symptoms of mental disease.

Meyer's and Hoch's endeavors to delineate the dementia-præcox constitution—the efforts of Jelliffe and others to depict the cyclothymic personality—Freud's searching investigation and very promising elaboration of the paranoid character—all of these are efforts in the same direction.

In his book on the neurotic character Adler has carried out this method of research in a very thorough manner, and has perhaps given us thus far the most complete and technically most perfect description of the neurotic constitution. As we peruse his book we are struck again and again with the most thorough and incisive manner in which he proceeded in his search after the truth. His investigation into the forces which are operative in giving the life-spark and sustenance for the creation and moulding of the neurotic character carry him to the very beginnings of life and perforce create the profoundest admiration, whether or no we accept his views. In following him upon his journey of exploration new vistas are constantly revealed to us and in the end the neurotic stands before us like an open book, his symptoms covering the pages in a peculiar but thoroughly comprehensible language which Adler has termed the somatic-jargon (Organ-jargon).

In order, however, to be able to follow him intelligently and sympathetically, which is of utmost importance for the uninitiated, one must have imbibed the principle of absolute psychic determinism, i.e., certain inadequacies of the psychic functions, and certain performances which are apparently unintentional prove to be well motivated when subjected to psychoanalytic investigation and are determined through the consciousness by unknown motives.

Without this one will soon drop by the wayside in this highly difficult yet exquisitely interesting journey of exploration. One cannot put the best that is in one into a search and an investigation for causes and antecedents—an investigation beset with many difficulties which often seem unsurmountable—unless one believes a priori that nothing happens fortuitously, that when carried to its ultimate analysis every mental phenomenon has its antecedent cause. Adler's book is written in a particularly difficult German and his ideation becomes at times extremely profound, so that when I attempt to put before you a concise résumé in the English language of his contributions to the subject of psychopathology I am terribly conscious of the task before me and I crave your kind indulgence if I may seem not sufficiently clear at certain points.
I have divided this review into three main parts.

Firstly I shall endeavor to delineate as briefly as is consistent with clarity the main idea which permeates Adler's work; secondly an endeavor will be made to compare Adler's view with those of Freud and point out the points of difference and departure in the views of the two authors; and thirdly an attempt will be made to show specifically how certain symptoms are handled by Adler in his analysis of a case.

It is, of course, common knowledge that the question of nervousness has occupied the minds of physicians from the very dawn of scientific medicine, and if we are inclined to believe that Adler has come nearer toward a correct solution of the mystery of the neurotic character than anyone else we do not for one instant forget the excellent contributions of his worthy predecessors and contemporaries without which as a foundation this illuminating superstructure would have been impossible. It has long been known that the neurotic shows a series of sharply defined traits of character which exceed the normal standard. The marked sensitiveness, the instability, the suggestibility, the egotism, the penchant for the phantastic, the estrangement from reality, etc., are all characteristics mentioned with greater or lesser emphasis in works on psychiatry. Finally Janet's sentiment d'incompletude, the stress laid by the French school upon the neurotic's feeling of inadequacy, spelled the last word in the descriptive phase of the neurotic. Some of these authors had gone a step farther and endeavored to discover the meaning of the various symptoms exhibited by the neurotic. It remained, however, for Breuer, and later for Freud, and still later for the less orthodox psychoanalytic school to subordinate the descriptive to the analytic mode of study of psychopathology, the fruits of which are common knowledge.

Symptoms which up to now served chiefly as a distinguishing medium between the mentally sick and the mentally well, became endowed with new qualities, new valencies, which to the initiated laid open the innermost life with its cravings and strivings, its hopes and disappointments; in short, it revealed the rocks against which the mind became shattered and the causes which brought about the ruin. This method of psychopathological investigation unquestionably marks one of the most important steps in the progress of scientific thought. But being purely analytic its slogan was the word "whence." Whence come the symptoms, what tale do they tell, and we are told by the echt-Freudians that once this query is answered, that as soon as we have succeeded in showing the patient
his true nature, in getting him to know himself as he actually is, the road to recovery is broken. To Adler, however, belongs the credit of having carried the analytic mode of investigation a step further. He has occupied himself as much as anybody with the question of “whence comes the symptom”—for which his very thorough anatomico-pathological researches into somatic inferiority are ample proof. To him, however, the question of whither does the symptom travel—what is its objective point—in brief, what is the raison d’être of the neurosis or psychosis is just as important if not of greater significance. This is the central theme of his work. He disposes of the descriptive phase of the psychopathology of the neurotic by agreeing with many another that none of the neurotic’s traits of character are essentially new. The neurotic shows no single trait which cannot likewise be demonstrated in the healthy individual. The arrangement, the valencies, the threshold values of the various traits of course are different. His etiologic views while at many points in accord with the views of the psychoanalytic school are built upon a firmer and more convincing foundation. The neurotic according to him is essentially an inferior individual—strictly biologically speaking. This assumption of the neurotic’s inferiority is not based upon that much abused, vague, and in the minds of some, entirely meaningless concept of degeneracy. No! It is based upon thorough and extensive anatomic and pathologic researches into the subject of somatic inferiority. (Organminderwertigkeit), as voiced in his “Studie über minderwertigkeit von Organen,” 1907, and in a number of subsequent contributions.

The neurotic is somatically inferior, furthermore the inferiority regularly affects more than one organ, and what is still more important, especially, for those who still look with disfavor upon the psychoanalytic movement because of the prominence of sexuality in this movement, Adler’s conviction is that there exist no organ-inferiorities without an accompanying defect in the sexual apparatus. Remember! We are still speaking of facts based upon anatomico-pathological researches in most of which Adler is substantiated by the findings of a number of other investigators whom he quotes at length in his book. Now then—what has, for instance, a defective gastro-intestinal apparatus or a defective visual apparatus to do with those traits of character which distinguish the neurotic? We shall see the relationship as soon as we follow Adler a step further and consider his principle of “compensation and over-compensation through the central nervous system.” Here we shall again begin with physiologic facts before we discuss the psychologic ones.
Thus physiologically somatic inferiority brings about a concomitant reinforcement of certain nerve tracts—both quantitatively and qualitatively. A fair illustration frequently met with is the overdevelopment of certain sensory organs in the event of absence or defect of certain others. But inasmuch as every physiologic function has its psychic accompaniment or parallel, compensation regularly takes place through this psychic parallel.

A faulty gastro-intestinal apparatus—*i. e.*, a faulty organ of acquisition and assimilation, for instance, will be compensated through an overdevelopment of all those psychic traits which have to do with acquisitiveness—such as greed, avarice, penury, etc., traits commonly met with in the neurotic.

A defective visual apparatus will be regularly compensated for by an overdevelopment of psychic vision—furnishing us such traits of character as the phantastic day dreaming, the building of air castles, the estrangement from reality which of necessity goes with this—traits exquisitely neurotic in nature. And so it is with all the rest of the functions of the human organism—the central nervous system and more particularly the human psyche is constantly called upon to compensate for—to correct all those defects which are back of our failures in life, which are responsible for our frictions with the world about us. In this respect the neurotic does not differ from normal man—the difference becomes apparent only when an individual begins to transform these various means towards an end into the very ends themselves—when these various psychic aids which are to lead the individual to a higher goal become in themselves the goal of life—it is only when the individual has deified these means toward an end, and has taken them as the guiding principles of life, that he becomes abnormal, that we recognize in him the neurotic.

From what has already been said it will be seen that the realization by an individual of somatic inferiority forms for him a strong impelling force for the development of his psyche. We have seen how certain individual traits develop from this. But we are chiefly concerned with the neurotic character—with the sum total of these traits as personified in a sick individual, endeavoring to square himself with life.

The neurotic in his feeling of inferiority, in his sense of insecurity, constantly strives to find security through a development of those traits which will give him domination over his surroundings. Conscious of the subordinate rôle which he is doomed to play in real life on account of his defective organization, he seeks compensation
and gratification through the positing of a higher goal of life, though this goal be entirely fictitious.

The goal towards which the neurotic strives with all his might, for the realization of which he trains and employs all those psychic traits which brand him as an extra-social individual, is primarily a heightening of the ego-consciousness, the simplest formula of which is an exaggerated masculine protest (männlicher-protest). His cry is "I wish to be a complete man," "I wish to dominate," "I wish to be above."

This is the purpose of his psychosis—the object of each and every one of his symptoms and traits of character. But starting out by using these dexterities as means towards an end, as the stepping stones which are to lead him to this fictitious and regularly unattainable goal, the neurotic winds up because of his extreme sense of insecurity and because of his urgent necessity for a firm foothold in the vicissitudes of life, by raising the means to an end, to the value of the very end desired, in consequence of which he constantly comes in conflict with his environment and ultimately becomes extra-social. The means he employs for the attainment of this fictitious goal—and which we recognize as the neurotic traits of character—may be roughly grouped under two headings. The one embraces all those manifestations which have for their object the raising of the personal worth, the heightening of the ego-consciousness. The other comprises those which are to facilitate the degradation of others. These traits are constantly held in readiness by the neurotic on account of his constant fear of a set-back—of a degradation. They are thrust out into the environment like antennæ, testing the surroundings and informing him at once of every new danger which may threaten his ego-consciousness. To quote Adler, "If we may inquire why the patient wills to be a man and constantly seeks to adduce proof thereof, whence he has the stronger necessity of ego-consciousness, why he makes such strong endeavors to gain security, in short, if we inquire into the final reasons for these devices of the neurotic psyche we may conjecture that which is revealed by every analysis, namely, that at the onset of the development of a neurosis there stands threateningly the feeling of uncertainty and inferiority and demands insistently a guiding, assuring and tranquilizing positing of a goal in order to render life bearable. It is clear that this sort of psyche directed as it is with especial force toward a heightening of the ego, will, aside from specific neurotic symptoms, make itself conspicuous in society because of its evident inability to adapt itself. The consciousness of the weak point dominates the neurotic
to such a degree that often without knowing it he begins to construct with all his might the protecting superstructure. Along with this his sensitiveness becomes more acute, he learns to pay attention to relationships which still escape others, he exaggerates his cautiousness, begins to anticipate all sorts of disagreeable consequences in starting out to do something or in experiencing an injury, he endeavors to hear further and to see further, belittles himself, becomes insatiable, economical, constantly strives to extend the boundaries of his influence and power over space and time and at the same time loses that peace of mind and freedom from prejudice which above all guarantees mental health. His mistrust of himself and others, his envy and maliciousness become gradually more pronounced, aggressive and cruel tendencies which are to secure for him supremacy over his environment gain the upper hand, or he endeavors to captivate and conquer others by means of greater obedience, submission and humility, which not infrequently degenerate into masochistic traits, thus both heightened activity as well as increased passivity are expedients ushered in by the fictitious goal of a greater power, 'of a desire to be above, of the masculine protest.'

To recapitulate, the neurotic stands under the dominance of a fictitious goal of personality, which he is forced to construct for himself on account of his extreme feeling of inferiority and uncertainty in life, and on account of his urgent need of a steadying, tranquilizing and safety-insuring goal, towards which he strives with all his might, to which he subordinates all his thinking, willing and acting. The feeling of inferiority and consequent psychic overcompensation originate from the neurotic's organic inferiority—from somatic defects of a structural, developmental as well as functional type—regularly accompanied by a defect in the sexual apparatus.

The proof which Adler adduces for these concepts cannot of course be briefly summarized and has to be read in the original. One can readily see in which respect Adler differs from Freud.

Freud assumes a force from behind which drives the neurotic onward, infantile wishes—psychic traumata of the past, a libido constantly striving for adequate expression and union—while according to Adler it is the fictitious and regularly unattainable goal which the neurotic sets before him that is responsible for the neurotic symptoms.

Libido here does not drive, but is forcibly drawn into certain channels by the goal ahead. As for the rest, the two authors are
in accord. Both entirely agree as to the significance of the symbolic in the life of the individual; both agree as to the importance of sexual apperception; but to Freud this forms the leit-motif in the life of the neurotic, to Adler it is only one of the many devices, one of the many dexterities by means of which the neurotic strives to gain his assumed goal.

Let us take, for instance, the "Œdipus complex," one of the psycho-sexual deviates so strongly emphasized by the Freudians in discussing psychopathologic states. In the last analysis this manifestation only means an attempt at identification with the father. Now then according to Freud psycho-sexual deviations are due to an arrest in the development of the psycho-sexuality at some intermediate point before normal hetero-sexuality is reached. Freud does not tell us why arrested development takes place at a certain half-way point. Adler agrees with Freud that sexual apperception plays a tremendous part in the life of the individual and more particularly in the life of the neurotic. He tells us, however, furthermore, first why psycho-sexuality is arrested at a premature and abnormal point (because of the real organic incapacity and deficiency) and secondly why, for instance, an individual develops, say, an Œdipus complex. In his sense of insecurity, in his endeavor to gain a sure foothold in life, in his striving towards the goal of complete manhood, the neurotic first takes as the model for his goal the father, the individual who dominates the family. We must not forget that this trait of imitating the father is common to all children and is perhaps one of the usual steps in the evolution of the child, but with the neurotic because of his extreme need of a steadying, guiding principle on account of his debilitating feeling of inadequacy, imitation alone is not sufficient and is transformed into actual identification, hence the Œdipus complex. A later identification with God is not infrequent (see Jones on the God-man complex). Or take for instance, a symptom-complex like the following: vague abdominal pains, shortness of breath, palpitation of the heart, nausea, vomiting, occasional astasia, tiresomeness, craving for certain foods, an array of symptoms not at all uncommonly met with in neurotic women. What does such a grouping of symptoms at once suggest to anyone—pregnancy, of course. That is precisely what the neurotic intended it for. It is to remind of pregnancy, that exquisite symbol of womanhood, of weakness, of dependency and subjection. Why does the neurotic want to be reminded of this? In order to stimulate all those activities which would guard, to protect against such a state of dependency. The neurotic's cry is to be a man—to be above
(Nietzsche's "Will to Power"). What is necessary to facilitate such a symptomology? A somatic hypersensitiveness—hypochondriasis—a tendency to pamper oneself, another group of symptoms commonly seen in neurotics—protective aids and dexterities, Adler calls them, which are to put the neurotic on guard against a possible degradation—against a possible set-back.

These are a few concrete examples of Adler's mode of analysis of psychopathologic states, and if I have succeeded in making myself clear, you must have noted that the chief distinction of Adler's mode of approach to the subject of the neuroses lies in his endeavor to discern the whys and wherefores, the object of the neurotic symptoms, aside from having given us a much more dependable etiologic basis than has heretofore been furnished for the neurotic condition.²

ABSTRACTS

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Abstracted by Leonard Blumgart, M.D.

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1. Concerning Hysterical Dream States. Karl Abraham, M.D.
2. Conflicts in the Mind of a Child. C. G. Jung, M.D.
3. A Case of Multiple Perversion and Hysterical Episodes. J. Sadger.
6. Psychological Investigation of Cases of Dementia-Præcox (Paranoid Form). A. Maeder, M.D.
7. From the Analysis of a Compulsion Neurosis. F. Riklin.

1. Concerning Hysterical Dream States.—Dr. Abraham quotes from an article by Löwenfeld, Über traumartige und verwandte Zustande, published in the Zentralblatt für Nervenheilkunde, 1909; "The outer world does not make its usual impression. Familiar objects, daily happenings, seem changed or unknown, new and strange; or the entire surroundings have the impression of a fantasy, an illusion or a vision. Especially in the latter case it seems to the patients as though they were in a dream or half asleep, hypnotized or somnambulistic, and in speaking of these conditions they usually refer to them as dream states." Löwenfeld says further that these conditions can vary considerably both in degree and duration, that they are often closely associated with the feeling of fear and that they are usually accompanied by other nervous symptoms.

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Abraham is the first to describe this condition from a psychoanalytic viewpoint. He maintains that his conclusions form an elaboration of disclosures concerning the mechanism of analogous episodic manifestations of hysteria. He cites some of his cases in evidence.

The first patient he saw only once, but cites him to show how limited our understanding of such cases is without psychoanalysis. Patient A. was inclined to daydreaming of great activity; all actual events or even a word stimulated him in this direction. As these increased in intensity he felt more and more withdrawn from reality. Numbness, followed for a short period by a feeling of "emptiness in the head," gave place to dizziness accompanied by fear and palpitation of the heart. The whole condition up to the appearance of the dizziness he characterized as pleasurable, but it gave place to nervous vomiting, nervous diarrhea, headache, great irritability, inclination to fear, etc. This case and all the following ones show quite clearly the connection between daydreaming and the dream state.

The typical introduction to a dream state is a fantastic ego exaltation. The next stage is that of dreamlike withdrawal from reality. He feels as though he were in a dream. The term "dream state" is spontaneously brought to the physician by many of these patients, and is based upon the fantasy production of the mind in the first stage and the alteration of the state of consciousness in the second. Abraham adds to these two a third or the state which he characterizes as blank consciousness. The patients themselves call this a "standing still of their thoughts" or an "emptiness in the head." The whole condition is ended by a depression state whose most important affect is fear accompanied by dizziness and palpitation of the heart. These periods are not sharply defined. In fact, transition states occur which can be recognized. The practical value of such an arbitrary division is its usefulness in discussing these analyzed cases. The point of greatest intensity in this condition is without doubt the third period, and it is of great significance that this forms the boundary of two opposing feelings. It is typical of these cases that the dream state up to the third period is pleasurable, while in the last period a very strong painful affect is described.

Abraham goes on to show that the conscious material that patients themselves give is of only limited value. It shows their ideas and feelings in these dream states, the incidents that start them going and the variations in their states of consciousness. Details of more cases would reveal the wide individual variations, but as long as we depend upon the patients' conscious material we never know the cause of their attacks. The neurotic usually indulges in daydreaming. Without psychoanalysis we would never know why daydreaming at times gives rise to these acute attacks with changes in the state of consciousness. Likewise an understanding of the "withdrawal from reality," especially the feeling of strangeness and unreality, would remain obscure; we would be
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completely in the dark concerning the temporary blank consciousness and the appearance of fear with its accompanying symptoms. Each separate case presents its own particular riddles, of which the fantasies of the primary and final states are especially inexplicable without analysis. The solution of the problem lies in psychoanalytic investigation of these fantasies.

Freud teaches that fantasies are the expression of instincts. Wishes, whose material fulfillment is inhibited, are satisfied by the power of imagination. In the neurotic the entire instinct life is hereditarily of abnormal strength, with an accompanying tendency toward instinct repression. In the conflict between these two forces the neurosis is formed. It is due to the power and manifold form of his instinct life on the one hand, and the multitude of his repressed wishes on the other, that the neurotic is a dreamer. As experience shows, he inclines to much day dreaming and his sleep is apt to be rich in active dreams. But the power of his repressed instincts is so great that he cannot be satisfied with normal means of expression. For the normal individual a certain amount of day dreaming or other fantasy activity is sufficient vent for his repressed tendencies. Not so for the neurotic. He must also use the neurotic dream state to express himself. Psychoanalysis shows the all-governing significance of the sexual fantasy in these states. It becomes clear that the apparent non-sexual fantasy, through the process of sublimation, has arisen out of sexual wishes. Those fantasies which have been allowed to come into consciousness by the censor serve simply to clothe repressed wishes.

The next case Abraham reports is one which he was able to analyze. Patient B. suffered from unusually severe hysteria with phobias and compulsion symptoms. He feared to leave the house, with the result that for the last five years he had been unable to practise his profession and had lived as a recluse. Dream states had recurred with great frequency since he was ten years old. The subject of these fantasies was always extraordinary egoistic superiority. They could be induced in later years by a wide variety of happenings, praise of schoolmates, lectures, theaters, etc. The only external signs of all these fantasies were that he increased the speed with which he ran around the room, or else broke into a run on the street. He himself characterized this as an ever-increasing "enthusiasm."

These symptoms gradually brought the patient to the second state, which he called "turning toward within" and "shutting off all outside impressions." "One loses in one's fantasy the ground under one's feet." From then on he seemed to be in a dream. His entire surroundings, even his body, seemed strange to him, and he doubted as to whether he really existed. Soon appeared the typical third state, that of arrest of thought, quickly followed by the feeling of fear which proclaimed the appearance of the fourth state, dizziness, the feeling that he could not go
forward any more, could not lift his legs, that he was gliding, falling, sinking. All this was accompanied by a high degree of fear. He characterized the first state as pleasurable, even although in this state of "enthusiasm" there appeared an opposing current which made itself apparent by a feeling of chilliness. We see here the paresthesias and vasomotor symptoms that accompany the dream state. In the period of blank consciousness the chilliness became intense and with the advent of fear he sometimes felt a wave of heat spread over him, a congestion in the head. If the feeling of fear resulted in the feeling of weakness, chilliness became more marked with an accompanying sensation as though parts of his body were dead.

Although he desired the dream state because of its accompanying pleasure, the patient attempted to stop the process before it reached its highest point, blank consciousness. The last period was very protracted in this patient, and in order to free himself from the accompanying fear, he used very peculiar means: he lighted a cigar. When Abraham began to analyze this patient, the latter spontaneously declared that he had considered these dream states for a long time as a sort of spiritualization of his sexual instinct. He belongs to those neurotics who through early childhood masturbated, and who later were in constant conflict with this habit. The attempt to break it, often tried and as often failing and then tried again, resulted in the well-known disillusions, self-reproaches and hypochondriacal worries.

Now Freud has brought proof that the episodic manifestations of hysteria very often have the significance of being substitutes for a broken habit of masturbation.

Abraham shows that the dream state is an analogous condition. This patient in his earliest youth was used to daydreaming of a very active kind, which led to fantasies during which he was wont to provide an outlet by the act of masturbation for the stored up energy that these fantasies stimulated. As he attempted to free himself from his auto-erotic activity, the day dreams needed a new outlet. They therefore became the primary period of his dream state just as they had formerly been the primary period of his masturbation. The second period, withdrawal from reality, and the third, blank consciousness, are the corollary of rising sexual excitement and its summit in the moment of ejaculation. The final period with its fear and weakness are taken over in toto from the masturbation, and are symptoms which are the inevitable consequences of masturbation in the neurotic.

Abraham goes on to show the relation that exists between the second and third periods of the dream state and masturbation. The rising sexual excitement leads to isolation from reality and shutting off of all external impressions. The power of the repressed wishes is so great that when they rise from the unconscious and reach consciousness as fantasies fulfilling the desires, they appear to the patient more real than
reality, thus reducing reality to a dream. The feeling is very common to neurotics who, in order to satisfy their sexual demands, withdraw from the world. This patient remembers that one of his earliest and favorite fantasies was that he would be able to go to a room hidden under the earth in the middle of a forest, and there in this secret room he could indulge his desires. This wish repressed into the unconscious rises to consciousness as a fear against closed spaces which dominates him to this day. The third period, where the peculiar disappearance of thought into blank consciousness is noticed, is the state which is especially well marked in neurotics as the height of sexual excitement.

Although we see that the dream state is a substitute for a satisfying form of sexuality which has been given up, we are still far from a complete understanding of its manifold phenomena. Fantasies of the first and fourth states are so individual that we can only understand them on the basis of a close analysis of the instinct life of each patient. This patient's infantile love had become so fixed to the people in his immediate surroundings, that its normal separation was not possible at puberty. The inclinations towards aggression were very largely sublimated, but not sufficiently so, and therefore the patient had to rob them of their destructiveness by using their energy in the opposite quality. The aggressive impulses toward the mother were therefore transformed into complete passivity, and absolute dependence upon her, which has persisted to the present day. He is bound to her and to the house as if he were a small child. One very rarely misses this complete dependence upon some one individual in cases like agoraphobia. If he attempted to leave the house this act would symbolize for him a forbidden thing, i.e., the separation from the mother, with which was confounded the fear of falling a victim in homosexual desires. Therefore there is a continual repression which resulted in the extreme violence of his attacks of nervous fear.

The final period represented a reversion to his passive infantile state with its depression and lack of courage. He believed that he could not walk another step, which was a beautiful symbolization of his actual psychic condition. His unconscious tendency to remain in his infantile state was the victor. It was no wonder then that he appeared small to himself, while people and spaces seemed extraordinarily large. Like a child who had not yet learned to walk he would like to crawl on all fours towards home and mother. The dream state in this patient gives an insight into the conflict between instinct and repression which takes place in every neurosis. Repressed desires, originally of abnormal strength, tear themselves loose from the unconscious only to be again repressed into it.

The very next case will show that these dream states do not have the same tendency in all cases. The dream states of Miss C. were always the result of an unavoidable actual situation in which she felt repressed,
tortured and degraded. Conversation of a painful content, or a bodily malaise, such as menstruation could be the inciting cause of the attack. She says: “During my period I lose all sense of reality.” In addition to this she was able to bring about her dream states voluntarily. If she was on the street she had the feeling as though she must fall; she could not go home alone; she felt impelled to talk to the first man who came along. The “falling and talking to a man” have a double meaning. They characterize not only her helplessness and need of assistance but also point to the prostitution fantasy so often and so secretly held by hysterical women.

From this patient we also learn of very protracted dream states which are extremely corroborative examples of the neurotic’s withdrawal from reality in order to fulfill their repressed desires.

Patient D. suffered from early childhood with severe hysteria which had made him almost completely unsocial. He spoke only that which was absolutely necessary and would not eat in the presence of others because to do so made him a victim of violent fear. He also had dream states. This extraordinary method of living was motivated by a strong fixation of his libido upon the people in his immediate surroundings. Every time he went out he was possessed by violent fear. His heterosexual desires were fixed upon his mother and sisters, while his homosexual desires expressed themselves in fantasies concerning his father. The moment he approached a stranger his sexual fantasy began to transfer itself to this new person and was immediately repressed. All those sexual fantasies were used as an introduction to masturbation. We see in this case the dream state in its direct and original association with masturbation. For many years he continued this masturbatory dream act during his school life. If while in this twilight condition he were suddenly asked a question by the teacher, violent fear would set in. This dream state gradually extended and was almost continuous in that he felt himself alone, away from the world. Very often if he found himself in a situation that was painful he closed his eyes and voluntarily called to his aid his dream states. While being analyzed he would always close his eyes when a topic come up about which he did not wish to speak, and it was then absolutely impossible to get a word out of him. From this patient we also learn of very protracted dream states, which were extremely corroborative examples of the neurotics, withdrawal from reality in order to fulfill their repressed desires.

Patient E. showed a very strong infantile sexual transference to both parents. He was greatly bound to his mother, so that it seemed strange to him that although grown up he still had the feeling that he was a child. It was the death of his mother that brought on his dream state which lasted for a long time. For many months he felt as though he were living in a dream. Spontaneously he said: “I cannot conceive a reality in which I am not side by side with my mother.” In the place
of the repressed fantasies of the death of his mother, there had been in his consciousness the thought that his own life depended on hers and would stop when hers did. The death fantasies were now directed against himself, and with these there went hand in hand the concept of the worthlessness of the present. With the death of his mother the world had ceased to exist for him. As in the former cases, everything appeared strange to him; as though he had never seen them. Such dream states then began to occur quite frequently but without disturbing him in his daily routine, and in general he was able to carry on his profession, which required intensive intellectual effort. He suffered from periodic headaches of great severity. Three years ago he determined to seek the help of a neurologist, who attempted to aid him by hypnosis. This was unsuccessful, but E. was able by some sort of auto-hypnotism to diminish his sufferings. Although relieved by this means, he was not cured. He wanted Dr. Abraham to hypnotize him. He maintained at the time that his highest ideal was the passive state. His whole sexuality showed the impression of a strong masochistic tendency. Now his dream state brought the fulfillment of his desires. Through analysis we finally see that it is his identification with his mother leading to a desire to be a woman and to get his sexual pleasure as a woman does, that dominated the content of his fantasies and dream states, for it is in these latter that his wishes became fulfilled. With this assumption of his desire to be a woman, the cause of his periodic headaches becomes clear. He tells us that his mother suffered from childhood with headaches caused by menstruation. They made her very irritable and sensitive, and lasted three or four days. The patient's headaches caused him exactly the same irritability and sensitiveness. He has to stop work and go to bed for the first two days. He therefore identified himself with his mother. So the headaches as dream states served him as a metamorphosis towards femininity.

The final observation is a fragment of another psychoanalysis and does not show, as the other cases do, a well-marked dream state. Patient F. revealed a state preliminary to this. He demonstrated in an especially illuminating way the derivation of dream states from day dreaming and showed the close relationship existing between neurotic dream states and night dreams. He is ruled by a frequently recurring fantasy of such intensity that he calls it his “compulsion idea.” He identified himself with the hero of a story. “When I read a love story I believe I am the hero whom women eagerly court.” In reality his sexual activity is very reduced. In addition to these neurotic dreams he is possessed by fantasies of fame. He fancied himself a Krupp or a Napoleon and pictured to himself how ruthlessly he would force his will upon his underlings. It was very difficult for him to free himself from these day dreams. He did so by reciting to himself a poem, such as “Die Lorelei,” or some other poem learned in childhood.
One sees from these fantasies that they are the means his repressed sadistic sexual instinct has of satisfying itself. He had the feeling also that he did not give the impression of being a man, that people treated him as though he were a child. In his dreams he became an energetic despotic man, only to relapse at their termination into the dependent, weak child. The poems of his childhood owe their power of breaking up his fantasies to the fact that through them he felt himself transported back to childhood. Although this case is not one of dream states, such as have been described, it has one important characteristic in common. During his fantasies he lost control over his thoughts, and, just as the other patients do in order to break up their fantasies, he required a new means and used it extensively before it worked.

This same case shows that the day dreams can be a preliminary state to night dreams. The patient relates a number of dreams which have recurred repeatedly since his childhood. In one of these he was attacked while in bed by a bearded man who stabbed him with a dagger. He lay there passively as if his hands were paralyzed. He awakened from this dream in great fear. More frequently he dreamed he was followed by a lion; finally and with great fear he managed to slip through a crack in the wall where the lion could not follow him. The man with the dagger was the father whose “attack” upon the mother the patient witnessed as a small boy. The dream revealed the repressed wish of the patient to take his mother’s place in his relation to the father.

Analogous to the dream states are the hypnoidal and twilight states. Abraham shows that the mechanism of the dream states is analogous to the manifestations in hysterical attacks. The cases of which he speaks are those of very severe neurosis, but that does not necessarily mean that the milder forms are free from these dream states. All neurotics have an inclination to day dreaming. They seem to be unable to overcome the auto-erotic desires of their childhood. The simple day dreams and those complicated structures which they may lead to, serve the purpose of allowing these individuals to flee temporarily from reality into childhood. If one is predisposed to the production of these dream states, he needs but a mild stimulus to activate the repressed complexes. Especially in the mildly neurotic patient these dream states often escape the observation of the physician or their real significance is not understood. It is not infrequent, for instance, that a patient tells the physician (and this is by no means true during psychoanalysis only) that she feels as though she were hypnotized by him. This is nothing but a rather transparent act of transference. The patient is unconsciously ready to subjugate herself to the will of the physician. The fantasy produces this desire of hers as being fulfilled. Other hysterical people feel thus hypnotized when in the presence of the object of their love.

Abraham tells of a patient who was constantly being overcome by fear in the street cars. She had the feeling as though she were being
"bored through and through" by the glances of any man who happened to sit opposite. The result of such an occurrence was the condition which she describes as a sort of "hypnosis," and which was regularly followed by fear. Other neurotic girls report that in the middle of a conversation with a man they suddenly feel themselves withdrawn from reality. They seem to lose the sound of their own voice, and it seems instead to be that of a stranger. This is immediately followed by a blankness of mind, to which is added fear and a feeling of shame. One learns that these individuals have busied themselves extensively with day dreaming. Just as the hysterical attack is brought on by association when the complex in the unconscious is stimulated and thereupon expressed organically, just so the dream states provide the neurotic with substitutes for his prohibited sexual activities. His unconscious makes use of these substitutes so long as there is no satisfaction for his wishes.

On the other hand, if his libido is given sufficient expression, the dream states diminish, in fact, disappear completely. Abraham saw this occur in the case of a mildly neurotic woman as soon as she was sexually satisfied in her marriage. In another case the same thing happened when he was able to cure a man of psychic impotence. Here the restless and fruitful productivity of his sexual fantasy was reduced to a normal state as soon as he became potent.

Analysis of dream states proves again the extreme fruitfulness of the Freudian ideas. Since the existence of psychoanalysis we are not limited to a mere description of the symptoms of neurosis. We are able to grasp their significance, to understand the individual variations, to comprehend the conditions and motives of their origin and to show the forces that activate them and their tendencies. We understand also the individual characteristics of our patients because we not only investigate their present emotional life, but also the repressed desires of their childhood; which faithfully preserved in the subconscious seek to renew the infantile pleasurable situations by means of fantasy.

2. Conflicts in the Mind of a Child.—Jung received from the father of a four-year-old girl, Anna, data which impressed him as strikingly corroborative of Freud's observations of "Little Hans." This girl is robust and has never been ill, has never shown any nervous symptoms, and is of normal intelligence.

When she was about three years old she had the following conversation with her grandmother.

"Grandmother, why are your eyes so wrinkled?"
"Because I am old."
"You are going to get young again, aren't you?"
"No. You know I am going to get older and older and then I am going to die."
"And then?"
“Then I shall become an angel.”

“And then you will be a little girl again, won’t you?”

This shows how Anna solved one of her problems. For some time she had been asking when she was going to have a live doll, which naturally led to questions as to where babies came from. But as her questions came spontaneously and without emphasis her parents attached no importance to them, but told her the usual story about the stork. Somewhere she had heard, too, that babies were angels who lived in heaven and were brought down by the stork. This seemed to be the starting of her quest, as was shown in her talk with her grandmother. Her theory has an extensive use; it pleasantly does away with the painful thought of death and at the same time solves the mystery of where babies come from. Doubtless this simple concept is the nucleus of the reincarnation theory which is still held by millions of people.

The coming of a new brother when Anna was four was a turning point of her life, and formulated her wonder as to the origin of children into a distinct problem. Her mother’s pregnancy had apparently made no impression. The evening before the boy’s birth, when the labor pains had begun, her father said: “Listen, dear. What would you do if you were given a new brother to-night?” “I’d kill him” came her prompt answer. “To kill,” taken at the child’s valuation, means merely to remove, for children use the word promiscuously for any and all kinds of “getting rid of.”

The baby was born the next morning. Her father told her the news and took her into her mother’s room. Glancing at the mother with shyness and distrust she showed so little joy over the baby, that the parents were disappointed with the cold welcome she gave it. During the morning she stayed away from her mother, but in the afternoon when she found herself alone with her, she ran to her and whispered: “Mother, are you going to die now?”

Here is a marked point in her conflict. The stork theory evidently had not been accepted, but the other story, according to which a person died and thus gave life to a child, impressed her. According to this mother had to die. How then was she to be happy over the baby, of whom as a matter of fact she was already jealous in the normal childish way? So in a favorable moment she assured herself that mother was not to die. With the happy outcome of her inquiry the reincarnation theory received a sad blow. But how explain the birth of her brother? There remained only the stork theory.

Her attempts to clear this up were unfortunately not observed, for she was sent to her grandmother’s for a few weeks. There she frequently mentioned the stork story and it was always supported by the grandmother. When she returned home she greeted her parents with the same shyness she showed after the birth of her brother. Towards the latter she was a little more cordial. There was a nurse, however,
to whom she was most unfriendly, albeit she was much impressed with her uniform. The cause of her opposition soon revealed itself in an angry scene by the baby’s crib, when Anna cried out “It’s not your brother, it’s mine.” But she soon became reconciled and shortly after began to play nurse. She developed a mildly elegiac state, slept for long hours under the table, and in a singing voice told long stories, some incomprehensible, some having the nurse as their motive, and some distinctly mournful. This ushered in a new condition which we are accustomed to see in the adolescent when he begins to separate himself from family ties as his growing individuality asserts itself. But his inner fixation to the warmth of the parental hearth produces homesickness which expresses itself in compensatory poetic fantasies. If it seems paradoxical to compare the psychology of a four-year-old child with that of an adolescent it should be remembered that the similarity does not lie in the age but in the mechanism of the mood. The mournful dreamings show that a part of the love which had formerly belonged, and should continue to belong, to an object, had been introverted, turned within, and there produced increased fantasy activity. That this introversion is not characteristic of the psychology of adolescence alone, but of conflict, which is usually more associated with adolescence, the following incident will show.

Anna was often disobedient and defiant, saying “I am going to my grandmother’s.”

“But I shall be sad if you go away,” replied her mother.

“Oh, you will have brother.”

Anna’s motive in making this threat is clear. She wanted to find out if her brother had entirely supplanted her in her mother’s love. But one must not take too seriously these little chicaneries. That she saw and felt that she had lost nothing of her mother’s love, in spite of her brother’s existence, and that she knew her reproach was unjustified, was betrayed in her affected tone. One hears the same tone in adults when by emphasizing their reproaches they show that they are not to be taken too seriously. The incident is a preliminary manifestation of a resistance which expressed itself later as follows:

“Come, we’ll go into the garden now,” said the mother.

“You lie. You will see what will happen if you do not tell the truth,” Anna indignantly retorted.

“Why, what is the matter with you, child? I am telling the truth.”

“No, you do not tell the truth.”

“But you will see that I am telling the truth. We are going into the garden right now.”

“Is that true? Is it really true? Aren’t you telling a lie?”

Scenes like this occurred frequently, Anna always emphasized the word “lying.” Her parents did not understand this and failed to attach to it that importance which should be given to children’s spontaneous
utterances. And this is the failure of education in general; one does not listen to children, or one listens too little. In all important events they are treated as irresponsible beings, while in trivial matters they are trained to be perfect automatons. Back of such resistance is always conflict, and at some later time, and in other circumstances, it will express itself.

Once Anna said to her mother "I would like to be a nurse when I am big."

"I wanted to be a nurse, too, when I was a child."

"Well, why didn't you?"

"Because I became a mother instead, so I also have children to take care of."

"Will I become another woman than you? Will I live in a different place? Will I be able to speak to you then?"

Here Anna shows clearly her desire to have a child, as the nurse has. It is quite clear where the nurse got her child; therefore Anna could get a child in the same way when she grew up. Where did mother get a child if not in the same way that the nurse did? Evidently there is nothing in the stork theory and nothing in the angel theory; therefore one gets a child just as the nurse did. So Anna asks from her viewpoint "Why didn't you become a nurse?" Without doubt it is the problem of the origin of children that is bothering her. The stork did not bring it, mother did not die, and as the nurse got the child, her mother didn't.

Moreover she had asked her father about it and he had told her that the stork brings children, and she knew this wasn't true, and refused to be fooled by it. Therefore father, mother, everybody, told lies. This cleared up her distrust of her mother when the brother was born, and why she accused her mother of lying; and shows how her elegiac dreamy condition was produced, and, too, the real object for which part of her love had been taken, inducing introversion from her parents, in whom she had no more faith. She must have been sorely troubled, thinking in a half-formed puzzled way "What is it that they won't tell me? It must be a secret, and maybe dangerous." It is perfectly plain that the sublimation power of a four-year-old is not developed, and therefore its mind is forced to other compensations. The usual one is that which Anna had almost forgotten—crying at night. She had cried much in her first year, but had 'outgrown it. Now it returned.

The earthquake at Messina occurred at this time and conversation often centered around it. Anna was tremendously interested and made her grandmother tell her repeatedly how the earth rocked and the houses fell and the people were killed. From this time they dated her daily fear of remaining alone in the evening. Her mother had to stay with her because without her Anna feared the earthquake, the destruction of the house and her death. She was occupied with the same
thoughts during the day, also, and while taking a walk with her mother she would ask: “Will the house still be standing? Will father still be alive?” and every stone that she passed brought the question “Is that from the earthquake?” If a house were in process of construction she found in it an example of the destruction of the earthquake. She would wake in the night screaming that the earthquake was coming, that she could hear its thunder. They tried to reassure her by telling her that earthquakes only occur in the neighborhood of volcanoes. Then they had to prove that the hills surrounding the town were not volcanic. This reasoning led to a natural intellectual research on her part, in which she demanded to be shown all the volcanoes in the encyclopedias and atlases in the library. She would look at these by the hour and her questions were endless.

This was a very energetic attempt to sublimate fear into intellectual impulse, an effort decidedly precocious at her age; and just as with many another gifted child trying to work out its problems, her efforts were stimulated, surely not to her gain. If one assists sublimation at this age one feeds a neurosis. The root of the impulse toward knowledge is fear, and fear is the expression of an inverted libido; in other words it is an introversion which has become neurotic, and for a child of this age is neither necessary nor favorable. Anna's goal in her search becomes clear from her almost daily questionings: “Why is S. younger than I? Where was Fritz before he was born? Was he in heaven? and what did he do there? Why did he come just now and not any sooner?” These suggested to the father that the mother should tell Anna the truth. So when she again asked about the stork her mother told her that the stork story was not true, but that Fritz grew in mother just as the flowers grow in the earth. He was very small at first and grew bigger and bigger just like the plants. The child listened without the least astonishment and then asked: “And did he come out all by himself?”

“Yes.”

“But he cannot walk yet.”

“He must have crawled out,” said her younger sister.

“Is there a hole here (pointing to her chest) or did he come out of the mouth? And who came out of the nurse?” Without waiting for an answer Anna went on “No, I know. The stork brought brother down from heaven,” and before her mother could reply she left the subject and asked for the volcano pictures.

Although she said no more that evening, the sudden revelation evidently brought new and wide viewpoints, all more or less focused on the question whether children come out of the mouth or out of a hole in the chest. These ideas are not unknown even to adults, for many young women still believe that children are born through the abdomen or are cut out; theories which are nearly always the result of sexual acts
practised upon the recto-genital openings, bringing those openings into disgrace in the child's thought of them. One wonders why children have this idea of birth through the mouth or through a hole in the chest when they know of the openings in the lower part of the body, from which they experience a coming forth—since that is what the child feels. The explanation is simple. At the time when they usually have an exaggerated interest in their rectal and urinary openings, this interest arouses the opposition of the mother's educational and cultural ideals, and the child learns that it must not talk about these things. Hence when they try to work out the problem of birth they exclude these openings. One can excuse such an error in a four-year-old child when one remembers all the people, who, in spite of maturity and acute perceptions, never see anything sexual in life.

Anna's sister had more curiosity about her excretory products, and forbidden to indulge this interest she refused to eat anything which came to the table which in the least reminded her of them. Anna herself, more obedient, adjusted herself to the demands of environment, with the result that she thought of the simplest and most natural thing last. Wrong statements put in a child's mind in place of truth last for years, until at last there comes from the outside world a brutal revelation. It is no wonder that theories whose origin and preservation have been encouraged by parents and educators, should be the important determiners of symptoms in the neuroses, or become delusions in the psychoses.

When Anna knew that her brother grew in her mother her problem of where the child comes out was complicated by her new knowledge, and she began to reason out why mother grew children and nurse didn't.

One day at dinner she announced: "My brother is in Italy and he has a house made of glass and cloth and it does not fall down." The resistances were too great, so she would not let herself be questioned. It had been noticed that for about four months the children indulged in the stereotyped fantasy of a Big Brother who knows everything, can do everything, has everything, has been everywhere, and is allowed to do everything that they are not allowed to do. Every child has such a Big Brother. The source of this fantasy is the father, for he is the producer and seems to be a sort of Big Brother to mother. This Big Brother is very courageous and is living in dangerous Italy in a house that is indestructible. This fantasy realized an important wish for Anna—the earthquake ceased to be dangerous. Instead of calling her father to her at night to drive away fear she showed the greatest tenderness and affection for him. In order to test her he showed her some pictures of volcanoes and their destructive results, but she was indifferent and said "They are dead. I've seen them so often."

The next day she verified her new knowledge about birth by asking explicitly if Fritz grew in mother, and if she and her sister did too, and
if father grew in his mother, and mother in hers and the servants in theirs. Evidently her distrust was the stimulus for these questions which sought to establish the stability and truth of what she had been told. Occasionally it was noticed that she told the stork-and-angel story in a singing tone to her dolls. Only once did her new knowledge appear to be in danger, when a week after these explanations she ran into her father's room and unexpectedly saw him in bed. He had the grippe, but the child did not know this, and she stopped in astonishment, looking shy and distrustful. Then she exploded "Why are you in bed? Have you got a plant in your stomach?" Her father told her that children do not grow in men but only in women, an explanation that restored her confidence again. She said nothing for a few days, but that she had been working in her depths was revealed one morning when she said: "Last night I dreamed of Noah's ark, and there was a whole lot of animals in it." Questioned, she returned all sorts of nonsensical replies. When this is a child's reaction to questions it is wise to stop and wait. Sure enough, in a moment she turned to her grandmother and said: "Last night I dreamed of Noah's ark, and there was a whole lot of animals in it." Another pause, and she began for the third time: "Last night I dreamed of Noah's ark, and there was a whole lot of animals in it, and on the bottom there was a cover and it opened and all the animals fell out."

To one who knows the language of fantasy this little dream shows that the story of birth from the mouth or chest is not holding water. She begins unconsciously to apprehend the truth. Several weeks later she told another dream. "I dreamed of father and mother and they stayed up a long time in the library and us children were with them." Superficially this is a well-known wish of children, to be allowed to remain up as long as their parents. This is fulfilled in her dream and cloaks a more important wish to be with the parents in the evening when they are alone.

Not long after, Anna had a fear dream from which she awoke screaming: "The earthquake is coming, the house is trembling." Her mother quieted her, begging her to be still as everyone else in the house was asleep. She said in an intense tone: "I want to see the spring with all the flowers coming out. The whole meadow is full of flowers. I want to see Fritz now. He has such a dear face. What is father doing? What does he say?" Her mother told her he was asleep and so was not saying anything. She smiled and said: "Oh well, he will probably be sick again tomorrow."

Jung sees in this dream, which he reads backward, the formulation of Anna's problem. If father has not got a child, and only mother has children, what does father have to do with it? She would like to see how Fritz came into the world. She would like to see the flowers as they come out in the springtime. And all these wishes are cloaked
by fear of the earthquake. She slept quietly until morning, and when her mother asked her what was the matter with her in the night, she had forgotten her nightmare, and answered “I dreamed I could make summer, and then somebody threw a clown down a toilet.”

This strange dream has really two scenes separated by “and then.” When there are several scenes in a dream they are usually a rearrangement of the one complex. The second part of Anna’s dream draws its material from a recent wish to own a male doll. Somebody threw a clown into the toilet just as one uses the toilet, and just so do children come out. This is analogous to Freud’s “Little Hans” theory of the “lumph.” The first part is a variant of the same fundamental idea, i.e., she could make summer, she could make the flowers come out, she could make a child herself. And the second part tells how she conceives children to be born.

One day a woman who was pregnant came to see Anna’s mother. The children played in the room without showing the slightest interest in the visitor. But the next day they played a new game. They stuffed all the newspapers from their father’s wastepaper basket under their dresses in front and then paraded around the room, laughing but not saying a word. That night Anna had another dream. “I dreamed of a woman in the city and she had a very big tummy.” Now as we know that the chief actor in a dream is the dreamer himself, the interpretation of this dream gives the key to the new game. Shortly afterward Anna’s mother was astonished to see the child put her doll under her skirts and pull it slowly out, head down, and say “See, now its coming out, now its all the way out.” A few days later she pointed out a rosebud to her grandmother and said: “Look, the rose is going to have a baby. See, it’s quite thick.”

One night at supper she asked for an orange and said: “I will swallow it whole and then I will have a baby.” This is very reminiscent of those fairy tales wherein childless women swallow fruit or fish or some such thing to become pregnant. This shows how clearly Anna had formulated her problem of how children get into the mother, and how she attempted to solve it by a simile—a form of archaic thinking characteristic of children. Such similes are frequent in fairy tales, which, as Riklin has shown, are the myths of children. Their charm for adults probably owes part of its power to these old theories which are still active in our unconscious. One is stirred by a peculiarly “homely” sense when a reminiscence of our youth rises to consciousness in a feeling, even though we cannot recall the idea with which it is associated.

So Anna’s idea was that, since only what one eats gets into the body, her mother had probably eaten something, like fruit, which had then grown. But this left unexplained the father’s part in the process. It is an old short cut of our mental processes when we have two unknown factors to include the first in the clearing up of the second. One morn-
ing Anna ran into her parents bedroom when they were dressing, jumped into her father's bed, lay face downward and kicked, saying: "This is the way father does it, isn't it?" The parents ignored the question, not understanding its significance. The analogy to the horse of "Little Hans," "der Krawallmacht," is remarkable.

Five months later the family went into the country where they had opportunity to bathe in a near-by lake. Anna was afraid to go into the water further than up to her knees and when her father sought to sit her down in it she screamed and declared he wanted to drown her. Not long after, she was in the garden and refused to move out of the way of the gardener, whereupon he jokingly put her in a newly dug hole. She cried with fright, saying that the gardener wanted to bury her. One night she awoke crying with terror and when her mother ran to her she was told that "the railroad train just passed by over me and it has fallen down." These incidents show that fear has again returned; it is a resistance to her love for her parents, which is being converted into fear. This time, presumably, her distrust is directed against her father, because he has the information she so much wants. This knowledge is a secret and is confused in her consciousness with fear and results in her attitude that one must guard against men hurting one. Her attitude, otherwise, toward her father is best described as tender curiosity.

At this time the children played hospital, calling the two largest dolls grandmothers. The "grandmothers" were left out all night in the hospital, which was the summer-house. As the grandmother in all probability represented the mother, this shows Anna's first attempt to get rid of her. This interpretation is strengthened by an incident in which her mother again gives occasion for distrust. Anna had helped the gardener plant grass seed, and watched the new grass sprout with pleasure. She ran to her mother asking "Tell me, how do eyes grow into the head?" Her mother said she did not know. Anna asked if God knew, and her father, and why they knew. Her mother told her to asked her father. She had an early opportunity after tea when every one but herself and her father had left the room. Then she asked: "Father, how do eyes grow into the head?"

"They don't grow into the head. They are there from the beginning and grow with the head."

"Weren't they planted?"

"No, they grow with the head just as the nose does."

"Did the mouth and ears grow like that, too? And the hair?"

"Yes, they all grow in that way."

"The hairs, too? Little mice are quite naked. Where are their hairs? Weren't there seeds planted?"

"No, hairs come out of little kernels just like seeds and they are in the skin, but nobody planted them."

Here her father began to be troubled for he saw the drift of her ques-
tions and wanted to use the tactfully introduced seed theory, but he did not want, because of its false application in this one case, to overthrow it, especially as the child spoke with unusual seriousness, which forced his consideration. Anna, sadly disappointed, asked: "But how did Fritz get into mother? Who put him there? And how did he get out?"

From this storm of suddenly liberated questions her father chose to answer the last. "Now think. You know that Fritz is a boy, and from boys we get men. From girls we get women. And only women can have children. Now think. Where do you suppose Fritz came out?"

Anna's face suddenly cleared up and she pointed to her genitals. "Why certainly, you must have thought of that before."

"But how did he get into mother? Was he planted? Did one sow seeds for him?"

Finding it impossible to evade these direct questions, he explained, while she listened attentively, that the mother is like the ground, the father like the gardener. The father gives the seeds and they grow in the mother and so a child is born. This satisfied her entirely. She ran straight to her mother and told her "Father has explained everything. Now I know it all." But she did not tell what she knew.

Next day, however, she went again to her mother and said "What do you think, mother? Father told me how Fritz was an angel in heaven and the stork brought him down." Naturally her mother was astounded and replied "Father surely did not tell you that." But Anna only ran away laughing. There is no question but that revenge was the motive for this. The mother who does not, or will not, know how eyes get into the head, may not know how Fritz got into her. Maybe one can tell her the old stork-and-angel story. Maybe she will believe it.

Her attitude towards her father became more intimate from this time. But he was somewhat apprehensive as to what use a four-and-a-half-year old child might make of a fact which most parents treat as a secret. She could become the enfant terrible to her playmates and to the grown-ups around her. But these apprehensions were groundless. Anna did not betray her knowledge by a single word.

But that the problem was not entirely solved was shown by a dream a few weeks later. She dreamed that she was in the garden and some gardeners were urinating against the trees. Among them was her father. Here was an intimation of the answer to her query: "How does father do it?"

The above are the more important of Jung's observations in this article. At the time it was written Anna was five years old and already knew quite a number of the salient sexual facts. Neither in her morals nor her character was the least injury observed as a result of this knowledge, inversely its therapeutic effect was excellent.

Jung closes with the following: "I am not of those who believe in the sexual-hygiene education of children in schools, nor of any other
mechanical wholesale education. Therefore I am not in a position to give positive and general advice which would be of value. I can only point out my own conclusion drawn from this material, and that is that one should observe children more closely as they really are, not as we would like them to be, or fancy they are. One should follow in their education the lines of development which nature indicates, not dead rules. If this principle is to be more than a phrase there is only one way of following it, and that is by psychoanalysis. What is possible for it to do is clear to any who have followed this short way along the path of development of a child's mind.”

3. A Case of Multiple Perversion and Hysterical Episodes.—The patient, a Danish duke, thirty-two years of age, was referred by Freud to Sadger, having been sent to the former by his physician with a letter, part of which I quote:

“The patient is an archeologist and has done considerable noteworthy work. He comes from a badly degenerate family. His parents of a melancholy, pessimistic temperament, tend to have unmotivated financial fears.

“The patient has always been irritable, shy and timid, with occasional attacks of rage, when he completely lost control of himself, becoming black in the face and finally unconscious. Later he showed an aversion to even small amounts of alcohol and indulging in it would go into an atypical condition of drunkenness with automatic acts, twilight conditions and amnesia. Once while a candidate for an officer's commission he had an attack of unconsciousness.

“At present he has frequent irritable, melancholy moods, which are of short duration. However he always had a taste for the vulgar and ordinary, associating with all sorts of suspicious persons, and has been accustomed to to give his admiration in the most uncritical manner to certain types of individuals. In his scientific work, on the other hand, he is original and critical.

“He always had an abhorrence of homosexuality, never being able to tolerate association with people of that type. Although men possessed for him a certain attraction, female figures have never appeared beautiful to him. His sexuality was marked; for the last two years he has been married to a former prostitute. His own homosexual tendencies have always been but dimly conscious until a few weeks ago when he fell in love with a young waiter, a very ordinary person. He had arranged to travel with him to Ostend and never return.

“When he consulted me, he lied, and would not tell me the name of his lover, which however was given me by his wife. In spite of her antecedents this woman seems to have had a good influence upon the patient. She is a woman of strong personality and good instincts. I am sending the man to you in the hope of averting a catastrophe.”

From the psychiatrist who sends this report, primary emphasis was
laid upon the degeneracy and epilepsy while the homosexuality was considered secondary. The psychoanalysis of this case was carried on for only five months, although Sadger had advised two years. Even so the results were such as to plainly indicate that the undoubted degeneracy was not the factor that caused the patient his great difficulties, but rather that they were caused by the maladjustment in his sexual life. In addition to homosexuality there persisted many of the sexual perversions which, for the child, are normal, but for the adult abnormal. Especially the epilepsy was shown to have a sexual significance and by the realization of this, the patient was completely cured of it.

For the first ten years of his life he was brought up on the estate of his parents. At ten he was sent to the city and while living with his uncle went to a Gymnasium. At eighteen he entered military service, which he had to stop after three and a half months because of a fictitious meningitis. His uncle having directed his interests to the study of costumes and armory he now began to work in the collection of arms and weapons in the museum. Later he attended the university, where he studied the history of art and civilization. In the first year of his university life he drank and gambled a great deal, during which his inability to carry alcohol showed itself in a twilight condition resulting at times in a complete loss of consciousness.

After this tempestuous year he began to work in the museum again, studied hard and took part in political life, where he naturally became a radical. This brought about the first apparent conflict with his father. At the same time he received an invitation to court which his father earnestly desired him to accept, but because of his political views he declined it. This led to a break with his father. He remained in the university until he was twenty-seven years old and then took a position as curator of the collection of arms and weapons in the museum. About this time he was seeing his parents only twice a year. When he was thirty there was a complete break with them, for at that time he began to keep house with a prostitute. His parents' only demand was that he marry her in order that the family might be united again, but this he refused to do.

During all this time his homosexual tendencies had been satisfied only in a platonic way. Shortly before his arrival in Vienna the aforementioned infatuation for the waiter had occurred. Before he was able to carry out his plan of an elopement with him, however, his insight into what he was doing, in addition to the opposition which his actions had aroused in his wife, caused him to visit the psychiatrist, who thereupon sent him to Freud.

In addition to the symptoms of degeneracy, inability to carry alcohol, pseudo-epileptic attacks and homosexuality, the patient showed a wide variety of sexual perversions. The chief of these were various manifestations of auto-eroticism such as masturbation, narcissism, attempts
actual and by fantasy to have intercourse with himself per rectum, an overwhelming sexual curiosity and a most violent anal eroticism; also a love of statues, sadistic and masochistic tendencies such as self-flagellation, pyromanic tendencies and a psychic dysuria.

Sadger gives details of the patient's homosexual life, especially its psychic elements. Characteristics of his family are described, more especially those of the mother. Concerning her Sadger says: "In the life of the patient, just as in every case of homosexuality, the decisive factor is not the father but the mother. The son characterizes her as snobbish and bigoted, of little intelligence and of no opinion. She does not read nor seek to develop herself in any way. The patient was her favorite child but in his fifteenth and sixteenth years they grew apart because he felt that she did not understand him. Later he began to hate her, particularly when he understood that she had brought up her children badly. The whole aim of her education seemed to be the repression of evil, never an attempt to promote the good in her children.

"Back of his general accusation was revealed the specific charge that she had failed to instruct him in sexual matters. She had given him a false picture of everything sexual and had gone to such extremes as to teach him that it was wrong even to talk to a girl. At twenty-three he had met two women of different type, both of them his land-ladies, who not only had educated their children in sexual matters in a sensible way, but had shown him more understanding and given him more courage than his own mother had."

Then follow exhaustive details of her character and of incidents which illustrate her personality. The patient's two sisters are also described, in the course of which we find that at twenty-four he had incestuous desires toward one of them.

Sadger gives an interesting picture of the patient's personal appearance. His face was markedly childish, his hips broad and fat. His father and sisters often remarked that he was a mistake, that he should have been a girl. Once when he dressed as a nun he made a prettier picture than his sisters for he had a finer skin and a smaller mouth than either of them. Enquiry among his relatives revealed the fact that a large number of the male members showed many physical characteristics and psychic traits of the female, and vice versa.

Although the patient showed many homosexual tendencies he was bisexual as was shown by numerous incidents all through his life. Sadger believes that homosexual individuals, without exception, have a precocious and strong sexual instinct which primarily and regularly is not directed toward their own sex, but toward the opposite one and that homosexual tendencies are a later development.

The patient showed a predisposition for depressed moods and extremes of emotion, such as rage—two well-known typical symptoms of degeneracy. Sadger says that there can be no doubt that there must
be congenitally pathological conditions in the brain of such individuals whom we call inferior or degenerate. This is a *conditio sine qua non*, for a half-way normal person does not become depressed as a result of no sex outlet in four days, as did the patient. But in addition to this congenitally constitutional disposition one will always find that an exciting factor is necessary to make it manifest and Sadger believes that this is frequently a sexual one.

The misdirected and keen upbringing of the patient is shown in the inevitable relation to his early sexual curiosity, habits of masturbation, exhibitionistic tendencies, the analerotic components of his life, and his strange tendency to fall in love with statues.

In discussing the patient's absorbing interest in sexual matters, Sadger says: "In the life of everyone there comes up, sooner or later, usually in childhood, at the latest in adolescence, the question where do babies come from. The first persons to whom we turn in our ignorance are our parents. Now it is unfortunately true that the very fewest of these are either willing or capable of leading their children into this mysterious realm with tact, kindness and tenderness. As a result most children are brushed aside rather crudely, so that they finally go to their friends, or to servants, or to the omniscient encyclopaedia for their knowledge.

"This attitude of the parents is always deplorable. The first result is that it is the most frequent and important cause of estrangement between parents and children. It is very ominous for a child to learn from strangers of the sexual relations of his parents. He feels himself deceived, his trust in them is impaired, he does not believe their unsupported statement in the future, for they have not told him the truth in the most important matter.

"If the child's information on this all-important subject comes from strangers, it usually results in awakening antagonism towards his parents. But the child who has been properly instructed by the mother, loves her with increasing devotion. In the former case all sorts of disgusting thoughts about his parents force themselves upon him. In the latter case he frequently thinks of the pain and suffering his mother bore for his sake at his birth—a thought which surely has the effect of increasing his love and filial piety."

Sadger declares that continual silence, and stern repression of inquiries concerning sexual matters may result, in the girl, in a lifelong sexual anesthesia. It is not infrequent that the analyst hears such girls in later years bitterly complain that at home all reference to sexual matters, even though remote, was forbidden.

If added to this silence on sexual things there be a severe disciplinary attitude toward the girl's habit of masturbation there results severe hysterical phobias, or a permanent sexual anesthesia, or a lifelong and un-
successful conflict against masturbation which may persist even after marriage.

In boys, such silence and repression may result in psychic impotence, with the exception that some of them may be potent with prostitutes; in other cases if constitutionally predisposed, homosexuality may result.

In the case of neurotics where there is a tremendous and unsatisfied love desire, which is at first quite naturally directed toward the parents, it not infrequently happens that in their childhood or adolescent fantasy-life they desire to be actively introduced by their parents into sexual secrets. In fantasy they desire this through or upon the parental body. The mother should free her son from masturbation by giving herself to him. Now as the incest barrier prevents such fantasies and wishes from fulfilment in reality, such children regularly feel themselves too little or not at all loved, although they may be favorite children.

The effects of this thwarting of the learning process Sadger clearly brings out in a great many instances. He shows the deep disillusionment which much instruction from strangers causes, and the resulting feelings of bitterness and anger toward the parents.

Sadger then elaborates his contribution to the theory of homosexuality. He says that a permanent love for one's own sex as a rule becomes manifest at puberty, at times just before this period. The latent homosexual component is made manifest by some decisive event which has removed the mother from her former position of the ideal helper and educator of her children. Such events are, for instance, her death, a severe and critical illness, a financial breakdown followed by a neurosis with its resulting removal of the mother to a sanatorium.

Just to whom the potential homosexualist turns for his love depends upon external factors. Infrequently it is toward the father or older men, most frequently toward comrades of the same age or somewhat older. It is these who now introduce him to his actual love-life, a course which he had hoped from his mother. At the same time there plainly begins to come to the foreground, in addition to his hetero- and homosexual ideals, those of his own person. Sadger places considerable emphasis upon this latter point, and says: "The path to sexuality is always by way of narcissism; in other words, love of one's self." In all of his cases he has found it a necessary stage in the development from auto-eroticism to the later object love. In general, man has two primary sexual objects, and his further life depends upon which he chooses. For the male these two objects are the mother—or whatever woman first stands to him in the relation of mother—and his own person. In order to be normal he must free himself from both, must not remain fixed too long to either of them. It is in attempting to free himself the individual may become inverted, choosing as his new sexual object a model of himself based upon what he is and what he would like to
be. The tragedy of the homosexualist is that he cannot free himself from himself. Far more easily does he lose his mother-bondage, for he can repress that and when he represses his love for his mother, his love for the feminine sex goes with it, and he would seem to say: "If the best of all women, my mother, my own mother, has been of so little help, how can any other woman suffice?"

Summing up Sadger’s psycho-analytic researches concerning inversion, which he admits are only true of male homosexualists, he says: "(1) The invert suffers from a revolt against the mother because of the deep disillusionment of his love. He represses his love for her, at the same time identifying himself with her. Quite a number of typical characteristics of homosexuality depend upon this identification, particularly the harmless manifestations of love, and the attempts to instruct and teach the loved object. (2) Homosexuality is reached by way of narcissism, that is, the love of one's self, as one really is or as one would like to be. (3) The sexual ideal of the homosexualist has characteristics of former feminine and masculine sexual objects, but particularly those of the loved ego. (4) A predisposing factor to homosexuality is the growing up of a boy in the company of persons exclusively of the opposite sex. Usually he is an only or a favorite son. (5) The whole tendency toward inversion is furthered by a persisting unconscious obedience to the commands of the mother not to associate with individuals of the opposite sex. He not infrequently found that a mother had very early driven into her children an idea that friendly relations with one of the opposite sex was something not quite right, something that wasn't done. This, sad to relate, leads to a literal obedience, so that the fondness for their own sex is increased."

The pseudo-epileptic condition, the inability to carry alcohol and the resulting twilight conditions are then described in exhaustive detail. He shows that the pseudo-epileptic conditions are nothing but a flight of the patient into sexuality. By this loss of consciousness he makes himself independent of reality; in other words, it seems as though they, like many hysterical attacks, are nothing but substitutes for sexual intercourse. In the case of the Danish duke, Sadger was able to show this in the clearest fashion.

Finally Sadger asks two questions: "What is the theoretical profit that one can get from such a case?" and "What was the practical therapeutic effect on the patient?"

Theoretically, we have the confirmation of well-known factors in the etiology of homosexuality, but in addition Sadger believes that a number of new and important factors have been revealed. This holds true in part of the understanding of the various perversions, such as love of statues, anal character, and the different forms of auto-eroticism, and finally, the relation between degeneracy and sexuality.

Of much more value was the curative effect on the patient. In spite
of the tremendous complexity of the case, and the fact that but a fourth of the time that should have been given to it was possible, the treatment resulted in the complete disappearance of the epileptic attacks, and his homosexuality was considerably lessened. This was manifested during the course of the analysis by his increased love and devotion to his wife, while, hand in hand with this, he lost interest in men. Spontaneous intercourse with his wife was much more frequent, and his former consequent nervousness disappeared.

Probably the most significant fact was that when he came to Vienna with his wife, she was at first very jealous of all young men in uniform. Toward the end of the treatment this jealousy was transferred to members of her own sex.

When one remembers the extraordinary intuition that women have for all affairs of the heart, it would seem as though these phenomena were strong evidence of the success of the treatment. Interesting too, is the patient's remark when for the first time upon his return to his home he met the waiter. "My, but he has changed. He has grown thinner. In fact he looks as if he were humpbacked." Of course it is possible that the waiter may have become thinner, but that he should have acquired scoliosis is highly improbable. He probably was all of these things, but love is as blind in the homosexualist as in the average individual.

The patient himself wrote: "There is no doubt but that I am much better. My wife tells me I am changed. I myself notice that in my relations with other people I show more understanding and judgment, for sexual sympathy plays in these relations a great part."

4. Analytic Investigation of the Psychology of Hate and Reconciliation.—Pfister, who is the first to use the facts acquired by, and the methods of psychoanalysis in the domain of secular and religious education, shows in this paper its application to one of the many problems that he is called upon to solve. He says: "Psychoanalysis has made itself an indispensable principle of research in a number of the sciences. In addition to neurology, it has entered the fields of psychology, criminology, ethics, investigation into myths and fairy tales, pedagogy and theology.

"The following is an excursion into the realm of ethics. Naturally it is not yet possible to throw the light of this newly won heuristic method upon the fundamental questions of ethics, but that this method will be of value in determining the principles of moral philosophy is without doubt. In the monotheistic or dualistic principles of moral philosophy one can no longer ignore the discoveries of Sigmund Freud. Should ethics impose a standard of duty, or of moral ideal for the race, or, on the other hand, point to the right and necessity of each to work out his own salvation along the path of individualism—in whatever way attainment towards ideals is viewed, an exact mastery of the
facts which psychoanalysis has won is essential to the practical solution of the problem.

"As a preliminary, a knowledge of modern ethics must be gained by attention to an inductive examination of morality as it really is, as a science of norms. The stage when "pure reason" sought to construct the laws of morality is past. Even now the general questions concerning the manifestations, the conditions and laws of moral action are, as Lipps in his Die ethischen Grundfragen has shown, being determined by psychological facts. In the same way the speculative or metaphysical ethics of a Wundt depend upon the empirical method just as certainly as does the moral philosophy of welfare.

"The psychological investigation of ethical phenomena falls into the domain of ethics, not only because of its object but also because it is frequently inseparable from its process of estimating, weighing. For instance, the concept of penance depends upon the need of penance, which in its turn depends upon facts which have become unconscious through repression. In the analytic treatment of penance the desire for it disappears under certain conditions to make room for other concepts of consciousness, just as the discovery of unconscious causes puts an end to the tortured state of mind in an anxiety neurosis and introduces a new state of mind. In other cases it needs but a step in psychological work to lead to a solution of ethical problems."

Pfister would deny the perusal of his paper to anyone who has not studied Freud's Interpretation of Dreams and who has not learned of the laws of the subconscious fantasy-life by having done a number of analyses. In order to illustrate his conclusions he reports the case of a fourteen-year-old boy, Max, who was his pupil from 1905 to the time of the treatments in November, 1908. During that time he proved an intelligent pupil. His brother Arno had been analytically treated by Pfister the latter having gained thereby an insight into the strained relations existing between nearly all of the members of the family. Whenever Max got into difficulties with his brother he was clever enough to impress Pfister with his own innocence to such an extent that the latter believed him to be a peace-loving boy whose only fault was a little lack of will power. Pfister's numerous and earnest admonitions to Max to treat his mentally ill brother with consideration had no effect, even though Max did not lack the inclination and resolution towards good conduct. Finally he came to Pfister and told him that Arno had been completely transformed and asked that the new method be given to him also.

The first session revealed that Max often felt an evil inner compulsion which prevented him from being as good as he would like to be. He confessed that since his fourth or fifth year he had been guilty of numerous dishonorable acts. When he was thirteen he had been taught masturbation by a schoolmate. Since then he had suffered greatly from
remorse and reproach for his dishonesty and cruelty. He described his father as good natured and soft hearted; his mother as nervous, small minded, fault finding and irritable. He claimed to be very fond of Arno, wishing to be good friends with him. He dreamed often of the death of his mother or brother. He wished to be on better terms with his mother. When she scolded him he gave vent to his rage, not in her presence but later when he was alone, in the most violent cursing. In speaking of himself he mentioned above all his soft heart. The sight of a poor person affected him very much. He had a certain fear of death together with a well-marked desire for death.

In the second session he said that he had not masturbated for the last month and as a result felt better and could think more clearly. He also made some progress in learning to keep his temper when his brother called him names. Pfister felt sure there had been many fights between these two, a surmise Max verified as having happened frequently in the last two and a half years. As usual he gave the impression that he had always been the innocent one in these affairs.

After Max’s conscious material was exhausted, Pfister made use of Jung’s method of word association, but that soon gave way to Jung and Stekel’s method of free association. As a result of this method Max produced a long series of fantasies which served to satisfy his repressed and sadistic tendencies toward the hated, but fundamentally loved, people about him. With marvellous persistence he produced pictures, terrible in their content, as witnesses of his repressed desires. Although there were no well-marked sexual threads in these fantasies, Pfister did not doubt that they existed. For in any case the origin and manifestation of hate must be tremendously influenced by sexuality, and in considering the psychology of hate one must ask “How did these fantasy-pictures originate?”

(To be continued)

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THE ROLE OF ANIMALS IN THE UNCONSCIOUS, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THERIOMORPHIC SYMBOLISM AS SEEN IN OVID

By Smith Ely Jelliffe, M.D., and Louise Brink, A.B.

There is no one who would not admit the obvious and commonplace fact that animals play a conspicuous part in the life of man, nor would any one fail to attribute to them a distinct place in human psychology. An explanation of this on the basis of historical evolution would also be apparent to every one who takes into account man's developmental relationship with his environment. The dawn of human history was signalized by the rise of man to an intellectual consciousness which separated him from the animal world to which he had belonged. Beasts were closely akin to him. They remained that part of creation from which he had just emerged in his intellectual discovery of himself, which constituted the epochal crisis of his existence. They were still present, reminders of the state he had left, objects also of fear and terror. Very slowly man learned to subject them to his control and service. Some few he discovered developed a capacity for companionship, a relationship which must have made a peculiarly intimate appeal in those earliest days when he was as yet closer in feeling and mode of adaptation to wild animal life and felt the closer kinship in a way that would not be possible for the twentieth century adult. Art, religion, literature, social and economic customs give full and varied expression to the easily recognized, manifold relationship of man to the inhabitants of the animal world,
whether as his fierce and even deadly enemies or domesticated, whether in their appeal to his cruder instincts or to his esthetic tastes, or furthermore as laying claim to his protection.

This diversified relationship cannot, however, be considered in its true significance nor its real meaning be discovered except by penetrating beneath the superficial layer of the obvious. That vastly greater part of human nature than the limited portion known as consciousness, namely the unconscious, must in the course of its development have appropriated much material from the animal world. Setting aside for the present the racial inheritance which humanity shared in common with this world we will turn our attention here to the results of man's contact with the latter after human history had become distinct. The unconscious must, as the registry of forms and grades of thought and feeling of this early period, contain in no small proportion deposits from the constant association with the animal world and survivals of the primitive reactions aroused and emotions experienced. The denizens of this world were not only everywhere at hand but also peculiarly fitted in numerous aspects to become vehicles of thought expression, particularly of thought in its primitive phantastic form, and recipients of certain affective states. No other objects, in those dawning centuries, when our present-day unconscious life was in the process of becoming, lay more closely associated with man nor more readily available than the creatures of this world. The recapitulation of this relationship and of early man's attitude toward it is observable in the child's intimate delight in his animal friends or toys, animistic like that of the remote past, or in his reactions of fright and terror.

The most profound unconscious psychological attitude, however, recapitulated in the individual, is best observed through the penetration of psychotic and psychoneurotic modes of thought and feeling; the latter particularly, since they have become so thoroughly accessible through psychoanalysis. We certainly need not proceed a priori to assume the existence of such an important unconscious content. On the contrary it was the astonishing revelation in psychoneurotic dreams of the use of this animal material and the affective importance of it in the neurotic history, which first instigated this study. Psychoanalysis finds indeed an enormous rôle played by animals in symptoms as well as in dreams, an importance which is borne out by the place occupied by this same material in all other manifestations of the unconscious to which psychoanalysis
has the key of interpretation. The true appreciation of this phenomenon in the psychoneuroses, and the psychoses as well, the object of which is to assist the patient to a new adaptation, an adult and useful one, can come about only through the investigation of the unconscious psychological meaning attaching to all this. This can be discovered through a comparative study of these same manifestations when they played a more conscious part. Then they served as more frankly expressed wish fulfilments and as such were slowly deposited in the unconscious, while they belonged also to reactions useful at that time but gradually left behind in the racial past as more adequate ones were required by man's advance in control over nature and increasing intellectual independence of nature's forms. Comparison therefore of this neurotic material with the animal rôle in myth, the universal dream, in folklore and customs, in art and religion, will reveal something of the significance of the important place this division of creation has held in psychical life and still holds in its unconscious activity, and aid in understanding the attraction of this earlier channel for the regressive libido.1

The fact must again be emphasized that there exists only a difference in degree in the neurotic or normal reaction toward that portion of reality which the animal world presents to human nature. It is a question of partial and unsuccessful adaptation or a more complete pragmatic sublimation of this great portion of the natural world. We may say then that psychologically it bears a fourfold relationship to each individual as it has to the race, in all of which an important psychical fact must be taken into account and kept in the foreground. It is this: animals represent through their actual proximity, as in their near kinship, the lower form of man's nature from which it has been the endeavor of his evolution to escape. They thus represent objects of fear in physical form and psychically. They are symbolic of various forces within man's nature or external to him, forces both beneficent and harmful. They offer substitute gratification for pleasure or satisfaction denied in direct form, or means of evasion of the conflict arising between these and the sterner demands of reality. Finally, they enter in such proportion as their universal presence and importance necessitate, the progressive path of sublimation. It is readily appreciable that the various aspects merge into one another, evidence that they

1 Jung: The Theory of Psychoanalysis, pp. 77, 78. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 19.
have their place in human development, which knows no sharply defined planes and gradations in its course; evidence likewise of the psychic complexity of the appropriation and utilization of this material by the unconscious affective life as well as in conscious adaptations, which are so largely unconsciously determined.

It is beyond our imagination to picture adequately the state of fear and terror to which man was subject when he became conscious that he stood on a higher plane than the beasts about him, and was yet physically in great part at the mercy of their superior force or particular form of craft and peculiarly adapted modes of offense and defense. From such a plane of mutual struggle and self-defense he had but just arisen, to it he still belonged, while perhaps his dawning intellectual consciousness, not yet skilled in control of nature, by its endeavor moreover after something higher and as yet very dimly spiritual, felt itself even more than in the past at the mercy of this brute force surrounding him. This can be only a conjectured picture of conditions of which no contemporaneous record has been left. There are nevertheless important survivals both in external results of struggle, which are strewn as by-products along the ascending path of civilization, or which, perfected, man has retained as efficient weapons of defense and implements of progress, and more significant still, in the unconscious heritage of fear which manifests itself in definite reaction patterns at the several levels of nervous and psychical activity. Hall has drawn a vivid and probably correct picture of conditions of fear and watchfulness under which primitive man first experienced his conscious manhood.

It is the more distinctly psychical side of this fear, however, which is of moment in psychoanalytic investigation. Terror from external conditions would be abreacted at the time and so disappear as the occasions for it diminished in number with the progress of civilization, although certain useful nervous reactions became fixed through repeated exercise. We believe that the higher psychic inheritance of fear is an inheritance of profound psychic determinants and the emotional reactions resulting therefrom, rather than the product of those external excitants. These deeper mental causes operative subjectively, then as now, used the terror itself symbolically as well as the external objects occasioning it, and thus affixed both to the psychical roots of man's nature. It was just be-

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cause man felt within himself, however unconsciously and undefined, unappreciated, the new impulse toward spiritualization, that is, toward the higher intellectual development awakened in him with the birth of consciousness and the attainment of the first human goals, that he realized also, with a vagueness no doubt that added to his terror, that there was a bestial nature to be overcome. His enemies did not merely glide through his arboreal bowers, skulk into his troglodyte home, threaten his rude enclosures. The newly awakened psychic nature had its fiercest enemy closer at hand, and the outer concrete forms of danger became symbols for the undefined terror within. For as Federn\textsuperscript{4} reminds us, the repressions which enforced themselves early upon man, particularly sexual repressions, the strongest, have as their inevitable consequence a neurotic anxiety and fear. The symbolism which the unconscious has preserved universally proves his early consciousness of an uncontrollable internal force which would drag his new impulse toward a higher goal back to the bestial level.

The earliest symbolic utilization of animals was probably very direct and concrete, perhaps rather a direct use of animal forms in an animistic sense, either actually or in thought, as means of psychic discharge, in a manner that later became symbolic. Children manifest this tendency today, and neurotic behavior and dreams present it as a striking characteristic. It is impossible in neurotic manifestations as it is in the history of primitive man to separate the symbolic use of animals from the substitution process which employs them. It is adult logical thought, for example, which definitely recognizes the animal nature of the earliest and therefore lowest form of libido expression, and symbolizes it by the animal to whose plane it more properly belongs. The primitive method of thought shifting about on the plane of images,\textsuperscript{5} a method shared by the psychoneurotic, seized the animal form more directly and appropriates it to the service of wish gratification, particularly as this offers itself in a disguise, if only a slight one, of symbol and substitution. Jung suggests the release of repressed incestuous libido by transference to animal forms, when he says that "the theriomorphic symbols, in so far as they do not symbolize merely the libido in general, have a tendency to represent father and mother,


... father by a bull, mother by a cow.”6 This no doubt explains to a great degree the prominence of just these animal forms in such religions as the Egyptian. The very symbolism grants substituted exercise of the strongly repressed incest feelings toward the parents and an escape thus from the otherwise inevitable struggle between them and the psychic necessity for control of them and freedom from them. Animal forms are the favorite representations of their gods, to whom as we know the Egyptians had shifted over the relationships arising from their own incestuous desires. This symbolism, prominent in various forms in all religion, testifies to the earlier and cruder efforts to obtain self-control and freedom, gradual steps toward a more perfect intellectual mastery.

In the same fashion a compulsive neurotic sought and found relief from an incestuous situation which heavily clouded her childhood and presented a continuous succession of overwhelming problems, even in her childish years. She reported in later years, during her analysis, a distinctly remembered dream of early childhood, which had always troubled her because of its irreverent and “blasphemous” character against the God she greatly feared. In her dream the child saw her pet cat, a companion and comfort in her harassed childhood, seated on the throne of God in heaven as the Lord himself. A few years later at about the age of puberty, this same patient relates, the sense of her sexual transgressions—phantasy, curiosity and the like—had become so unbearable that she suddenly resolved to go to her mother and confess the heavy burden of “forbidden” sexual knowledge. An extreme mother rivalry, which later broke out into recognized hatred, had prevented confidential relations between mother and daughter and so made this occasion a peculiarly important and painful ordeal to the child. The decision was made in the barn which was the scene of much of the child’s suffering and conflict, full also of sexual phantasy associations concerning animals, as later dreams have shown. The child, as she started at once to put her resolution into effect, stopped first on a sudden impulse at the stable where a superannuated mare, a family pet, was confined, and threw her arms tightly about the horse’s neck to gather comfort and courage for her great undertaking. Let us remark, too, that the cat of the dream was a female. Was the child seeking in her pets the naturally sublimated mother love and understanding, which her accentuated incest complex had

unconsciously denied her from her own mother? Was there also both in the latter episode and in the enthronement of the cat on the seat of a deity an unconscious recognition of the old racial symbolic employment of the animal, the horse in Jung’s discussion, which conceives it as the most primitive libido, the original mother libido, source of all, and ultimate goal of the regressive libido shrinking from conflict? But the horse also has another significance in mythology where it represents the procreating, fructifying power, sexuality in all its vigor, in phallic sense or in higher sublimated symbolism. This conception as well as the sacrificial link which binds the two conceptions, which Jung has here discussed, were surely not wanting in the material which this analysis brought to light. The sacrificial element had been in constant but futile strife with the infantile incest desire. The pleasurable unconscious wish had been too strong. Therefore the dreams which occurred of the active creative power of the horse were strongly toned with the father desire only. We may see, however, a faint promise of the victory which psychoanalysis did finally bring, in the dream that occurred during the course of treatment in that the father was replaced by the analyst and the goal symbolically expressed had a teleological significance (in the fruit) as well as a sexual meaning. The patient was on her way with the analyst to purchase apples at a large fruit store when a team of horses in the street began rearing, seemingly about to plunge upon them—or her. At another time during the analysis the patient had seen the horse before the carriage in which she was driving in the dream suddenly leap whirling and mounting into the air. At this time her libido was first becoming freed from its long bondage but had not yet learned the control and guidance of successful sublimation and was therefore consciously difficult of management.

Whether we look at the matter from the one side or the other, the side of neurotic experience or of primitive thought activity, the contents of the picture are the same. We marvel at the processes of the unconscious and begin to realize the magnitude of the forces with which it has to deal, the strength of the affect which seizes thus desperately upon the powerful forms of the animal world and all the intricacies of the symbolism developed about them, for the relief of expression which evades the forbidden, but only by attaining it in the substituted forms. This denial, immediately recompensed by a disguised form of enjoyment, is a marked charac-

7 Jung : l. c., pp. 308 ff., 466, 467.
characteristic of savage customs, neurotic ceremonies, of all behavior, in fact, based on the primitive phantastic way of thinking. Sometimes the childishness of it is apparent, that is, to logical thought, not to the mind of the savage or to that of the neurotic. They are compelled on the one hand to adopt such customs as those described among savages in widely diverse regions who must needs kill certain animals, yet pay to them an amount of reverence and consideration which cannot fail to win the animal's heart and free forgiveness for what will follow or what has happened to one of his kind. On the other hand it made this same psychoneurotic, whom we have been discussing, avoid stepping on any creature, however tiny, which might cross her path, made it a forbidden pleasure to "skim" the oars while rowing, lest more tiny water creatures should thereby be injured than in the ordinary method of rowing, which she succeeded partially in justifying to herself. All such transgressions were interpreted by her as sins against the Creator of all life and to be expiated by a ceremony of prayer. One of the many examples cited by Frazer states that "the Indians of Carolina would not molest snakes when they came upon them, but would pass by on the other side of the path, believing that if they were to kill a serpent, the reptile's kindred would destroy some of their brethren, friends, or relations in return." A closely related fearful compulsion not to destroy the tiniest creatures, not even a fly, was present in the midst of a severe anxiety hysteria attack of another patient. It is hardly necessary to state that the neurosis of this patient was most typically marked by murderous impulses arising out of the intensity of the Electra complex, of which this attitude toward all animal life was a reactionary impulse transferred again in its correction to the convenient animal form. The attitude of the Hindu religion to the taking of animal life may be analyzed along these lines.

The savage transfers his feeling of veneration and respect also thus to beasts as in the chapters just cited from Frazer, while perhaps exercising his revengeful and murderous impulses upon his fellow men. Can it be that vague sense of mysterious kinship with the animal which early man could not yet explain historically, which

9 Frazer: l. c., p. 217.
9a For the unconscious murder (father-mother rivalry) instinct and reaction of atonement, in animal sacrifice see Freud: Die infantile Wiederkehr des Totemismus. Imago, Vol. II, No. 4.
made him pay such a wholesome tribute of fear and reverence to beasts? We frequently find the sadistic child discharging his cruel impulses toward his animal associates, but it seems rather the typical neurotic attitude, like that of the savage, to accord to animals a consideration and reverence, even a fondness, which their egoistic impulses deny to their own fellows. They also offer to the indolence of savage and neurotic a path of least resistance demanding less of reality than fellow human beings in their contacts. Too often psychoneurotics, like Schopenhauer,\(^\text{10}\) view the world of men with suspicion and hatred—sometimes this is manifest particularly in a neurotic shyness—and center all their kindly affection and interest upon animals, so that as with this philosopher they are utterly blind or indifferent to the advancement of human welfare, for example through vivisection, but resent rather that science should take any liberty with the animal world. The passive character of the domestic animal, particularly the faithful dog, makes it peculiarly fitted to be the object of the aggressive tendencies of the neurotic, particularly of the unsatisfied eroticism. At the same time these tendencies so cleverly disguise themselves under the virtues of sympathy, kindliness, tenderness of heart, for all of which the neurotic longs as corrective of the crueler egoistic tendencies, that the erotic character of the transference to animals is successfully obscured. However, they mark also the progress of primitive thought which gradually chooses animals rather than men as the objects of the crueler ceremonies and customs, as witnessed in the gradual transfer from the human sacrificial victim to the animal scapegoat.\(^\text{11}\)

The unsatisfied eroticism of the neurotic emphasizes particularly this substituted use of animal forms whether in symbolism or as actual objects of affection. Schopenhauer's intense sexual struggle resulting eventually in rigid and embittered asceticism, and an otherwise lonely life, with his poodle however, always as his companion,\(^\text{12}\) lends weight to this view. Perhaps we cannot do better than to follow somewhat more closely the phantasy of a patient with a compulsion neurosis, to whose experience we have already referred, as it manifested itself in the course of the neurosis as well as in dreams, and illustrated the strongly erotic transference to animals.

\(^{12}\) Hitschmann: l. c.
The analysis of some of the dreams presented a striking analogy to a large group of myths of earlier days, in which animals served notably to express the voluptuousness of the erotic wish of men of that age, and in a specially interesting form of free symbolization which was in a twofold sense substitute gratification. These were the myths gathered together in Ovid's Metamorphoses, in which the ancient Greeks and Romans were not only living out in phantasy the sexual freedom no longer permitted them by transferring it to their gods, but even this received a certain amount of displacement upon animal and also vegetable forms, thus becoming richly symbolized as well as further justified.

A slight digression here may be of explanatory moment. It was very evident when analysis was in progress with the case under discussion that the unconscious had long before succeeded in breaking its bounds to an unusual extent. The analysis revealed a vast amount of material very disturbing in the past because even the sexual basis for it was so perilously near consciousness, as is so frequent in the compulsion disorders, and it needed only the explanation and revaluation by psychoanalysis to make it clear and manageable to the patient. Therefore the comparison of the dreams on the part of the analyst with Ovid's Metamorphoses at once recalled one of the most intensely painful periods of the patient's life, which had already been reported among the conscious memories, but now received new significance. A violent outbreak of the partially discerned sexual conflict had occurred in connection with the taking up of Ovid's Metamorphoses following a hard winter's work in school. Simultaneously with the pursuit of this course of study there had broken forth a torturing fear of evil thoughts against God's Spirit, indeed an uncontrollable propensity toward them. Mingled with this and also apart from it, the openly expressed sexuality of Ovid's writings oppressed the student, although only a few selected poems were read. A feeling of fear and abhorrence had always remained associated with any thought or mention of this particular one of the ancient classic poets, even though the violence of the neurotic outbreak at this time abated in the course of a few months.

The examination of a few of the patient's dreams in comparison with these freely expressed racial dreams, myths, which Ovid reports will give a deeper insight into the whole disturbance and assist in understanding the great significance psychologically of this period of thought in human development. For it has a
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special bearing upon the neurotic fixations and struggle. This is because of the important place in this situation occupied by the father complex, the intensity of which we have noted in this case. It had loomed very largely throughout the patient's life in the religious form. The character of the outbreak accompanying the study of Ovid shows us wherein the true disturbance lay. Successful sublimation utilizes the religious God ideal as an escape from incest. So did early man by slow degrees. But at first his gods were often animals, while these animals were also directly symbolic of his erotic desires and their gratification, if not the actual libido objects. It seems as if this patient had been able to reach only a very low grade of sublimation. Her unconscious, too, was ready to express its desires and wish fulfilment in the free bestial form, even while it sought thus to rid itself of the inevitable conflict. Therefore this freedom of the old Latin poet, who thus voiced the unconscious expression of his own, as of earlier times, offered a new temptation to the unconscious wish which was already battling in more hidden form with the cultural demands of a highly ethical religious training. The unconscious, fixed upon this very early level of phantasy, was unable to accept the sublimation which modern religion offered but found here rather an opportunity to thrust the incest problem violently before consciousness in the form of sexuality—and animal sexuality—mingled with the thoughts of the deity.

For nothing else but the incest situation is expressed in the legend of Europa and the bull and the story of Jupiter's amour with Io. The whole story of the woman's side of the Ædipus complex is beautifully set forth in these two legends. It is interesting indeed to note the space given in the Metamorphoses to this side of the fundamental complex. Jupiter in the shape of a white bull has power to charm the unsuspecting maiden Europa and having won her trust in his beautiful and apparently gentle form carries her off to the island of Crete to work his will upon her. In the legend of the ravishing of Io, another example of the father-daughter incest lifted to the sphere of the gods, the animal metamorphosis is used upon the maiden to shield her from the wrath of Juno, the outraged mother image. The ruse fails however and Juno heaps her torments upon the animal form of the maiden. Again Jupiter comes to the nymph Calisto in the form of Diana and

13 Ovid: Metamorphoses, Book III, Fable XIV, Book IV, Fable I.
14 Ovid: l. c., Book I, Fables XIII, XIV, XVII.
successfully deceives her. The mother hatred, embodied in Juno, this time changes the maiden into a bear, who fearful alike of hunters and other wild beasts wanders desolate over crags and through woods, "and, a bear herself, dreaded the he-bears seen on the mountains, and was alarmed at the wolves, though her father was among them."15

The daughter of the Centaur Chiron becomes transformed into a mare "into a shape kindred to that of her father."16 There is a very open statement of the incest problem in two other fables.17 In the first of these Byblis pursues her brother, overcome with incestuous desire, for which she can find satisfaction only in dreams and visions of the night. In the other Myrrha, unable to resist her passion for her father, becomes pregnant by him of Adonis. These frankly expressed legends reveal how important a place the father-brother incest held at the time of the growth of these myths, even in conscious thought. They confirm, moreover, the interpretation of those fables in which the desire has adopted a successful disguise.

Examples might be multiplied from the abundance of myths which have grown up to express the force and persistence of this incest motive which thus, through animals, found both substitution and evasion. The strictly sexual symbolic use of animal forms and the intense eroticism which surrounds them find ample illustration in that phantastic golden age which permitted gods and goddesses to roam about freely in joyous indulgence along the pleasure pathway, and yet everywhere, too, the bitterness of pain followed, envy, jealousy, remorse, those consequences which often appear to be the only harvest the neurotic reaps from the following of the infantile path.

Continuing our investigation, we are told of the wooing of Deianira by the river god Archeloüs, through which he tried in vain to attain success over his rival Hercules. The assuming of the form of a serpent, then of a furious bull, were both of no avail18 and he only escaped with a broken horn. Diana bathing one day with her maidens was spied upon inadvertently by Actaeon, wandering through the wood after hunting. The goddess unable to endure the insult to her divine person transformed him at once into

15 Ovid: l. c., Book II, Fables V–VII. (Riley's Trans.)
16 Ovid: l. c., Book II, Fable IX.
17 Ovid: l. c., Book IX, Fable V, and Book X, Fable VIII.
18 Ovid: l. c., Book IX, Fable I.
a stag, whose own hounds set upon him and wounded him to the death, by which alone the wrath of the goddess was appeased.\textsuperscript{19} Metamorphoses into bulls, rams, serpents, stags, beasts of many varieties as well as flying birds appear with cinematographic rapidity and vividness in those old dream-resembling scenes as they express and represent the passions which rule the unconscious and serve to discharge them. So do the neurotic dreams symbolically reveal the passionate wishes and grant them satisfaction through the animal forms.

Now let us compare a few mere dreams from the patient who in her neuroses revealed so many typical elements.

We have already found the mare associated with her in a strongly effective situation of childhood. An adult dream discovered her with a cousin who had been the object of anal erotic phantasy in childhood.

In the dream she seemed to be with him at a garden spot and to be eating snakes and no longer afraid to do so (this was at the end of the analysis) when all at once the cousin turned into a mare.

At almost this same spot there had been a most vivid dream in very early childhood. She had walked along this path and suddenly found herself surrounded by a heap of loathsome serpents.

The first association with this dream is of her father planting a tree at just this spot at a still earlier period. It might be stated in reference to the adult dreams that this patient had been so far able to dismiss the content of the Metamorphoses from her thought during the years that followed the limited reading in school that none of it was remembered, only the sense of its sexuality. Neither had there been any recognized comparison as yet with these poems and the dreams when most of these dreams were brought to the analyst. Therefore it would seem to be but a similarity of unconscious material and method which produced a parallel to Juno’s punishment of Io by transforming her into a cow. The dreamer found herself at a narrow enclosure, a sort of short lane, near her old home, in a dispute with a cow which was confined there. The cow was complaining of something, while the patient insisted that the cow had nothing to complain of, as the patient’s mother had always been kind enough to her, the cow.

The shaggy bear and the stag were not unknown to our dreamer. ‘At an old house, very particularly associated with her father, she saw a huge friendly bear standing half in, half out the doorway, and

\textsuperscript{19} Ovid: l. c., Book III, Fable III.
she was trying to get it one way or the other. Then the scene shifted very slightly. She had been trying to find a place to spend the night and this house was a possible stopping place. Some people were passing close by leading a young girl, when suddenly a stag fell upon the girl completely obscuring her from sight. The patient hastened to the girl's assistance and sought also the aid of some man to help raise the stag lest he should perform coitus upon her. When they succeeded in raising the stag the girl was unconscious. Still another dream seemed bubbling with the playful eroticism which occupied the gods and goddesses, demi-gods and nymphs in the land of phantasy. Again the dreamer was at her childhood home when a group of loving animals seemed to seek her out. They came from a garden spot where the patient remembers a strawberry bed in her childhood. The dream picture was not very clear but a friendly stag and a heron came and thrust their heads lovingly over the Dutch half-door. There was a strong erotic sensation connected with the dream which extended itself to a definite urinary situation in conjunction with it.

A complete analysis of these dreams would take us too far. It is enough perhaps to narrate them here in close comparison with these animal myths. The setting of the dreams reveals how continually the patient's unconscious phantasy occupied itself with the father incest problem, while utilizing for it various modes of erotic expression and the varying substituted forms of gratification through animals. This need no longer seem remarkable when it is recognized that this, in its double Œdipus-Electra form, is the complex of utmost importance with which the racial unconscious has busied itself since, in the earliest history of the race, cultural advance made its first demand for repression of this intense and fundamental element. These myths of Greece and Rome confirm this importance and add valuable comparative material also in regard to the service of the animal world as an escape from it.

We can readily believe that primitive man, confronted with denial in this sphere, with this problem first thrust upon him, utilized the forms of the animal world closest at hand for just this service. His way of thinking was anthropomorphic and theriomorphic, so that he could very directly begin symbolizing his early struggle through these forms and through them accomplish, to a notable extent, that sexualization of the external world which served for the desexualization of his libido. With the neurotic child whose history we have been in part considering, there had evidently been a
very early attempt to discharge a strong infantile incestuous libido through the objects of nature, particularly animal forms. The surroundings of her early life had furnished abundant means for this, so that her exaggerated aggressive sexual curiosity satisfied itself to some extent with her observations of animal life. The animal forms, adopted most completely as sexual symbols and substitute objects for incest phantasy and incestuous feeling, were appropriated by her incomplete childish knowledge and very active phantasy life, which plainly contained all the infantile components for a later neurosis. It is not strange then to note also intense love for animals amounting in later life to a recognized erotic enjoyment of their companionship, indulgence in comforting and gratifying touch contact, even to sleeping with a favorite dog against her back. The marked hatred of this patient also found compensation in this exaggerated love for animals, as with Schopenhauer, for her attitude toward the world of men was that of coldness, indifference or active hatred, always in combination with one intense exclusive love, the object of which shifted, while with animals this ambivalent attitude was unknown, the love side alone being greatly accentuated.

Somewhat different in manifestation is the attitude of another patient of a strongly sadistic nature, whose childhood was marked by impulses of cruelty as well as by the masochistic attitude of fancied loneliness and neglect. The anal erotic, intricately bound up with a disturbing money complex, is one of the prominent features brought to light in this analysis. This patient too has a fondness for animals, and her dreams have revealed a reddish dog as a frequent image. One dream in particular pictured her exhibiting her buttocks covered with feces to such a dog. She recalled in childhood shutting herself up alone in an older brother's room with a beloved pet dog and there beating the dog with a stick. Such a beating she confesses to have inflicted upon herself in later life in order to gratify the demands of her pronounced masochism.

The analysis of still a third patient has brought to light a self-distrust and self-depreciation which have prevented success. There lies behind this attitude a sadistic teasing aggressiveness in childhood as well as a marked enuresis. This patient has acknowledged an excessive love of cats, and seems to identify herself with one of them when she dreams that a cat has defiled the clean carpet in her room with urine and she then proceeds to wash the cat with water and plenty of soap in a baby's bathtub, while the cat quietly
submits with a penitent air. We may perhaps interpret this as sym-}

bolic of the analysis, the cleansing of the past through the identifi-

cation with the cat. Such an identification of course is not far

removed from the identification of our desires and libido impulses

with the animal form, which lies at the basis of all the symbolism.

This is a return to primitive thought. That very early example

of it which lies in totemism has not separated clearly the human

from the animal form. The distinction is being constantly lost

there as the beliefs of the lowest Australians make known to us.20

Here the men of the totem clan are still so thoroughly one with

the totemic animal that some of their own blood poured upon the ground

will produce an abundance of that same animal as food for other clans.

Reference might be made in passing to the vast subject of lycan-

thropy, which has played an important part in mythical thought.

Ovid gives one version of the story of the transformation of Lycaon

into a wolf at the command of the wrathful Jupiter.21 Space will

not allow us to enter into the rôle of animals in the psychoses, of

which mention has also been made. The material available through

hallucinations, phobias, dreams and other symptomatic phenomena

would be equally rich in psychological value. The subject of lycan-

thropy affords such a field for study as well as another point of

departure for investigation. For it leads also into the primitive

and mythological attitude toward psychotic manifestations in the

past, which are instructive in psychiatric history as well as illumina-

ting in this study of the animal rôle in the primitive way of

thought and feeling. In it would probably be traceable the element

of psychic fear, both on the part of the victim and of his fellows

who sought in animal forms palpable explanation for the mysterious

affliction, and this presents an intricate problem of symbolism and

substitution. Some very suggestive material is presented along this

line in a current contribution to the history of psychiatry.22

The fear of the psychotic which seeks escape, perhaps, through

these fancied animal ravings, along with that of onlookers who must

thus explain it, emphasizes in exaggerated form that to which also

the psychoneurotic experience testifies. It is the psychic deter-

minants of fear that have been the racial heritage. The psycho-


21 Ovid: l. c., Book I, Fable VII.

22 S. E. Jelliffe: Notes on the History of Psychiatry, XII, The Alienist

neurotic manifests often a firm courage in actual situations of danger, indeed is not easily terrified by such real dangers. The withdrawn libido occupied with the phantasy, that is the ego-wish aspect of the event, in part at least prevents this. Psychic terrors on the other hand are named legion. They furnish an inexhaustible list of phobias. Conspicuous among them is the unnameable psychic dread of certain animal forms. It comes to the neurotic child in dreams of huge animal forms threatening suffocating attack; in such dreams as the one reported of the wriggling snakes; it centers upon the most innocent and harmless of animals, yet those in form and other characteristics suggestive of sexual desire and activity, such as the toad, or the long-suffering mouse. The comparison suggests itself between primitive phantasy and the very excessive dread of attack by June bugs on the part of a patient with a very marked anal erotic and fecal complex, and the question arises whether she did not suffer in her unconscious from conflict resulting from an ancient racial phantasy which expressed itself openly in Egyptian belief and ceremony. The ancient Egyptians, like the modern Südani, ascribed renewing and life-giving power to beetles, using them to promote fertility or to assist the parturient woman. They observe these native beetles rolling up enormously large balls of dung, upon which the beetle larvae feed. The strongly emphasized fecal component in infantile and primitive sexual theory no longer occasions astonishment to those who have laid bare the ultimate roots of the compulsive neurosis, nor doubt as to its efficacy in building up such a phobia.

The fears that are proclaimed in the fables from Ovid suggest to a marked extent the psychical element, we might say indeed the sexual fear element particularly as it contains the incest prohibition. Thus it was with the patient who seemed to have lingered at that plane of phantasy. Her childhood was filled with overwhelming terrors. They were not of actual external dangers only as these suggested possible means of punishment to the childish sense of guilt, whose roots lay in the incest situation. They were strongly colored by the Father-God religious complex, which as we saw represented in this case a signal failure of sublimation of the original father situation. Therefore she confessed to an excessive fear of snakes, even such as she was assured were harmless, and a more than normal dread of the attack of a large animal, per-

haps a horse. The psychic character of these, as of other torturing fears, manifests itself in the fact that they persisted beyond childhood, though concealed through shame, but dissolved with the successful issue of psychoanalysis leaving the patient, to quote her words, "with a buoyant and once inconceivable sense of freedom to do and to enjoy."

The insight which psychoanalysis affords into the unconscious world opens up nowhere more inviting vistas for investigation than in this animal world, so important has it been to mankind and so much has it expressed. The few myths cited here are but typical of the myths of all peoples and of all stages of early development, when as yet phantastic thought prevailed. Earliest races expressed themselves more concretely and more directly, still in closer contact with animal life, while later dawning culture had relegated the mythical phantasies to far-away times, to poetic story, folklore and fairy tale. The individual dream and symptom make use of all these grades of expression.

As the animal life actually took part in the formation of history, we must remember that it also lay in the path of sublimation, even as it does today in individual and social history. Even with the neurotic these things which we call abnormal and pathologic phenomena still have a certain service to perform. They constitute a compromise with reality, a partial sublimation which enables the sufferer somehow to get along with life. Who shall say that animals do not serve in large part to do this? Certainly not the neurotic who often clings to her animal friends the more strongly and the more intensely, the more the demands of reality seem impossible and the more life seems inadequate to provide the longed-for gratifications and satisfaction. It is on the other hand just in this that the psychoneurotic manifests her own inefficiency, due to regression to those earlier planes of sublimation. The neurotic has not kept up with the race, rather she has fallen far behind.

The race in its normal development, laboriously slow, self-hindered though it was, did use the animal world as its stepping stones to higher things. Animals were once very real and actual in its religion. They served first directly and then through symbolization to transfer the libido away from the incest goal into the effective sublimation of religion and beyond that into useful constructive control over nature, that everything might serve more effectively man's own higher creative and race-developing power. Animals are at
first libido objects, then become libido symbols.\textsuperscript{24} The bestial pervert still retains them as objects. They must be, for logical, effective use, the tools of man's advance.

Science in making them such certainly does not lose sight of their historical racial value, nor of the psychical service as well as physical service the animal kingdom has rendered throughout the past. There is advantage to the animal, too, therefore, in a fuller knowledge of its part in human psychology. It must be kept in mind, however, that such an appreciation must have as its goal that which is the object of all sincere psychoanalytic investigation and endeavor, the release of man's libido from the tenacious phantastic bonds which were formed in the childhood of the race and of the individual. Every advance then in scientific control of the animal kingdom, every increase of efficiency through their service, means freedom from the ancient bondage and symbolizes increasing control over man's own animal nature. The service of the beast of burden is being left behind in the rush of progress. The displacement of the horse by the motor car has a psychologic as well as an economic significance. This may be typical of the future when man shall have dispensed entirely with animal assistance and by so much more have freed himself from his lower nature.

Until then, however, animals remain with mankind and offer effective means of sublimation. Experimental medicine needs them, biology has still much to learn through them. They are indispensable today on the battlefields, where their sure instinct brings succor to the living lying among the dead. They still have a vast economic task to perform. Chief of all, nevertheless, is the place they occupy in the psychical life of the race, where their rôle must be understood in order to understand the unconscious past for the sake of new and increasing adaptation and control, and of the attitude that man, bent upon reality, must assume toward the animal world still at the disposal of his mental life, emotional as well as intellectual.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. A. F. v. Winterstein: Psychoanalytische Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Philosophie, Imago, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 214. "Much which now is to be considered as libido symbol, was perhaps once libido object."
THE GENESIS AND MEANING OF "HOMOSEXUALITY" AND ITS RELATION TO THE PROBLEM OF INTROVERTED MENTAL STATES

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Negative or latent homosexuality enters so universally into the repression that underlies neurotic disorders as to be practically synonymous with a neurosis. Positive or manifest homosexuality, on the other hand, may exist quite apart from a neurosis. Here the homosexuality, being applied, attains completion in its object. For in manifest homosexuality the libido is released, free and untrammeled. In the present study, however, we shall regard quite indifferently the homosexuality which is entirely latent and the homosexuality which is in part manifest, but devote ourselves for the most part to the phenomenon of repressed, unconscious homosexuality and its subsequent implications as regards the neuroses.

In considering the subject of negative or latent homosexuality let us from the outset not forget that we have to do with a psychological situation. It may seem superfluous to remind an audience of psychoanalysts of the need of adhering to a strictly psychological interpretation of the problem at issue, and yet from the very nature of life, such is our enforced adaptation to external and objective criteria, that even we, whose sphere is so essentially psychological, incline too often toward an external, mechanical method, and so are prone to bring objective bias to the solution of even the most subtly subjective of problems.

We are all familiar with the basic mechanism of homosexuality as described by Freud in his "Drei Abhandlungen" and with the similar descriptions of Sadger. We are also indebted to Dr. Brill's excellent paper on "The Conception of Homosexuality," for a very complete résumé of the general interpretation of the homosexual complex as described by these authors, in terms of Freudian mechanisms.

1 Read at the fourth annual meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Albany, N. Y., May 5, 1914. Mss. received March 2, 1917.—[Ed.]
2 Jour. of the Amer. Med. Assoc., August 2, 1913.
According to this interpretation, the determining factors in the production of homosexuality are essentially two—the love for the mother and the love for one's own body. It is pointed out that these two components—the mother-complex and the narcissism—are invariably present and stand to each other in a relation of contrast, the narcissism being a consequence of the repression of the mother-ideal, i.e., the individual rids himself of the mother-image as object, by identifying himself with the mother and replacing her with his own person as the sexual object. Having thus established as his sexual object his own person, he later, through an association of similarity, extends his object to include other persons of a sex like his own and thus is begotten homosexuality.

Thus we have the mother-complex giving way to narcissism as the first step, and narcissism yielding homo-erotism or homosexuality as the second. But this is not all. A more direct route from the mother to homosexuality is also described. This is offered through the immediate contrast-mechanism whereby the homosexual (taking the male as paradigm) is assumed to have had recourse to the male object as a refuge from womankind. That is to say, he rebounds, so to speak, upon the man, because representing the opposite of the woman. Such are the factors and related mechanisms which have been offered to explain the development of the disposition to homosexuality.

Now as regards the actual components involved in the determination of the homosexual constellation—the mother-complex, the narcissism and auto-erotic elements—and as regards the propriety of the theory of the relation of these factors to one another and of the mechanism of their interaction under special conditions, it seems to me that there can be no question; but I believe that we are compelled to assume yet further factors to account for the basic biological situation underlying this phenomenon. For while undoubtedly this interpretation is dynamically correct, it seems to me not sufficiently genetic to satisfy the demand for the broad, unitary principle such as must embrace the great mass of correlated mechanisms involved in the complex of homosexuality as envisaged by psychoanalysis.

Instead, therefore, of three independent components causally in-

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4 It will be remembered that in the early formulation of the above mentioned mechanisms of homosexuality, Freud distinctly insisted upon the tentativeness of his theory and with his characteristic openmindedness heartily welcomed the modifications which future study might suggest.
terrelated one to another, as represented in the mechanisms just
described, we ought, I think, to regard these three components as
different developmental aspects of an original and basic biological
principle. This principle we may, for convenience of designation,
call the principle of primary identification.

We are not here speaking of the process of identification with
the mother, to which we have just alluded—the dynamic process in
virtue of which the individual represses the mother-image as the
love-object by adopting the rôle of the mother and so constituting
himself as the love-object—of this purposive adaptation, this
process of means pursuant to an end, we are not here speaking, but
of a primary, biological, organic principle of identification inherent
in the evolution of mental life. I would therefore urge that the
distinction between the essentially mechanistic process of identifica-
tion and the genetic principle of identification which I shall here
attempt to formulate and submit to the consideration of this
audience, be very carefully borne in mind.

In an earlier paper on “Psychoanalysis and Life,” I spoke of
the original unity or identity of the offspring with the mother, as
the primitive, elemental state of the infant psyche. I said that, at
its biological source within the maternal envelope, the infant's or-
ganic consciousness, as I called it, “is so harmoniously adapted to
its environment as to constitute a perfect continuum with it.” It is
this psychic continuity and coherence, this organic homogeneous-
ness of the infantile psyche with the maternal and its significance
in later mental development upon the determination of homosexu-
ality to which I wish especially to invite consideration.

Conscious life is determined by the organism's adaptation to
the influences of its environment. As we go on in life, gathering to
us new and untried experiences which more and more are vitalized
through personal reaction, there is imbued in us an increasing pre-
disposition toward a psychological constant. This gradually estab-
lished bias in the individual's habitual tendency we call character,
and the sum of qualities which go toward the determination of char-
acter we call the personality. Manifestly the interest and sig-
nificance of a personality depend upon the variety, the richness and
the depth of the experiences the individual has known. In other
words, personality is proportionate to the obstacles incident to ad-
justment.

5 The Conception of Homosexuality, A. A. Brill, Jour. of Amer. Med.
Assoc.
6 Read before the New York Academy of Medicine, October 14, 1913.
Now the newborn infant, and even the infant of the first several months of its existence, is, under this definition, not a personality—indeed from the psychological point of view it is not yet even an individual. Though physically a distinct and independent being, yet viewed from the aspect of consciousness, the young infant is as yet totally without identity, being, so to speak, but an outgrowth of the mother. For there is as yet no condition making for adaptation—no adjustment to obstacle making for that sum of qualities which is personality. So that as regards consciousness, the child is still neutral, quiescent, undifferentiated. Having his exclusive experience as an organic part of the mother, the infant is, psychically, still of one piece, as it were, with the parental organism. And when we consider the tactual correspondence of surface quality and of bodily warmth which the child feels in its contact with the mother, we realize still more how its experience savors of the actual continuity and organic unity with the maternal organism which obtained during its prenatal life. Added to these general relationships of correspondence and identity there is the far more intimate and specialized relationship arising from the process of suckling. Here again is seen a relationship of correspondence and of unity, which still further correlates the post-natal with the original embryological relationship, the union subsequent to birth through the act of suckling contributing to replace the union that existed prior to birth through the umbilical connection.

Now during these early months of the infant’s exclusive relationship with the mother, organic associations begin to be formed which mark the beginning of the awakening of consciousness. Let it be remembered though that since the child is still in the subjective, undifferentiated phase of consciousness, the associations of the first months of infantile life are entirely primary, subjective and unconscious, and that therefore its early associations, being subjective, non-conscious and undifferentiated, tend always toward the

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7 It is needful to consider the infant’s many months of intrauterine life, during which it leads an entirely parasitic existence, enjoying tranquil residence amid ideally equable surroundings. It is needful to consider the many months subsequent to its passage through the birth canal, spent in an environment as ideal and as equable as adult ingenuity can devise. See Ferenczi’s Entwicklungsstufen des Wirklichkeitssinnes, Internat. Zeitschrift für Aerzliche Psychoanalyse, 1 Jahrgang, 1913, Heft 2, März.
closer consolidation of the mother with itself, that is to say, they
tend to the indissoluble welding together of the infantile ego and
the mother-image. Thus is strengthened from day to day the men-
tal union—the psychic amalgamation between the mother and in-
fant which establishes for him an organic bond in respect to feeling
or consciousness subsequent to birth that is correlative with the or-
ganic correspondence prior to their separation at birth. It is this
subjective continuity—this organic mental bond which I call the
principle of primary identification.

Now among the experiences which come to the infant before its
differentiation, by far the chief, it will be agreed, is the act of
suckling. In the union of the offspring with the mother through
contact of the lingual and labial mucosa with the erectile nipple,
we have a reaction which both from the implications of analogy as
well as from the trend of psychoanalytic experience may be most
fittingly correlated with what we know later as the sexual impulse.⁹

Now, as has been said, during the period of suckling, the infant
consciousness is in the primary, undifferentiated phase, and its ex-
periences are therefore primary and subjective, that is to say, they
are experiences belonging to the early phase of primary identifica-

⁹To the great credit of Freud's scientific acumen, he early realized that the
process of suckling pertains to the impulse of union, of correspondence,
of conjugation, and with a clear insight into biological analogy he fearlessly
allied the sucking instinct with the instinct of sexuality. Freud's followers,
led by their own psychoanalytic experiences, concur very fully in this posi-
tion. The disparity of opinion that has lately arisen in respect to this funda-
mental theoretical position of Freud, is due in part, it seems to me, to a
confusion of premises. For in debating between the nutritional or the sexual
interpretation of the sucking instinct, it is necessary, before deciding the
issue, that we discriminate between the remoter end of evolution on the one
hand and the immediate dynamic aim on the other, i. e., between the purpose
of nature and the purpose of the individual. While nature's directive aim in
the act of suckling is undoubtedly nutritive, just as nature's directive aim in
the act of copulation is reproductive, yet the primary incitement in the im-
pulse of suckling, even though it mediates the nourishment of the indi-
vidual, is directly no more for the purpose of nutrition than the impulse
of copulation, even though it mediates the fertilization of the ovum, is
directly for the purpose of reproduction. In both instances the dynamic pur-
pose or incitement of the individual is the immediate sensuous satisfaction.
This being true, we are forced to recognize the teleological independence of
these two factors—to distinguish between the immediate, individual impulse,
and the broader purpose of evolution which the individual impulse subserves.
Thus, speaking figuratively, nature invests the act of suckling with a quality
akin to the sexual to insure the nutrition and growth of the individual, pre-
cisely as it endows the act of copulation with a sexual character to insure the
propagation and continuance of the species.
tion with the mother. If, then, the act of suckling is analogous to the sexual impulse, the child's first experience of a sexual nature must be a subjective one, that is to say, it must be a sexual experience that takes place while the infant is still in the primary phase of homogeneousness and unity with the mother.10

We maintain, therefore, that though the act of suckling bears a sexual analogy and though it is an act involving the mother, yet because of the infant's subjectivity—its identification with the mother in this act pertaining to the sexual instinct—the mother cannot properly be called, at least in the beginning, the sexual object. For, as has been said, the infant consciousness, having in the beginning not yet attained the stage of outer adaptation, has no object in the accepted sense. He has as yet formed no associations such as may be said to constitute in any true sense the recognition of outer, objective reality, and hence he cannot yet be said to have any mental object in the sense in which he comes later to experience objects of consciousness. It is only later, through the gradually increasing demand for adaptation, that the infant begins to objectivate. When he does so, naturally being identified with the mother, he objectivates as the mother. His subjective consciousness being united to the mother, the child's first object of concern is the selfsame as that of the mother. Now the very special love-object of the mother is the child himself—the child's own body. That is to say, the child's primary ego or consciousness being united to and one with the mother, regards along with the mother, its own body as the love-object. With the process of weaning, the infant is thrown more and more upon himself. Being left more and more to the contemplation of his own body, it becomes the constant and insistent object of interest—his hands and feet, his navel, his alimentary and genito-urinary organs and the functions pertaining thereto. This is in my opinion the explanation of auto-erotism, my position being that auto-erotism is the psychological correlate of mater-erotism or of primary identification with the mother. Now auto-erotism or the love of one's own body is the love of that sex to which one's own body belongs and this, in the psychological interpretation, is precisely homosexuality.

We see then in the principle of primary identification the essential biological unity of the three above-mentioned components—the mother-complex, narcissism and homosexuality—and how these

10 The bearing of this conception upon the theoretical interpretation of certain type-differences occurring in the neuroses, will form the topic of a later paper.
apparently distinct elements are really but different phases or aspects of this single, basic principle. As I shall try to show, this primary, genetic principle offers us, as it seems to me, a distinct advantage over the dynamic process just outlined, in rendering a basic conception of homosexuality that enables us to refer the phenomena of homosexuality in general to a single, psychological law. The mechanistic explanation, as we shall see, does not fully measure to this requirement.

For when we come to examine the prevailing dynamic interpretation which accounts for homosexuality in the male on the assumption that homosexuality is due to a repugnance to the mother, the argument being, according to Sadger, that “with the repression of the love for the mother, there occurs a repression of love for all womankind,” we at once come into difficulty. For as soon as we apply this mechanism to the explanation of homosexuality in the female, straightway the theory involves us in contradiction. For in the female a repugnance to the mother should, according to this mechanism, impel her toward the male as love-object, which manifestly would not be homosexuality but heterosexuality, indeed the more emphasized heterosexuality.

Again, when we examine the more indirect mechanism which explains homosexuality on the basis of an intermediate narcissism, we are in no whit better case. For here, too, it is explained, you remember, that the narcissism is a result of the individual’s repulsion from the mother—that for the purpose of defense against woman as love-object the individual identifies himself with the mother in order to love himself as she does.¹¹

This explanation works well enough as long as we confine its application to the male homosexual, but, as before, as soon as we put it to the test in respect to the female homosexual, we are embroiled in dilemma. For if the female attempts to rid herself of the mother through this mechanism, her plan is again immediately foiled, for being herself a woman she is afforded no escape from womankind through recourse to this dodge. And so it is seen that the mechanisms of homosexuality thus far described, while possessing a special application in special cases, fail to meet the test of universal applicability. These mechanisms are only partial expedients. They lack the basic solidity of a primary and inherent principle.

Indeed it seems to me that the inadequacy of these mechanisms to serve as a general explanation of the psychology of homosexuality has been tacitly admitted by us. For psychoanalysis has hitherto failed to apply these mechanisms to the female, confining its observations entirely to the male homosexual. In illustrating these mechanisms, reference is made almost exclusively to the male, the detailed discussion of cases being limited to the male homosexual. So that to judge from the discussion of illustrative material the non-psychoanalytic reader might well suppose that homosexuality was a maladjustment that is limited entirely to the male sex. Whereas, we know that homosexual trends are as prominent in the female as in the male neurotic. Besides, observation teaches us that in schools and other institutions in which sex seclusion is the aim, a sentimental interest for one another develops no less frequently among the inmates of establishments for girls than in similar institutions for boys. Rather the contrary, for the psychosexual inversion that is presented in the so-called “cases” or “crushes” occurring among girls, though a subtler manifestation of homosexuality, probably far exceeds, in point of frequency, the grosser homosexual practices sometimes occurring among boys living under like conditions of restriction.

Of course we have explained the homosexuality of the female on the assumption of a recoil from the father analogous to that which takes place in the male with respect to the mother. So that the corresponding mechanism, having in view the repression of the father-ideal, would thus consist of an identification of the female child with the father in order to replace him with her own person as the sexual object. This interpretation seems to me, from a biological point of view, untenable. Certainly my own analyses have thus far revealed no such mechanism as the universal account of the homosexual complex in the female neurotic. Besides, there is ample a priori ground for rejecting such a mechanism as a sufficient causative factor. For we must admit that the intimate organic relationship between the mother and the female infant is no less strong nor less significant than the relationship between the mother and the male infant. Why then should we disregard this organic attachment in the case of the female infant? On the other hand, the social relationship of the father is too remote and too little biological, or, from the standpoint of consciousness, too little organic, to constitute a factor correspondingly as potent as the mother factor.

That the father plays an important and often a leading rôle in
the unconscious mechanisms elaborated by the neurotic patient, whether male or female, appears obvious enough of course upon analysis, but my position is that the rôle of the father as well as of the mother—in this dynamic stage of pathological defense-adjustments, the basis of which is repression—is a secondary rôle and that, while explaining the action and construction of the actual neurosis, it leaves out of account the native biological factor of a primary consciousness from which, as a sort of matrix, is developed the entire mental life of the normal as well as of the neurotic individual. It might be said that in having given the place of primary importance to the reaction-mechanisms, we began, as it were, with the anatomy rather than with the embryology of the mental life.

We claim then that the theory of the mechanism of repression through replacement is adequate to account for homosexuality in the male only, and is therefore lacking as a basic explanation of homosexuality in general.

It must now be asked: Does the principle of primary identification meet this demand? Does the genetic theory here advanced afford an explanation of homosexuality such as proves equally satisfactory when applied to the homosexuality of the female as well as of the male?

With the principle of primary identification, we set out, as just said, with the postulate of an organic unity and identity of the infant consciousness with the mother. Now it is clear that if the original, subjective relationship of the infant in respect to the mother leads to its first objectivating, so to speak, from the standpoint of the mother, i. e., as the mother with whom it is identified, and consequently leads to the infant's early regarding its own body as the mother regards it, i. e., as the chief love-object, then the result psychologically is in no respect different whether the child be male or female, for in either case since it loves itself, it loves the sex to which it belongs, and loving thus its own sex, it is homosexual.

Now we contend that if the principle of primary identification affords us an explanation of the phenomenon of homosexuality that is basic, uniform and universally applicable, it offers us a basic and universal explanation of the neuroses themselves.

For if our thesis is true, it follows that unconscious homosexuality is but an extension into adult life of the individual's original identification, and that the neurosis is therefore nothing else than a heightened subjectivity. It is an accentuation and a fixation
of the original, subjective mode, in virtue of which the individual remains in an attitude of identification with respect to the mother, which leads to his objectivation of himself. Hence the statement which we set down in the beginning of this paper as a matter of observation, we may now return to as the principle upon which the entire interpretation of the neuroses rests, namely, that "negative or latent homosexuality is synonymous with a neurosis."  

According then to our interpretation, neurotic homosexuality presents an exclusively mental situation, and it seems to us, if our view is correct, that it is incumbent upon the psychoanalyst to define his position more clearly than he has as yet done in respect to the psychological interpretation of the homosexual complex.

According to the original, tentative theory of Freud, the infant possesses a disposition to homosexuality as well as to heterosexuality, and this psychic ambisexuality represents the mental concomitant of the anatomical hermaphroditism presented in the rudimentary sex organs and their analogues.

Whatever validity this theory of concomitance may possess in the sphere of positive or actual homosexuality, investigation has more and more tended to weaken this theory of concomitance between psychic and structural sex ambivalence in the sphere of unconscious homosexuality, until it now appears that we have laid an altogether unwarranted stress upon anatomical sexual conformation in the study of this important psycho-sexual variant. Indeed, from the study of neurotic patients and the analysis of the homosexual complex as presented by them in a repressed and symbolic guise, I have come to feel that we shall only attain to a true conception of homosexuality when we have wholly repudiated a physical substratum in the literal, anatomical sense, and boldly adopt a radically mental point of view in the interpretation of this anomaly. Fol-

12 Hence the infantilism which we know to be associated with homosexuality. This explains why it is that homosexuals, both actual and repressed, are so generally youthful in appearance. This youthfulness must often have excited the surprise of psychoanalysts. It is a circumstance, too, that is often remarked by the patient himself—that notwithstanding the intensity and duration of his sufferings, so often a question of years—he is still, strange to say, far younger looking for his years than his contemporaries. In his paper, Die Psychoanalyse eines Autoerotikers, Sadger says: "Noch jetzt, mit 27 Jahren, besitzt er bloss äußerst wenig Schnurrbart und nur ein klein bisschen mehr, doch nur immer sehr wenig Backenbart und sieht überhaupt bedeutend jünger aus, als er wirklich ist," Jahrbuch für psychopathologische Forschungen, Band V, Halfte II, p. 487.
lowing this conception, I have come to disregard entirely the question of the sex of the individual from an anatomical point of view and to study the patient per se in respect to his greater subjectivity as opposed to his facility of external adaptation; in other words, to study the individual upon the basis of this principle of primary identification, quite apart from his physical differentiation into male or female.

With this conceptual background as a basis, we maintain, first, that the individual, whether male or female, in whom there exists a heightened subjectivity, i. e., in whom the primary identification with the mother is strongly accentuated, the individual in whom the unconscious or the primary psychic system tends to persist beyond the average in strength and duration, is, on this account, strongly infantile, affective, introverted,13 i. e., he is the neurotic, actual or potential; second, that such a strongly subjective or autosexual individual, if a male, since he is in love with his own body, i. e., with the body of the male—tends to develop in a mentally feminine way; and if a female, being in love with her own person—i. e., with the person of a female, tends to develop in a mentally masculine way.

It seems to us therefore, that, following these lines, we are forced to recognize a psychology of sex that is quite distinct from its biology. There exists, of course, in man as in other sexually differentiated animals, a biological sex attraction between the male and the female of the same species. This attraction we recognize as organic or instinctive. But in man there also enters a psychological factor in the choice of object. Now this factor we call love.

If we examine the sentiment between individuals which we know as love, we shall find that, in its essence, it consists of an identification with the love-object. It is the seeing oneself in another—the recognition in another of that which one would himself be. We say that man and wife are "made one." Their "union" means oneness. This factor of identification is well shown in the acceptability of lovers toward each other even in respect to those manifestations which are ordinarily only acceptable in themselves—for example the bodily odors, physical imperfections. Consider the tolerance of lovers to drink after one another, while to drink after any one else would be distasteful. Indeed in this very connection is not the principle of identification celebrated by the

13 Hence the temperamental, intuitive, imaginative quality of neurotics.
folk unconscious in the established symbol of the "loving-cup"? Besides, the very usage of our language sustains this interpretation. When we wish to express the especial attraction we recognize in the psychosexual affinity, we say "in love with." To love then is not merely to appreciate, to esteem, but it is to find personified in an individual an unconsciously cherished image preexisting in one's self, to identify one's self with, or as we say, to realize one's ideal. It is because of the unconscious character of this ideal to which the love-object must conform that the selection of object is entirely independent of conscious volition, love being an unconscious process.

Now normally the individual may identify himself with that love-object toward which he is sexually adapted—organically, instinctively adapted, i.e., the opposite sex—the sex unlike his own. That is to say, normally the organic sex attraction meets with a capacity of identification, finds in the personality a degree of subjectivity such as permits of a complete and natural psychosexual union with an individual of the sex opposite to his own, but in the neurotic the primary identification is so intense—his subjectivity so persistent and overmastering, that he tends unconsciously to identify himself with an individual who is more like himself, who better personifies himself, who is of a sex like his own, that is to say, he is unconsciously homosexual.

It seems to me that upon this hypothesis we are enabled to explain much that is fundamental to neurotic processes—much that has long been obscure and perplexing in the psychology of this disorder. In the first place, as we said, the correspondence, the unfailing correlation between repressed homosexuality and a neurosis. Further we may understand the universal concurrence of the mother-complex and repressed homosexuality and the propor-

Browning's lines are happily illustrative of this psychological identification characteristic of the sentiment of love:

"I would I could adopt your will,  
See with your eyes, and set my heart  
Beating by yours, and drink my fill  
At your soul's springs,—your part my part  
In life, for good and ill."

We say also enamored of. The German expression is verliebt in; the Spanish, estar enamorado de; the Italian, esser inamorato di; the French en être amoureux.

Consider the habitual expression "madly in love," and the proverbial obstinacy of "love" to the dictates of reason and prudence.
tionate strength of these two factors in relation to one another and to autoerotism, as they are represented in a neurosis. Here is explained also the infantilism which we know to be inseparable from homosexuality. Indeed the genetic interpretation of homosexuality here advanced so far correlates and explains the various phenomena occurring in connection with it as would make necessary a separate discussion were we to attempt adequately to treat it.

But here it has been my purpose merely to urge the abrogation of the more mechanical, static, physico-biological theory of homosexuality, to modify somewhat the subsequent dynamic mechanisms by which thus far it has been explained and to invite in its stead a consideration of the more genetic and psycho-biological interpretation of this manifestation. Both from biological analogy as well as from the inductions derived from psychoanalytic experience we are led to believe that in the formulation of the principle of primary identification—that is, the principle of monopsychism obtaining between maternal and infant organism, we are at the biological source of the phenomena of repressed homosexuality as well as of the neurosis itself.

We return to the text with which we set out: “Negative or latent homosexuality enters so universally into the repression that underlies neurotic disorders as to be practically synonymous with a neurosis.” It is hoped that in view of the foregoing discussion we may have brought to this statement a somewhat clearer and fuller understanding of its import, and that because of the altered aspect in which we have ventured to present the genesis of homosexuality and its relation to the problem of introverted mental states, others may be stimulated to undertake the further investigation of this very difficult and important problem with perhaps a renewed impetus.

Perhaps nowhere is this relationship more strikingly observed than in analyses of patients representing the anxiety and cyclothymic types of reaction. The evidence from actual psychoanalytic data that is specifically most convincing is the frequent convergence in the patient’s dreams of the mother-image and the homosexual object.
To gain some understanding of why this thought became obsessive, that is to say, why all the affects belonging to the tuberculosis complex were transferred to it, we need only to represent to ourselves what must have been the state of Stella’s mind at that time. The theme of tuberculosis was one that for a long time she had not faced squarely. As soon as she began to realize, in her girlhood, that tuberculosis would diminish her value in the eyes of men, she not only denied to others that she had had the disease but refused to admit even to herself that she had ever had it. Thus, she disputed the significance of repeated hemorrhages, loss of weight, cough, and similar symptoms, and, although all the doctors who ever examined her at the times she showed symptoms had made the same diagnosis of tuberculosis, she always told herself that as the result of prejudice or some other influence they were mistaken, basing this contention on the fact that she had never had a positive sputum, and that for the greater part of her life she had maintained fairly good health though working in an unfavorable climate and under unfavorable conditions.

But for Stella to maintain a conscious belief that she was not and had never been tubercular would mean simply that she repressed and refused to admit to her consciousness various perceptions that would inevitably lead to the formation of a directly opposite opinion. In other words, even supposing that she could believe consciously that she never had had the disease, yet unconsciously she entertained an entirely different conviction. Thus, though at the time of her affair with Max she knew in a way that she was having a relapse, she would not admit to herself that such was the case.

The concern consequent upon her unwilling and unadmitted knowledge of her condition was temporarily diminished by her visit
to the Mahoshef, for, with a faith like that which a drowning man has in a straw, she had hoped that he would be able to do away with her malady. But in a mind so shrewdly materialistic as Stella’s any belief in him and his powers was of necessity short lived. The absurdity of Rose’s story of menstrual blood as a love potion was enough to swing her back to her normal position of incredulity. Thus as her transitory faith in the Mahoshef gave way she was plunged into a state of despondency in which she was on the point of admitting not only that she really was sick but that perhaps she might always be so. But Rose’s remark, which caused her to think, “I am going to die of Kishef (in the same way as is Max),” supplied at the critical moment a euphemistic phrase with which to make the admission. To say, “I am going to die of Kishef,” since Kishef was a thing she really neither really believed in nor feared, was less painful than the bald, cold statement “I have tuberculosis, and it is of that I must eventually die.”

But no matter how delicately expressed, a thought having such a meaning, and coming as it did at the moment when a forlorn hope had just been destroyed, was inevitably accompanied by intense and disagreeable emotions. The thought “I am going to die of the fortune teller’s Kishef” appeared in Stella’s consciousness as something unmotivated, strange, and foreign to the rest of her thoughts—in short, as an obsession—because it was there construed literally, rather than in the figurative sense in which her unconscious employed it. The reason for this misconstruction and misunderstanding was, as I have tried to show, her reluctance to realize and admit a painful fact.

The emotional accompaniments which made this obsession so compelling did not all have origin in the way just described. As we shall see, once the obsession started, the affects belonging to other painful thoughts were transferred to it, and at the same time reinforcement was received from certain wishes which however manifested themselves in the shape of fear.

One displacement came about as follows: Since, as has already been said, Rose had never even seen Max and could have had no reason for supposing him tubercular, her remark, “He will be weak and sickly all the rest of his life,” etc., might well have startled Stella by its uncanny accuracy. Naturally she thought something like this: “What a coincidence! It is almost as if that she-devil Rose were reading my mind.” But, since Stella’s thinking was habitually done in a mixture of Yiddish and English, the place of
the phrase “that she-devil” was taken in her mind by another phrase, viz., “that Machseveh,” Machseveh being a feminine form of what would in English correspond to “rascal” or devil.” But it so happens that the word “Machseveh” is not only used to denote a rascally person but signifies also a witch—in short, “Machseveh,” a witch, is the feminine of “Mahoshef,” a magician or wizard. Furthermore, the powers which a Mahoshef and Machseveh are reputed to possess include not only those of making love matches and curing diseases but also that of reading minds—telepathy is thus a variety of Kishef—so Stella’s reflection “Rose is guessing my thoughts” naturally took the form “That Machseveh (that she-devil, Rose) is doing Kishef to me,” a phrase which, but for the mere difference of masculine and feminine word forms, is identical with the wording of her obsession. It is easy to understand, then, how affects arising from disagreeable thoughts with which Rose was connected, especially such thoughts as could be figuratively expressed in terms of Kishef, could become displaced in Stella’s consciousness via “Machseveh” to “Mahoshef” and thus merge with the already existing fear of the fortune teller. Such a substitution of the fortune teller for Rose was further facilitated by the fact already pointed out that Stella suspected that Rose had made a confidant of him; that is, she could say, “Whatever Rose knows, he knows. To tell Rose a thing is the same as telling it to the Mahoshef.”

There can be introduced here the explanation of Stella’s anger upon discovering that Rose and the Mahoshef were already acquainted at the time of their first visit to him. We have already seen that Stella suspected at the time of this visit that Rose had told him of her tuberculosis. This suspicion was strengthened when he said to her, “I can do everything!” and when he attempted to sell her medicine, for she wondered if this did not mean he was hinting that he knew of her lung trouble and that he would try to help her if she cared to be frank with him. The discovery some days later that Rose had known the Mahoshef before they went to him changed what had been in the first place only a vague suspicion into a practical conviction that Rose had betrayed her. For the fact that Rose had seen fit to conceal this acquaintance indicated a certain duplicity on her part, while the existence of the acquaintance, implying as it did that Rose had confided in the man and had some secret understanding with him, made it seem highly probable that she had told him all she knew about Stella. Thus, it is to be seen that the reason Stella became angry at Rose when she discovered the old acquaintance between her and the Mahoshef was that this discovery, to Stella’s mind, represented quite positive evidence that Rose had betrayed her. She was angry at Rose’s seeming untrustworthiness, for she felt that if that young lady could so readily betray the great secret to the Mahoshef she
The thoughts from which affective displacement came about by this route arose as follows. Not only did Rose divine the facts with Kishef-like accuracy in her prediction concerning the health of Max, but also, it seemed to Stella, in another connection. It will be remembered that early in the analysis we learned that Stella wished that if Max turned out to be a helpless invalid after she married him his life would then be short. Because of these wishes she could regard herself, as far as her thoughts were concerned, as a murderess. It was also pointed out that in connection with Ida's death Stella did regard herself as a murderess not only in thought but also in fact, for she believed that she had killed Ida with an evil wish. Stella could think of herself as, potentially, a murderess for still another reason, for she was not sure that she would not adopt some means of hastening Max's departure more material than mere wishes if after she married him he became incapacitated and lingered on a hopeless invalid unable to support her. Indeed, the fact that she had something of this sort in mind explains her exclamation "I can't bear to have a man's days shortened for my pleasure! I can't have him lose his life on my account!" But it is clear that though Stella had a certain basis for saying to herself, "I am a murderess," it was an admission that she would have been very reluctant to make; and, consequently, her mind would automatically take advantage of any mechanism representing an escape from a thought so painful. Such a means of escape was provided in this way. When Rose had said of Max, "If he has Kishef done to him he can't live to be over fifty," Stella of course thought, "Whenever Max dies, no matter of what cause, Rose will think that it was Kishef that killed him; and, since I am the one who might just as readily betray it to almost anyone else, and where such a betrayal would be much more serious. Another element was the fact that Stella felt no small resentment toward Rose because the latter had apparently refused to be convinced that Stella was not a consumptive. Stella's wish to convince Rose of the soundness of her health was at bottom a wish to convince herself. Her resentment at Rose's apparent skepticism thus corresponds to that familiar phenomenon known as the projection of a reproach.

It must be added, however, that Stella's anger at Rose was not quite as real as it seemed. That is to say, it served as an over-compunction for a feeling of a different sort—a matter which will be more clear when we take up the wish element in the obsession.

After she married Barney and it became evident that his health was failing she often had impulses to choke him or poison him and was by no means always sure that she would not act upon them.
caused the Kishef to be done, Rose will look upon me as a murderess.” And, as we have just shown, Rose, in Stella’s opinion, would be right in thinking her a murderess. Here again Rose, though through wrong premises, would reach a correct conclusion in a way so remarkable that it could be thought of as mind reading or “Kishef.” Of this figurative way of expressing the disagreeable fact that Rose’s estimate of her would be in a way true, Stella’s mind took instant advantage. Hence, instead of saying to herself, “Rose will be right if she thinks I am a murderess,” or, in other words, instead of putting the psychic accent on the last part of the above sentence, where it belonged, her mind accented the first part, the idea “Rose guesses my thoughts rightly,” which as she thought in Yiddish would have the form, “That Machseveh is doing Kishef to me” (Die Machseveh tut mir Kishef); and this thought, construed literally by her consciousness, and further distorted by the condensation whereby the masculine “Mahoshef” was merged with the feminine “Machseveh,” bore with it all the affects of displeasure and self-reproach originating from the unwilling knowledge of her murderous tendencies.

But still another group of ideas came to be represented in Stella’s consciousness by her fear of the Mahoshef. Not only in the two connections just spoken of but in still another Rose had seemed to divine what Stella was thinking; for as has already been said, Stella thought that Rose guessed that she was worrying about tuberculosis. She felt sure that when they discussed the matter of hemorrhages Rose, though pretending to be impressed by her protestations, was really not at all convinced that Stella had never had the disease. And Rose’s warning “If you worry so about Max, T. B. will come back on you” had made Stella wonder if Rose did not suspect that this had already occurred and that it was a return of the T. B. more than any thoughts about Max that was the real source of her worry. So, too, when they went to the Mahoshef Stella thought it not improbable that if Rose told him anything about her history she had added, “and very likely she is not feeling any too strong now, which may be the reason she seems so worried.”

It is perhaps true that Stella’s grounds for thinking that Rose had divined and perhaps disclosed to others that her tuberculosis had recurred were not particularly good ones. As a matter of fact, for Stella to fear that another had guessed her secret—a secret, be it remembered, which she hardly admitted to herself—did not require sound logical grounds. It is well known
At any rate, for Rose to guess that Stella was having a relapse—for in fact Stella was fat and looked perfectly well—was remarkable enough to be expressed in terms of mind reading or divination. Hence, whatever affects belonged to the idea “That I have tuberculosis is known to others” could be displaced in Stella’s consciousness to the idea “The Mahoshef is doing magic to me.”

This point, that magic meant among other things to have knowledge of the secret of her tuberculosis, has been emphasized because upon it depended some of the minor fears from which Stella had suffered. Since for her to think a person was doing magic to her could be a substitute for the thought that that person knew of her tuberculosis, one can understand why she had fears of friends of the Mahoshef, of people who stared at her on the street, and of the doctor who hypnotized her at the Broadway Clinic. All of these persons she had reason to think knew or might know that she was a consumptive. She feared friends of the Mahoshef, and under this guise friends of Rose also, because she thought Rose and the Mahoshef were untrustworthy persons and might betray her secret to their acquaintances. She feared the doctor at the Broadway Clinic because her old tuberculosis history was there on file, and he might have seen it or have learned of her story from some of the men in the department for tuberculosis. (This particular physician served also as a substitute for several physicians, at this clinic and that a guilty person fears in a characteristically illogical way that his guilt is suspected by others, even by those who cannot possibly know anything about it. In the same way it often happens that a person thinks that another suspects him of something that he consciously believes he is not guilty of but of which he is actually guilty, though unconsciously. One of my patients, for example, who developed a neurosis shortly after he became engaged, told me he believed a friend of his suspected that he became ill only as a means of backing out of his engagement; and, as it turned out eventually, a wish to withdraw from the engagement actually was one of the chief determinants of his illness. But at the time he became ill this wish was a totally unconscious one. Phenomena of this sort are well-known under the term, “the projection of a reproach,” and that the existence of this mechanism is well recognized is evidenced by such familiar phrases as: “A guilty conscience needs no accuser.” “The wicked flee when no man pursueth.” To some extent, then, Stella’s thought that Rose and the Mahoshef knew she had tuberculosis depended upon a projection of the repressed thought “I know I have it.” This thought, “I know I have tuberculosis,” then, contributed to the obsession through two mechanisms: first, identification with Max; second, that of projection. In addition, as we shall learn shortly, there was a wish element in the case that made Stella exaggerate any real likelihood of her tuberculosis becoming known to others.
elsewhere, who might know of her lung trouble.) The reason that she feared that people who stared at her on the street were doing magic to her was this. Anyone is apt to think when he sees another person staring at him, “Is that some one who knows me but whom I do not recall?” but Stella would add to such a thought, “Is that some one who knows me from having seen me in a sanitarium or T. B. clinic, and so is aware that I am a consumptive?” a thought which, because of her resistances, reached her consciousness as a fear of divination or of magic.

But there remains still another determinant of Stella’s obsession to be considered. We have seen that, according to the wording of the young lady’s obsession, the source of all her troubles was the Mahoshef. It was he and his influence which, it seemed to her, menaced her mental integrity and after her marriage threatened to bring about a divorce from her husband. The rôle which the Mahoshef played in her obsession was, then, quite analogous to that occupied by the arch persecutor in the delusions of a paranoiac. But we have come to believe that in paranoia and allied conditions the person hated and feared as the arch persecutor either is, or represents, some one whom the patient, usually without realizing it, actually loves. It is not unreasonable to conclude, then, that a similar state of affairs must have existed in this case. But, since there is no reason to think that Stella loved the Mahoshef, it would seem that he must have stood as a representative of some one whom she really did love.¹⁹ The power which to Stella seemed to emanate from the Mahoshef we may suppose, then, was really her love for this person whom the Mahoshef represented. Thus, as we might naturally expect, magic or Kishef was a symbol for love, for in the figures of ordinary speech love is spoken of as a magical power, a form of enchantment, the lover is said to be bewitched by his mistress, and she to have cast a spell over him, etc. “The Mahoshef is doing magic to me” means then, among other things, “I am in love with him,” i. e., with some person whom the Mahoshef represents.

But who was the person loved by Stella and represented in the obsession by the Mahoshef? There seems to be little room for doubt on this point. All the evidence indicates that Stella’s father

¹⁹This line of reasoning has brought us to a conclusion almost identical with that reached when before beginning the analysis we were considering the question of love at first sight, namely, that Stella must have been in love with some person, then unknown to us, and that presumably this love was an important factor in the development of the neurosis.
was the person in question. As has already been said, she was in love with him in the fullest sense of the word. She wished to remain with him, to assume the place occupied by her mother, and to be sexually gratified by him. These wishes were opposed and to some extent obscured by others of an ethical order which impelled her to marry and leave home. But the conflict of these forces, reinforced by the conflicts arising out of the tuberculosis problem, eventually resulted in a sort of pseudo-marriage—a marriage with a consumptive. That is to say, her love for her father led her to contemplate and eventually to take a step which must lead to infinite trouble, anxiety, and unhappiness. It is evident, then, that if all of Stella’s troubles could be attributed to the influence of any one person, that person was not the Mahoshef, but her father. From the standpoint of harm done he was the real Mahoshef. He, and not the fortune teller, was the one who “bossed” her thoughts, had “power” over her, and was “driving her crazy,” or as we can better express it, to do “crazy” things. “The Mahoshef is doing magic to me and I am going to die—or go crazy” is then a substitution for the thought “I am in love with my father, and this love is leading me to do insane things that will lead to my destruction.”

In addition to the factors just mentioned there were still others which had some influence in causing Stella to identify the Mahoshef with her father. The fact that the two men were of about the same age and appearance, and that they were both obviously old-fashioned and superstitious, without doubt had some significance. Furthermore, both were in some degree deserving of the term Mahoshef in its colloquial significance of rascal. But a more important factor was this. It will be remembered that Stella’s visit to the Mahoshef was really a substitute for going to a doctor. Now, the idea of visiting a physician had for Stella a peculiar significance. As a little girl of nine or thereabouts she and other little girls had been wont to amuse themselves by “playing doctor.” They examined one another, pretended to deliver each other of babies, administered enemas, etc. But the most interesting form of “treatment” which took place in these games consisted in the masturbation of the “patient” by the pretended medical man. Thus, the idea of going to a doctor for examination and treatment was always associated in Stella’s mind with some thought of sexual gratification by means of masturbation. For the same reason a doctor, or more especially a person who, though not actually a medical man assumed the role of one, as did the Mahoshef, could stand as a dispenser of masturbatic gratifica-
tion, and, consequently, of her father, who had afforded her pleasures of that sort. The starting point of the identification seems to have been the moment when during her first visit to him the Mahoshef took Stella’s hand and so held it that his thumb was interlocked with her’s in a peculiar way, of which she says, “It made me think of sexual intercourse.”

Up to this point the ideas which determined Stella’s obsession have been considered purely as painful ones and practically nothing has been said about wishes having anything to do with it. We are taught, however, that the wish element is invariably present in any neurosis and, as will shortly appear, this case was no exception to the general rule.

Stella was of a very passionate nature and had possessed almost from her girlhood an intense longing for sexual intercourse. But though at times she had been sorely tempted to do otherwise she had resolutely deferred any fulfillment of this wish, partly on account of moral considerations, but more largely, as she was well aware, because she expected to marry eventually and felt that it would be highly inadvisable for her to be lacking in the physical evidences of virginity when that event should take place. But she could expect to marry only if she preserved good health—or at least the appearance of it—and succeeded in keeping her tubercular history more or less secret. If it were evident that she was a consumptive or if her history became widely known, then the chances of her making a satisfactory marriage would be reduced to a practical zero, and consequently the consideration which had been most potent in withholding her from gratifying her desire for intercourse would no longer exist. And she felt—or feared—that if there were no practical advantage in keeping her hymen intact, then mere ethical considerations alone would be insufficient to prevent her from yielding to the temptation to have sexual intercourse. Furthermore, she had often said to herself that a girl who through such a stroke of

20 This same idea of playing doctor obviously had to do with the assault obsession. Her repeated visits to physicians at that time signified among other things a wish to have restored the masturbatic visits of her father, which had terminated just before this obsession began. She wanted to be “examined” or “treated” in the earlier sense of the words, but her father, the “doctor” she really wanted, she would not go to for the purpose directly.

21 That the temptation was a real one is indicated by the fact that she had a great many dreams which upon analysis proved to be prostitution fantasies. The financial as well as the sexual element played an important rôle here.
ill fortune as having tuberculosis was deprived of an opportunity to secure the advantages of marriage was on the whole morally justified in compensating herself for such a hard fate by taking advantage of any opportunity for enjoyment that was presented to her, whether sanctioned by convention or not. It is to be seen, then, that for Stella to say to herself, “You are never going to be well, and there are so many people who do know, or through Rose, the Mahoshef and others, will know of your trouble that you will have no chance of marrying a desirable man” was practically the equivalent of saying, “There is no longer any particular reason, moral or otherwise, why you should not have sexual intercourse if you want it.” The fear of the Mahoshef then both from the point of view of its face value—since it represented her as being “bossed” by someone else or about to be deprived of her reason and, consequently, as not responsible for her acts—and in view of its inner meaning—“I am going to die of Kishef in the same sense as is Max, my tuberculosis is divined by so many that my chances of marriage are spoiled”—was a wish-fulfillment in the sense that it represented various excuses for doing as she pleased, particularly in matters of sex.

It must not be thought from this that Stella ever ceased to want to be well or to have other people think her so. She wanted these things very much and the thought that she might not get them was indeed painful. And she was on the whole willing to lead a moral and virtuous life as long as she could think it probable that in the end she would be rewarded by securing the sort of husband that would suit her. At the same time, the more the probability of her getting this reward was decreased the greater was the tendency for her libido to revert to former interests within the family, and to fantasies of prostitution. That portion of her libido that was directed progressively toward the goal of a suitable marriage impelled her to repress or belittle any indications that she was not or could not be physically well, while the portion directed regressively towards her father or towards immediate and financially profitable gratification had just the opposite effect, and impelled her to exaggerate the obstacles in the way of matrimony. Thus when circumstances were such that she had definite reasons for saying, “There isn’t much use in my being good, for the chances of my getting a suitable husband are small” there was always an impulse to think “I have no chance of getting a good husband, there is no use in my being good—hence I no longer have to control myself,” thoughts which of course were
apt to come to her consciousness in a more or less distorted form. The various obstacles to marriage represented in her obsession were painful in so far as she desired a suitable marriage and the eventual sexual outlet it would represent, but pleasing in so far as she desired an excuse for returning to her father and for gaining a sexual outlet immediately.

One reason that she sought to make a temporary marriage instead of gratifying herself without any formality was in part because she was not sure that she would not eventually recover and have a chance to make a satisfactory marriage. A temporary marriage allowed her to mark time until she could know more definitely whether she was going to recover fully or not. If she should regain her health she could then decide either to remain with her husband or else seek to make a permanent marriage elsewhere, while on the other hand, if she found herself getting worse it would then be time enough to return to her father or indulge with other men who took her fancy. In the meantime she could get what sexual gratification her husband might be able to give her, though she did not expect that it would be very much.

This meager expectation was realized, for coitus with Barney rarely gave her pleasure, though it was her resistances just as much as any weakness on his part that was responsible for this. That is to say she would not allow herself to love him or to enjoy herself with him. To love him meant to be in a state where she would want to be faithful, unselfish, and devoted, but the prospect of being faithful, unselfish, and devoted to a penniless consumptive especially when she herself was one, was so uninviting that her mind automatically resisted whatever tendency she had to make the transfer of libido that would result in her wishing to do these things. Thus, though she was bound legally she was not bound emotionally. Her attitude on the whole was one of waiting for the time to arrive when either she would be well—when she would want to get rid of Barney and make a better marriage—or when she would know positively that she was not going to recover, at which time she would think about promiscuous gratification.

We can now understand why she was afraid that if the Mahoshef was making her insane Barney could divorce her. This fear can be translated as follows: "If it is true that like Max I will always be a consumptive, and consequently cannot look forward to a satisfactory marriage even if I am moral, I will cease to be a responsible person—in short I will lose control of myself and do things which will give
Barney full grounds for a divorce.” That the sort of “Kishef” her father exerted upon her was also an element in this fear need hardly be said. The ideas represented by her obsession (namely: that she was incurably tubercular and that too many people knew of her condition for her to have a chance to make a suitable marriage), all of which amounted to the thought that there was no particular use in her being moral, and also the thought that she was in love with her father, corresponded to the main sources of her resistances against Barney. Her love for her father gave a motive for not loving her husband and the fact that her own health was poor she used as an excuse for not making the best of things after he became an invalid.22

(h) The Significance of the Return of the Kishef Obsession, and Further Details of Interpretation

When, shortly after the Kishef obsession first appeared, Stella of her own accord went to the Broadway Clinic for treatment, her action was altogether similar to that of her making repeated visits to doctors at the time of the assault obsession. In both instances she felt that there was something wrong with her lungs and that she should be examined. But in the one case she directed the examination to her genitals and in the other to her mind, carefully avoiding the critical region of the thorax. But though when she went to the Broadway Clinic she entered the wrong department yet she was in the right clinic for a lung examination to be made. For this was the clinic at which she had been examined, and from which she was sent

22 The fear of insanity and divorce had a further determinant than the one just mentioned. When the obsession first developed she feared that as a result of the fortune teller’s magic she would die. When she first met Barney he happened to speak one day of Harry Thaw and stated (incorrectly, but Stella did not know this) that Mrs. Thaw divorced her husband, when after the murder he was declared insane. It was then that Stella feared that through Kishef she too would become insane, and that when she married her husband could divorce her on that ground. This fear obviously corresponds to an identification with Thaw—or in other words, with a murderer, who, however, was excused by the law. The reason for this identification was that she thought that if she got well and Barney did not, she would wish him dead or perhaps kill him, while if she didn’t get well and had no chance to make a better marriage her love would then revert to her father and she would wish her mother dead. (If she had a satisfactory husband she would not have been jealous of her mother nor had the fears to which, at the beginning of the analysis, we referred as manifestations of a desire to replace her mother.)
to a sanitarium when she suffered from tuberculosis as a child. Her old history was still on file there, and some of the doctors who attended her in that early period were still connected with the clinic. She did get into the tuberculosis clinic eventually and received treatment there up to the time when, after Max went out of her life, she became well enough to again work in the store.

The return of her obsession in the spring coincided with a renewal of conditions practically identical with those under which it first made its appearance. Barney came into Stella’s life about the time Max went out of it, but naturally it was some little while before she began to think of him seriously as a possible husband. But at the time she met Barney she was being courted by another man, Lehmann. We have already said that as time went on Stella became secretly engaged to Barney. But as I eventually learned, Stella, as if to make assurance doubly sure in respect to getting a husband when she wanted one, became at the same time secretly engaged to Lehmann. She remained engaged to these two men until, shortly after her obsession returned, she suddenly married Barney at the City Hall. Not until after this event did she inform Lehmann that she was not to be his. As has been said much earlier, I was convinced that Stella would have greatly preferred Lehmann to Barney. I did not understand why she married Barney until the following information came to light. Lehmann went South in the fall of 1910 and expected to return in January. Later he wrote Stella that he had been delayed by business matters and his return was postponed indefinitely. For a time, however, he kept up an active correspondence with her, but then suddenly his letters ceased. Almost simultaneously, his sister who had made it a point to call upon Stella every week suddenly ceased her visits. As Stella learned eventually the reason for this was that Lehmann and his sister had both been taken seriously ill, but this she did not know until after she married Barney. In other words, she of course thought that the sudden cessation of Lehmann’s letters and his sister’s visits had only one cause—namely that someone had told the Lehmann family that she was a consumptive. Her sudden decision to marry Barney was in part a reaction to the reflection that Lehmann was out of her reach.

But a more potent reason for this sudden marriage was the fact that the symptoms of active tuberculosis which had subsided in December were again returning. In fact she gave up her work again and went back to the Broadway Clinic where she was under treatment up to within six weeks of her marriage. Her decision to
marry Barney was then in some degree a result of the reflection that he was a last resort. She felt if she did not take him she might never get another chance to marry, for if she got much worse she would have to go to a sanitarium, and with that she thought her morality would come to an end.

The return of her obsession just before St. Patrick's Day was a reaction to the conditions just described. When the girl in the store said of the Saint, "He was the one who drove the snakes out of Ireland" Stella thought something of this sort, "That is a likely story! If I could believe that (viz.: that one man could rid a country of snakes) I could believe the impossible." But the impossible seemed to her, about that time, to be a complete recovery from tuberculosis. She was sufficiently discouraged by the return of her pulmonary symptoms to be on the point of saying, "There is no use deceiving myself any longer—I'll never be really well." Hence the impossible story of St. Patrick and the snakes could connect with her tuberculosis complex. Her thought was something like this, "Yes, if St. Patrick could drive the snakes out of Ireland (a thing which I believe impossible) then the Mahoshef could do magic to me—that is, could cure my tuberculosis, which also I believe to be impossible." Thus the return of the obsession corresponded to an ironical comment on the hopelessness of her disease, or in other words, to the same sort of thought, occurring under similar discouraging circumstances as that with which the obsession started in the first instance. And just as the idea "My tuberculosis is known" was one of the important determinants at the time the obsession first appeared, so it was now; in this case it referred primarily to the events which had led her to believe that the Lehmanns had learned of her malady.

In the light of our knowledge of the motives which led Stella to marry Barney and of the circumstances under which the marriage took place, we are able to understand a number of the minor features of the case the meaning of which has heretofore not been apparent. At her first visit to me, Stella expressed the fear that the Mahoshef was making her insane and that consequently she ought not to marry for by doing so she would inevitably bring trouble and unhappiness upon her husband. As was pointed out, her belief that she ought not to marry could not be regarded as merely a logical deduction from her obsessive fear of the Mahoshef, but must have depended on other considerations which adequately justified it. We now know what these considerations were. She married knowing
that six weeks earlier when she last visited the Broadway Clinic signs of tuberculosis were present in her lungs, she believed Barney was also a consumptive, she was not in love with him, and she did not intend that their marriage should be a permanent one. In short, she had the best of reasons for feeling she ought not to marry, and that trouble and unhappiness must inevitably result if she did. Her fear of the Mahoshef might therefore from one point of view be regarded as an *explanation* of these feelings which she had accepted because it was less painful to her than the true one.

Her desire to have Dr. Dana and me assure her that her fears were groundless and that there was no reason why she should not marry amounted to a wish to shift to some one else the responsibility of her doing something she felt to be wrong. But under the circumstances it is easy to understand why any assurances she received gave her no permanent satisfaction and failed to do away with her feeling of guilt.

It was her perfectly justified sense of guilt which caused her to make against Barney and his sister the reproaches to which reference was made early in the analysis, and which we have concluded could be turned against herself. She accused Barney of having married her only to have her work for him, because one of the chief reasons she had married him was to have him work for her—she wanted some one to support her in order that she might have an opportunity to recover her physical health without going to a sanitarium. But as she had not intended to remain bound to Barney after that end was attained, or in the event of his lung trouble depriving him of the ability to support her, she brought against him the reproach that if she became ill (insane) he would instantly get rid of her and marry Ada. Her bitter resentment at being required to work after she married him—which was particularly venomous upon that occasion when she had to go out in a snow storm—was peculiarly significant in view of the fact that one of her chief reasons for marrying was her wish to be relieved of the menace to her health involved in having to work and the exposure to inclement weather which this had necessitated.

She reproached Barney’s sister with having been a false friend because she herself had been false. If she had been a true friend to the girl, she would not have married her brother under circumstances that could mean nothing else than ultimate disaster. In truth, she had “roped in” Barney, and it was because the accusation to that effect which Barney’s sister Esther made was, in sub-
stance, true, that Stella so deeply resented it. In the same way, another of Esther's statements, "She was a sick girl when you married her" enraged Stella because of its essential correctness.

The fact that Stella must have been sure that at the time of her wedding her tuberculosis was still active—she could hardly believe that in the six weeks that elapsed between her last visit to the Broadway Clinic and the day of her wedding she could have made an absolutely perfect recovery—accounts for her having concealed from me the fact of her civil marriage to Barney which took place at the City Hall. That is, the reflection that she could not have been well when she married made her overcautious, and, as the probability that she still had pulmonary signs at the time of her marriage varied inversely as the length of time that elapsed between her last examination at the Broadway Clinic and the day of her marriage, she was anxious to represent this time to be as long as possible and so she concealed from me the fact of her first wedding ceremony.

Conclusion.

After Stella had confessed to me that she had had tuberculosis, some six or eight weeks were spent in working out and discussing with her the various explanations that have been here set forth. Her fear of the Mahoshef and of Kishef then disappeared entirely and has never returned since. A minor obsessive idea relating to morality, which she had had throughout the greater part of the time she was coming to me, still persisted, so that even though she had improved remarkably she was not entirely well. (This minor obsession has not been mentioned in this paper.)

At this point the analysis was interrupted and I have done no work of any consequence on the case since. As soon as Stella told me that she had had tuberculosis I of course sent her to be examined by an expert internist. He reported that though it was evident she had once had active tuberculosis the process appeared to be entirely healed and there was nothing to be feared at the time. Eight weeks later she had some bloody expectoration, and upon examining her again he reported that she did have a few signs. But she began to lose weight, so as soon as possible I sent her to the country, where in a comparatively short time she gained thirty pounds. Her mental condition remained exactly the same as it had been when she left. When she returned from the country, her husband soon joined her and they departed for a place where they thought they could make a living and at the same time be benefited by a more favorable
climate. Soon after reaching this new home, however, Barney began to drink heavily—this he had never done before. His health showed the effects of the dissipation immediately and he died in about a year. Stella kept her physical health and on the whole has been very well mentally. She writes me that occasionally she has fears "about morality" but that they are neither constant nor very distressing.

Lest the reproach be made against me that in the beginning I neglected the physical aspect of this case, I wish to state that I made a careful examination of Stella's heart and lungs when she first came to me, but found nothing pathological. She was distinctly fat all through the period I knew her, and there was nothing in her appearance or—save a slight anemia—in her blood examination to suggest that she was tubercular. The anemia was no more marked and in no way differed from that often found in women with severe neuroses. I may add that she was examined by a number of other neurologists about the time she came to me and that they too failed to find anything in her lungs. But in view of what she eventually told me of her physical symptoms during this period, and of the findings of the physician in the tuberculosis department of the Broadway Clinic, I think it highly probable that she did have signs at the time I first examined her, but that they were so obscure that it would have required someone more skilled in making pulmonary examinations than is the average neurologist to detect them.

I am surprised not that the patient failed to become entirely well after the analytic work, but, on the contrary, that she improved so much. Though she gained quite a comprehensive understanding of why she was sick, the analysis stopped before the resistances were sufficiently overcome for her to set about making the adjustments in her life that should follow upon a complete understanding of the mechanism of the illness. It is, I think, now quite generally understood that psychoanalysis cures not so much through its leading patients to know in detail why they are sick, but through the changes and readjustments in their lives which they are enabled to make in the light of this knowledge. Beyond the fact that Stella eventually told Barney of her tubercular history she made no definite attempts at readjustment or toward improving her life with him.

The history of Stella's tuberculosis is of course the set of facts which in the introduction I referred to as having been established by external evidence. On reading over what I have written, it appears to me that in my desire to make the confirmable facts conspicuous
I have made them seem unduly important—or rather, that their conspicuousness has overshadowed and obscured the importance of the wish element, and particularly the sexual wish element in the case. Despite the fact that the problem of tuberculosis, as such, was very important to Stella, nevertheless it alone would have never given rise to an obsession. It was from her unsatisfied desire for sexual gratification that the real driving force of her obsessions was derived. Both obsessions tended to fulfill this wish by representing that the consideration which made for chastity had ceased to obtain. In the one case she feared—wished—that through no fault of hers she had lost her chastity, a state of affairs which appealed to her because she could feel that by sexual indulgence she had nothing further to lose. In the other case, she felt that she was "bossed" by an evil person, that her mind was leaving her, and that, consequently, she would not be to blame for whatever acts, sexual or otherwise, she chose to perform.

By way of emphasizing these facts it may be well for me to include here a piece of information which, among many others, I had intended for the sake of brevity to leave out. At the time of the assault obsession Stella, though apparently in an extremity of fear that her hymen had been ruptured, made repeated attempts to rupture it with her finger, and was deterred from accomplishing her purpose only by the pain that these efforts involved. She continued these attempts until, after having visited the woman physician who has been spoken of, she finally obtained a certificate to the effect that her hymen had been ruptured by vaginal examination—i. e., in a perfectly legitimate way. Such seemingly paradoxical behavior on Stella's part can be understood only if we remember that her fear that she had been robbed of her chastity was really a wish for such to be the case. Clearly enough, what she really wanted to get rid of was not her hymen but that ethical part of her personality which withheld her from sexual gratification. But since her ethical self was not done away with, neither fears, certificates nor any other of her justification mechanisms ever resulted in her doing what she wished to do.
PHYLOGENETIC ELEMENTS IN THE PSYCHOSES OF THE NEGRO\(^1\)

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It is impossible, of course, in the necessarily circumscribed limits of such a paper as this to deal at all adequately with the ethnography of the African, although an acquaintance with certain fundamentals of the subject must be assumed in order to understand later generalizations. It might be well first briefly to review the concepts implied by the term Negro. In using the word in the title of this paper I mean of course the Negro as seen in the United States, the individual of whom it has been said that his father was a slave and his grandfather a cannibal.

It seems necessary first to identify him in some measure with the native African and I have always found a difficulty here in the current conception that the present-day African has reached levels only slightly inferior to the white race. This theory is held most extensively in regions where the Negro is infrequent and by persons having to do only occasionally with individuals of this race and then only with selected specimens. It will not be found accepted among the intelligent inhabitants of the so-called "black belt" precisely because they are able to observe large aggregations of the race. The Negro, studied judiciously by those who are competent, appears to be at a much lower cultural level than the Caucasian. It is true that with his talent for mimicry, recalling to us in some measure our jungle cousins, he is able to present a remarkably exact, albeit superficial representation of the white man. But no one who has associated with Negroes is willing to believe that this resemblance extends much below the surface. It would be strange indeed if a race as low in the social scale as the Negro is in his native land could inherit by a half-century of juxtaposition all those group ideals which were only acquired by the Caucasian in several thousand years of evolution with all the advantages of climate in his favor.

Leaving out of the question the anthropometric tests which cor-

\(^1\) Read before the Washington Psychoanalytic Society, May 20, 1916.
respond closely to those of the native African, we find a number of qualities indicative of the relationship. The precocity of the children, the early onset of puberty, the failure to grasp subjective ideas, the strong sexual and herd instincts with the few inhibitions, the simple dream life, the easy reversion to savagery when deprived of the restraining influence of the whites (as in Haiti and Liberia), the tendency to seek expression in such rhythmic means as music and dancing, the low resistance to such toxins as syphilis and alcohol, the sway of superstition, all these and many other things betray the savage heart beneath the civilized exterior. Because he wears a Palm Beach suit instead of a string of cowries, carries a gold-headed cane instead of a spear, uses the telephone instead of beating the drum from hill to hill and for the jungle path has substituted the pay-as-you-enter street-car his psychology is no less that of the African.

F. Manetta (1) who has made a considerable study of the Negro in America says that the “negro children are sharp, intelligent and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change sets in. The intellect seems to become clouded, animation gives place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yields to indolence.” We must necessarily suppose, he says, that “the development of the Negro and the white proceed on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bones; the arrest and even deterioration in mental development is no doubt very largely due to the fact that after puberty sexual matters take the first place in the Negro’s life and thoughts.”

The term Negro strictly used applies only to the inhabitants of a zone south of the Sahara and north of an ill-defined line from the Gulf of Biafra to the mouth of the Tana. Three other races have intermingled to some extent with the Negro, the Libyans in the western Sudan and the Hamitic races and Arabs in the east. I am not going to discuss here the physical characteristics of the race which are sufficiently well known.

In the days of the colonial slave trade its African center was the region about the mouths of the rivers Calabar and Bonny, probably on account of the favorable harborage there. This center, it will be seen on consulting the map, is directly in the Negro belt and drawn from the territory described above as being the habitat of the
Negro. More slaves are said to have been taken from that part of the coast, popularly known as the slave coast, than from all of the rest of Africa. It is true that expeditions were sent out far into the interior, chiefly into central Sudan, also inhabited by the Negro race.

In endeavoring then to find a phylogenetic origin for the symptoms shown in the psychoses of the American Negro it would seem that we must look to the racial characteristics, religion, laws, customs, etc., of the true Negro, especially as he is seen in the region about the west coast. As might be expected, a vast quantity of material has been written about the nations of Africa. A large part of it may be classified as travellers' tales; the accounts of explorers who write page after page describing how many yards of cloth and how many thousand beads they took along, how they felt when they first set foot in the trackless jungle, how they suffered from black-water fever, etc. Naturally the books written from this viewpoint are of little or no value in endeavoring to obtain an insight into the life of the African. I recall one Englishman who recounts how he and his party climbed a hill to visit a medicine man reputed to be a great magician. "But," he naively remarks, "there was nothing much to repay us for our trouble, a few skulls, some feathers, some red paint, some dried skins and other junk, so we all came down again." Had he but known it he stood in the presence of the summation of African theology, medicine, and statecraft and a day or two spent with the witch-doctor would probably have given him a keener insight into native customs than a half year's travel.

Next in value to the productions of these self-satisfied travellers who fill diaries with what they had for dinner and how far off the lion was when they hit him in the eye are the attempts at recording of native customs, beliefs and superstitions with more or less sapient observations thereon. The great faults of many of these works are, first, the extreme brevity of the time devoted to compiling them, second, the deductions based on reasoning by analogy, often a million miles off, and third, the implicit reliance placed in the stories of the natives. Many of these credulous historians remind one of the comic Englishman formerly met with in literature, who travelled through America writing down in his notebook the most preposterous persiflage of the native as the solemn truth. It seems to be the unanimous opinion of those who have lived with the native African for many years that their statements, especially their statements to comparative strangers and most especially about their sacred things,
cannot be believed. They are in the first place fond of ridicule and like to deceive for the sheer fun of laughing about it afterwards, in the second they are naturally evasive, fearing some undue advantage will be taken if they are frank, and in the third place they have a supreme distrust of the white man, as well as a fear of their own gods and priests, and do not believe it to be judicious to give out much information about the latter to the former. When we add to these difficulties the lack of familiarity with each other's language and the readiness of many observers to jump at any explanation which fits in with their preconceived ideas, it is not surprising that so many errors creep in.

In striking contrast to the above two types of books are a few volumes I have run across written by men who have spent their lives among the Africans and studied their languages, customs, religious beliefs and laws carefully. Some of these books stop at a microscopic portrayal of detail with little or no effort to explain things. Among these may be mentioned, "The Essential Kafir," by Dudley Kidd (2), and "The Land of Fetish," by the Rev. Robt. H. Nassau (3), even if the latter does leave himself open in several places by solemnly asserting that some of the performances of the African medicine men can only be explained by their having sold their souls to the devil, so that the missionary in Africa has to fight the old scratch himself. (He does not use exactly those words.)

Absolutely the most valuable books I have been able to find are those by Col. A. B. Ellis (4, 5, 6) on the natives of the Gold and Slave Coasts. These three books contain the best description of the religion of the native African together with the most illuminating account of its evolution that I have ever read. His accounts of social ceremonies, laws and customs, language, etc., are all excellent. In the following pages, especially in my remarks on religion among the Negroes, I must necessarily draw so freely on Col. Ellis that I wish to preface my remarks by acknowledging once for all my indebtedness. In many places I use almost his exact words.

Before discussing in detail African theology, however, it will be well perhaps to take the time here to correct an impression which seems very generally held and which is based on a misconception of fetich or fetich-worship. The idea currently held is that the polytheism of the African is vast and indiscriminate; he is supposed to worship without sense of critique a host of animate and inanimate objects in his environment. These deities, it is believed, are in-
vested with supernatural power in an arbitrary manner and as arbitrarily overthrown according to the caprice of the individual. It is really pathetic to note in many books on Africa the constant use of the word fetich. A tree or a path is avoided, it is “fetich,” pebbles and leaves are dropped on a small mound, it is “fetich,” skulls are kept in a small hut back of the house, they are “fetich,” the Negro carries a small wooden image suspended about his neck, that is certainly “fetich.” As a matter of fact the deities of the Negro have been strictly determined for him as we shall see later, partly by logic quite complete in its way and partly by the machinations of the priests. Nothing could be farther from the truth than that he deifies objects without reason. The unfortunate term “fetich” had its origin in a misconception by Portuguese sailors of the exact nature of ornaments, charms, etc., which the African carried. These sailors believed that the natives actually worshipped these trinkets and gave them consequently the name “feitico,” meaning a charm or amulet; this term has been corrupted into “fetich.” The only real instance of fetichism among the Africans, using the term in its true sense, is the custom among the Mohamedanized natives of wearing amulets of leather in which a verse from the Koran has been sewn. These are supposed to be talismans. But the word “fetich” has come to be very broadly used to mean either “sacred” or “forbidden.” It seems that the original meaning of the word was “made” or “artificial” (cf. “fetys” of Chaucer). On the Liberian coast the equivalent term is “gree-gree” or “gris-gris,” on the Niger delta it is “ju-ju,” in the Gabun country, “mondah” and among the Fang tribes “biañ.”

The Africans have very definite and distinct notions of individualities existing other than the material one. These conceptions as in most uncivilized people seem to have had their origin in dreams. The process is well described by Herbert Spencer: “Hunger and repletion, both very common with the primitive man, excite dreams of great vividness. Now, after a bootless chase and a long fast, he lies exhausted; and while slumbering, goes through a successful hunt, kills, skins, and cooks his prey; and suddenly awakens when about to take his first morsel. To suppose him saying to himself, it was all a dream, is to suppose him already in possession of that hypothesis which we see he cannot have. He takes the facts as they occur. With perfect distinctness he recalls the things he saw and the action he performed; and he accepts undoubtedly the evidence of memory. True, he all at once finds him-
self lying still. He does not understand how the change took place; but, as we have lately seen, the surrounding world familiarizes him with unaccountable appearances and disappearances, and why should not this be one? If, at another time, lying gorged with food, the disturbance of his circulation produces nightmare; if, trying to escape and being unable, he fancies himself in the clutches of a bear, and wakes with a shriek, why should he conclude that the shriek was not caused by actual danger? Though his squaw is there to tell him there is no bear, yet she heard his shriek and like him has not the remotest notion that a mere subjective state can produce such an effect, has, indeed, no terms in which to frame such a notion.

"This interpretation of a dream as an actual experience is confirmed by narration of it in imperfect language. His language does not enable him to say ‘I dreamt that I saw’ instead of ‘I saw,’ hence each relates his dreams as though they were realities; and thus strengthens in every other his belief that his own dreams are realities.

"What then is the resulting notion? The sleeper has been visibly at rest. On awakening he recalls various occurrences, and repeats them to the others. He thinks he has been elsewhere; witnesses say he has not; and their testimony is verified by suddenly finding himself where he was when he went to sleep. The simple course is that of believing both that he remained and that he has been away—that he has two individualities, one of which leaves the other and then comes back. He too has a double existence, like many other things.

"From all quarters there come proofs that this is the conception actually formed of dreams by savages—a conception which continues to be held after considerable advances in civilization have been made.”

This spirit, which leaves man during his sleep, and also may leave him at other times, as when he sneezes, is variously denominated by different tribes. Among the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, it is known as the “kra.” This word “kra,” although rendered into English as “soul,” by no means corresponds to the Caucasian idea of the soul. The kra for example does not continue the man’s existence in another world after death, but becomes a “sisa” or homeless kra and hovers around in a nebulous sort of a way waiting to be born again and become the kra of someone else. At the death of a man the sisa can remain in the house with the
corpse it lately tenanted as a kra and can come among the living and cause sickness. Should the sisa find no opportunity of becoming a kra again it must go to the land of "insisa," which is a sort of No-Man's Land, to live, although it may return therefrom and do harm, even entering savage animals for that purpose.

The man himself at death is supposed to become a "srahman" or ghost man and usually proceeds at once to Srahmanadzi or Dead-Man's Land. There he lives forever, pursuing the same vocation which he pursued in life.

The above, of course, is only rudimentary. There are many traditions about Srahmanadzi, often conflicting, and other tribes have different conceptions of the life after death. Some tribes, for instance, believe that as long as a man's name is known upon earth, so long does he live in Dead-Man's Land, but when he has been entirely forgotten by the living he fades away. Hence the ceremonies intended to perpetuate the memory of the dead which amount finally to ancestor worship.

The Ga-speaking peoples believe that they have two indwelling spirits, each of which is alluded to as a "kla"; one of these is good and one bad and they give advice according to their nature. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples the indwelling spirit is called "Luwo"; after death it becomes a "noli" or "spirit without a home" and may behave variously. It may prowl about trying to obtain entrance to a living body, the attendant struggles being shown in epileptic convulsions. Likewise apoplexy, hysteria, delirium and mania are caused by some such struggle. Sometimes the noli enters the body of an iguana, sometimes it becomes a tutelary deity.

In studying the theology of the African, three things appeared to me to be equally present in all tribes, however diverse their gods, and equally striking. The first of these was polytheism, the second was the essential malignity of the gods, and the third was the large amount of imposture. These three characteristics will be brought out as we consider their religion more in detail.

It seems necessary to have a fairly good idea of African theology, for it is at the bottom of nearly all the laws, customs, and modes of thought to which it may be necessary to allude later on. Unlike more civilized races, religion with the African is not a matter outside his daily life, but is interwoven in the texture of his actions so inextricably that there is little that he does without some religious significance. He is surrounded on all sides by gods, the best of whom are indifferent and the worst cruel; on exemption from their
wrath depends his success in life, even life itself. Many of the customs which seem at first glance to be blood-thirsty and barbarous are in reality as much a part of his religion as prayers with the Caucasian; there is no sin for him (that is no sin in the eyes of their gods) except neglect of his deities; they care not what he steals or whom he murders as long as they are not neglected.

The origin of these gods appears to be somewhat as follows: Primitive man, finding his plans continually frustrated by natural causes, his wishes unfulfilled and himself overtaken by misery or misfortune, spiritualized nature, and in imagination peopled the earth with malignant beings, whose pleasure it was to thwart and destroy him. Originally all these spirits were probably malignant, but later on this conception was modified (probably by the priests) to the extent that, if properly propitiated, they might be beneficent. Should a man be drowned, be crushed by a falling tree in the forest or be killed by lightning, such an occurrence would not be considered an accident; and a man who met his death in one of these modes would be believed to have perished through the deliberate act of a malignant being, and such, to us, accidental deaths, prove to the uncivilized man both the existence and the malignancy of these beings. A man is drowned. Who has killed him? So-and-so, a local spirit of the sea or river, has dragged him down.

So much for violent and sudden deaths; but the same belief is held with regard to deaths that are really due to disease or old age. These are likewise attributed to the actions of the invisible powers directly, or witchcraft, that is to say, to the indirect action of the same powers; for it is from them that wizards and witches obtain assistance and mysterious knowledge. Savages are necessarily ignorant both of anatomy and physiology, and casting about for a cause to which to attribute death from disease, they refer it to a malignant being.

Nassau tells of post-mortem examinations he saw of supposed wizards. In one case pulmonary tuberculosis was found with extensive cavitation; it was believed that the man’s own familiar had eaten him. The opening of the aorta in another case was pointed out as the mouth of the spirit which had destroyed the dead man and in a woman the fimbriae of the Fallopian tubes were accepted as being the feelers, so to speak, of the witch who had eaten her.

When man has arrived at the belief that his fate is entirely dependent upon the goodwill of mysterious, malicious beings, he naturally strives to attain their goodwill. To do this, he pays them
homage and flatters them. Then occurs the thought of making sacrifices. He deprives himself of something, usually food, and sacrifices it to a god who is thus doubly gratified, namely, by the offering itself; and also, since he is essentially malignant, by the privation suffered by the sacrificer. Then persons are either set apart for the service of the gods, to watch over the offerings and the particular spot ordinarily inhabited by each god, or some men, more fortunate or more cunning than their neighbors, acquire a local celebrity by their success in predicting or interpreting the wishes and intentions of the gods. Thus arrives a priesthood, and the interest of this class soon becomes irrevocably bound up with the maintenance of the cult. These priests and priestesses naturally neglect no opportunities of impressing the laity with their influence with the gods. They refer to them casually in conversation and let fall little hints about their attributes. Besides being the indwelling spirits of, and having their favorite habitats in remarkable natural objects such as rapid rivers, precipitous rocks, silk-cotton trees, etc., most of these gods are represented by images into which the god may and frequently does enter, to receive homage and sacrifices, hear appeals and perform all the usual divine functions.

Besides these, the above deities may create, through the priests, certain lesser deities, usually one for each family or company which separates from the main tribe. These occupy certain objects, often of the most commonplace description, a wooden figure, a stone, or a covered calabash. Unlike the gods from whom they have their origin each of the lesser gods is restricted to the immediate vicinity of his first habitat. Usually he is stationed in some conspicuous place, an open space in the middle of town or the center of a broad street. A shade tree is planted for the god and a fence of palm sticks encloses the sacred spot. These latter branch out and afford shade. These are the so-called fetich trees which are found in every town and village along the Gold Coast and which many, if not most observers have supposed to be revered or worshipped themselves. Sometimes there is found in the enclosure surrounding the tree which is planted for the deity, or in the hut in which the images, stools, and other paraphernalia of the local deity are kept, a snake. No particular species or variety is selected for this purpose, but usually it is a venomous one. It has sometimes been inferred from this circumstance that ophiolatry exists, but this does not seem to be the case. Natives kill snakes without any compunction in other localities, but those which have taken up their abode
in the enclosure of the deities are supposed to be to some extent under the protection of the god and it would be irreverent to molest them. It is also believed that the god may at times enter the body of the snake. The priests moreover claim that should a woman attempt to enter the sacred enclosure while menstruating (at which time she is considered unclean) the snake would drive her away.

Besides the above deities, there is a kind of god which is responsible for many erroneous ideas about the African theology. This is a sort of personal god or "suhman." It is obtained by going to one of the haunts of Sarabonum, a local god of great malignancy, and obtaining a piece of wood, a stone, or some red earth into which a spirit is supposed to enter. These tutelary deities give prosperity and immunity from ill, but more especially the possessor of one is able to injure an enemy by means of its aid, even to cause his death. Few natives, however, possess these gods, partly because they are so afraid of them and partly because they would be shunned by the rest of the natives if it were found out that they had one. To produce the death of an enemy by a suhman, three short sticks are bound together, the enemy's name is pronounced three times and the sticks are laid on the suhman.

The history of a god or group of gods may be traced fairly accurately in an ascending and descending curve. The genesis is first of all fear, next the personification of fear, next worship of the deity thus created. With this stage the god reaches his highest point. His real decline begins when an image is made. Sooner or later comes the separation of the image from the locale of the god and a gradual failure to remember the original attributes of the god which caused him to be worshipped in the first place. Finally he sinks to a level corresponding to elves and fairies in Europe and last of all to myths and legends.

Another factor which enters into the decline of the gods is that as the people advance in the social scale they tend to become more homogeneous. As larger towns are built, the gods then brought together are found to have conflicting interests and sooner or later the weaker gods drop out or their worship is absorbed by the stronger ones and they degenerate into household gods or tutelary deities.

Legends regarding the creation of the world are much too numerous to repeat, but they show many similar characteristics. They may tell of some animal, a leopard, *e. g.*, or a tortoise, who being lonely, found or made a woman for company and then as-
sumed the shape of a man. Many of them make no attempt to explain the origin of man any more satisfactorily than to say that such and such a god made him. The Bushman, anticipating certain schools of German philosophy, says that some spirit made the world with his left hand which accounts for all the tragedies and inequalities of life. One story among the West Africans is that two eggs fell from on high: one became a man and the other a woman. There is also a legend of a chief who was alone in the world; he ate a fruit of a tree and died; woman grew up from his body and became a race. There is another story of a forbidden tree and a woman who picked fruit from it; when she approached her people she became frightened and swallowed the fruit to hide it; she then became possessed of an evil spirit and this was the beginning of witchcraft. A rather prevalent belief is that there has been a happy period for man and that there will be another one, but the whole thing is very vague. Some of them believe in a “White Man’s Land,” which is at the bottom of the sea, where they will go after death and become white.

The Kafir’s idea of life after death varies a great deal; the subject of death is unpleasant to them and it is hard to get them to talk about it. They believe, however, that man exists a certain time after death in a spiritual state and that their ancestors often return in the form of snakes, hence snakes are usually reverenced among them. According to them a woman who has borne no children has no spirit. The belief in the uselessness of the barren woman is quite general throughout Africa. The Kafir does not believe that man is immortal. Ancestral spirits slowly vanish. As soon as the people forget the great things they did, and their praise-giving names, they practically cease to exist. Their life after death is vaguely dependent on the memory of the living.

Intimately associated with the religious beliefs of the Negro, responsible for many of them and for their perpetuation, is the priesthood. This body of men, originally set apart as special servants of the gods, undoubtedly deal freely in imposture. Some of them have confessed this to white men and rarely their trickery has been laid bare to the satisfaction of the native African, credulous as he is. The methods by which the priests keep alive the worship of their gods and enhance their own importance are several. Unblushing effrontery is of course constantly used; they maintain that they are on intimate terms with the gods and this is taken at its face value by many of their followers. They maintain the
reputation of having supernatural sources of knowledge by professing to answer questions put to them. This they do partly by the aid of a sort of secret service system, partly by shrewd guessing and some character reading and partly by ambiguous replies. They profess to cure the sick and often have a fairly good knowledge of many medicinal plants. They also deal in sleight of hand and spectacular stage tricks of various kinds to impress the worshippers. It is remarkable that one of these priests, after confessing to a white man the extent to which he carried chicanery in his own business, will express an absolute belief in some other god and his priests.

Closely corresponding to the priestcraft are the medicine men or witch-doctors. In fact in some tribes there is no distinction. In other tribes they are supposed to be individuals who by instruction and study have learned the ways by which the evil spirits may be exorcised and persons employing witchcraft detected. These witch-doctors deal largely in charms. Horns are frequently used for this purpose, partly because they are hollow and can be filled with consecrated substances. The usual way for constructing such a charm is as follows: The hollow horn is filled with the mixture packed in firmly. This mixture is various, containing usually dirt or leaves from sacred ground, as from around the habitat of a god. Then substances are added to impart certain desired qualities, e.g., part of an elephant or leopard to give bravery or strength, part of a gazelle to give cunning, part of a human brain to give wisdom, part of an eye to give influence, etc. After the mixture is packed in firmly a black resin is plastered over it and red paint daubed over that. While the resin is still soft the red tail-feathers of the grey African parrot are stuck into it. A hole is bored in the apex and it is hung by a string. Other objects popular for use as fetiches are the skins and tails of bush-cats, nut-shells and snail-shells, bones, especially human skull-bones and the teeth and claws of leopards.

Two functions besides those mentioned come under the witch-doctors. These are divination and ordeal. Divination is done in a variety of ways, but the underlying principles seem to be the obtaining of information secretly and a pretence of finding out by supernatural methods and the revelation of facts already known by close observation of the applicant, much as modern exponents in palmistry and fortune-telling do. The form they go through with is to cast sticks, nuts, or cowries on the ground and study the way they lie or to beat with a stick on the ground or to go in a trance.
The ordeal is given to persons suspected of offenses such as witchcraft and murder, in some communities even theft or violation of the king's oath. A decoction of a native drug is prepared; this is poisonous, but in some persons has such an emetic effect that it is gotten rid of before it exerts its full effect.

As an example of African therapeutis we give the following remedy for guinea worm, described by Boyd Alexander (7). The worm was in the patient's right foot and he was required to stand with his left foot against the inside of his right knee, with his right arm extended to balance himself. While in this position he was made to drink a large quantity of liquid butter; it was said that three days after the worm would come out entire.

Du Chaillu (8) described a patient whom he saw treated by a woman doctor. Massage was first applied. Then the healer chewed quantities of some herb and spat them out on the patient's body, especially on the parts where the most pain was felt. Finally she applied a torch to these same parts, just enough to singe the skin.

It seems probable that many, if not all, of these priests and witch-doctors are abnormal in some way. J. L. Wilson (9) in "Western Africa" states that novitiates for these professions are chosen from among those young people who profess to have had the most vivid dreams or who possess most completely the faculty of detaching themselves from their environment. They are subjected during the period of their training to certain hardships, sexual abstinence, deprivation of food, etc., and are encouraged to lose themselves in fantasies. Many of them claim to hear spirit voices.

All their dreams are construed into visits from the spirits of their deceased friends. The cautions, hints and warnings which come to them through this source are received with the most serious and deferential attention, and are always acted upon in their waking hours. The habit of relating their dreams, which is universal, greatly promotes the habit of dreaming itself, and hence their sleeping hours are characterized by almost as much intercourse with the dead as their waking hours are with the living. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons of their excessive superstitiousness. Their imagination becomes so lively that they can scarcely distinguish between their dreams and their waking thought, between the real and the ideal, and they consequently utter falsehoods without intending and pretend to see things which never existed.
Witchcraft is divided by the African into two kinds, which we may express by black and white. Any use of supernatural forces in a public cause or by authorized persons for a good purpose is white witchcraft, any other is black, *e.g.*, if a king wishes his enemies smitten by pestilence he is at liberty to employ medicine men to work their most powerful charms, and this would meet with the full concurrence of his people. Or if a private individual wanted his crops to prosper he might quite properly enlist the aid of a medicine man. But if a private individual hired a medicine man to work evil charms against another man, he (the private individual, not the medicine man) would be guilty of black witchcraft, the punishment of which is usually death. The accusation of black witchcraft hence became a convenient method for influential men to get rid of private enemies. If a chief, for instance, thought that two or three of his tribe were getting too rich or powerful, he could seize on any pretext, such as the death of several cattle, for a witchcraft dance. With the people all assembled, the witch-doctor would dance before them, gradually become inspired and pretend to "smell out" the guilty ones, who were summarily put to death and their property given to the chief. Sometimes if the accused person is very influential or if he protests his innocence with sufficient vigor he is given the ordeal.

A feature of African life which exercises the greatest influence on the communities where it prevails is the presence of the secret societies. These seem to be of two kinds, which we may call the real and the make-believe. The real societies are organized for mutual help and protection; their power lies in their numbers and the mystery connected with them. The make-believe societies pretend to be the priests or disciples of a god whom everyone in the society knows to be imaginary.

An example of the former sort is the Ogboni, a society of the Slave Coast, which is very powerful. Practically all the male inhabitants of any consequence belong to it. It has the power of life and death over its members, although this is not publicly acknowledged. It also frequently decides matters of public policy and a king would not think of going to war without consulting the Ogboni. Examples of the latter form of society are the Ukuku, also known as the Yasi and the Egbo, for men, and the Njembe, for women. These societies are prevalent among the tribes of West Africa slightly removed from the coast. They hold their meetings and dances, which are extremely obscene orgies, in groves near the
village and the women must not witness any of the ceremonies of
the men's society, and vice versa. Although everyone knows that
Ukuku is what we would call a "fake," no one dares to say so. If a
native, upon attaining the age of puberty, failed to join one of these
societies and proclaimed that Ukuku was not real, he would be pun-
ished severely by the members of the society. If the community
in which he lived was sufficiently far removed from the white man's
influence he would probably meet with a sudden and violent death.
If there were many white men in the village and he put himself
under their protection both he and the white men who sheltered
him would be boycotted. Their native servants would all leave
them, no one would sell them provisions, attempts would be made
to poison their drinking water, etc. When candidates are taken into
these secret societies severe initiation ceremonies are the rule. In
the Njembo, for instance, the women's society, a number of young
girls are taken in at once. They repair to a grove near the village
with presents to the heads of the society. The girl who is able to
bring the most presents is initiated first and her ordeal is least
severe. If a girl brings gifts which are considered inadequate, her
offering is treated with scorn. She is left to the last and some-
times her initiation is delayed until she can increase her offering.
No white man apparently has ever witnessed the private cere-
monies of this secret society, but the rites are supposed to be of the
most obscene type. The girls are required to perform extremely
difficult dances and are subjected to various hardships, at the caprice
of the members. Following the secret part of the initiation cere-
mony, the society comes into the town and the novitiates perform
publicly dances, feats of endurance, imitations of animals and other
things of that sort.

I might say here that ceremonies incident to the onset of puberty
are common in the interior. The boys are circumcised at this time
and in some tribes the girls are subjected to a somewhat similar
process. Following the operation of circumcision the boys are sub-
jected to severe ordeals, they are beaten many times, starved and
otherwise maltreated. If they bear these sufferings with fortitude
they are greeted as "men" and enter upon a period of wild license
during which they may drink without limit, have anyone's wife
they choose or even steal cattle, which last named is the great crime.
The girls go through a somewhat similar experience and are sub-
jected to the most indecent practices.

The question as to whether or not ancestor worship is common
in Africa seems to be a mooted one. Some observers state that it is quite prevalent, others that they have found no instances of it. The truth seems to be that there is always a certain amount of it, depending upon how much idolatry is understood by the word worship. In all communities when a man dies, his indwelling spirit immediately becomes an object of reverence, chiefly because it is believed to be able to harm the living. If the deceased had been a chief or king, his spirit was supposed to have that much more influence and power and was treated that much more respectfully. The usual course of things, however, is for the respect paid to the dead relative to become less as his memory gradually fades until in time he is forgotten entirely. Certain exceptions to this exist. Suppose, for instance, there had been a chief who had excelled in warfare and had conquered a large territory. Perhaps immediately after his death his son, the successor, was attacked by hostile tribes and, invoking the spirit of his father, routed his enemies. As a token of gratitude slaves would be sacrificed to attend the dead king and other offerings made to him. In the course of time he would rise to the proportions of a god, especially if his people had a prosperous history, and finally, aided by the priests, who would of course arise, he would become a deity whose original connection with the people as one of them had been lost sight of. As many of the forms of government, particularly in the interior, are patriarchal, so that chiefs and kings consequently in time become the ancestors of a large part of the tribe, and as it is from this class that the gods spring, the whole thing really amounts to ancestor worship.

The natives themselves will deny ancestor worship. There is a great respect among them for the aged, especially old men; in some villages the young men assume a crouching position or fall on one knee when coming into the presence of an old man or woman, who is usually addressed as "father" or "mother."

These elders of the tribe have a great amount of influence and all the younger members must be under the protection of one of them or they are liable to be sold into slavery. If a strange young man enters the community he can obtain this protection by seeking out an elder and placing his hands on his head; the elder is then obliged to protect him. But these same tribes often believe that each newborn child is animated by the spirit of an ancestor. As births are usually more numerous than deaths, this ought soon to depopulate the undiscovered country, but the natives do not believe that, the idea not appearing contradictory to them. The resem-
blance children often bear to well-known ancestors is cited by them in support of this theory.

The system of government of the African varies greatly according to the degree with which the people have absorbed European ideas and does not appear very important for our purpose. A typical form of government is a king, or head chief of a tribe who rules over a territory containing a number of towns. Each town is the center of a group of villages which are ruled over by a subordinate chief. Each of these chiefs is to a certain extent independent, but in time of war they all serve the king. The latter is the only one who can inflict capital punishment, except in the case of a slave. The people have no voice whatever in the affairs of the tribe. Rule is maintained principally by terror, and the chief strength of the king lies in his power to take life at any time.

The above form of government, which suggests somewhat the feudal, is more prevalent among the tribes of the coast where communication between villages is easy, European customs are known to some extent and the people as a whole are more homogeneous. In the interior, where the villages are small, scattered and separated by jungle, impassable except perhaps by one narrow path, each community is fairly well isolated. Here the form of government is apt to be patriarchal, affairs are settled by the elders of the tribe who hold a "palaver" over every matter of importance.

Besides these fundamental principles of religion, medicine, and government, there are a host of beliefs, superstitions, customs, omens, etc., most of which properly belong in the discussion of religion, but which would probably tend to confuse if presented here. It can readily be understood that nothing like a complete presentation of these things can be attempted; each tribe, even each village, has its own particular ones, and volumes would be necessary to present them fully. I shall only mention a few of the things that seem most striking, although I might say that a careful collection of these superstitions, well indexed, would, I think, be very valuable in studying the psychoses of the American Negro.

The Kafirs believe that ancestors visit the living in the shape of snakes, a chief as a boa-constrictor and ordinary individuals in smaller snakes. Some say that the snake was made from the backbone of the dead ancestor, others say from his intestines. They are afraid of looking into deep pools, believing that a fabulous monster lives in some of them, and that this monster can seize a man's shadow and drag him down into the water by it. They some-
times regard the world itself as a huge animal which is alive; the trees can hear what is said under them and the birds can talk to certain people.

The rainbow is supposed to be some of the wattles of a hut of a queen in heaven. Some say that it is a sheep that comes out of a pool. If one can find the end of a rainbow he will find there a large brass ornament. Others say that it is a disease and if it rests on a person he is sure to die. Others say that it is a snake in the sky.

In Swazieland the people regard epilepsy as being caused by enraged ancestral spirits, who stab people from within, thus causing the convulsions.

The Yoruba-speaking people of the West Coast have a number of curious ceremonies connected with minor deities. Thus there is Egungun, which means risen from the dead. A native dressed in a fantastic costume, masked and carrying bones, dances through the town on a certain day in the year and he is said to be risen from the dead. It is probable that no one believes this to be really so, but it is strongly believed that if you are touched by him you die before the year is out, so every one is careful to avoid him. Then there is Oro, the roaring god. He too is represented by a masked man who dances through the town. He carries a crescentic stick on a string which he swings around his head, causing a roaring sound. On hearing this all the women seek the houses, as no woman is supposed to see this god. There also is believed to be a god Abiku who "possesses" children. A baby with marasmus is invariably supposed to be inhabited by this god, and the mother consequently does little to try to cure it, although she may try making a number of small incisions in its skin and rubbing pepper in them, to make the evil spirit suffer so that it will leave the child.

Commonly held beliefs throughout Africa are those which hold that the nature of the animals from which food is taken is imparted to the eater. This belief is thought to help perpetuate cannibalism, the flesh of a brave chief killed in battle being eagerly sought to impart courage. Nearly all the explorers have mentioned the fondness their native bearers had for lions' flesh, particularly for the heart of the animal. Similarly antelope steaks are supposed to give fleetness, while the flesh of a timid animal will make the eater cowardly. Consequently the native African will not eat chicken, but his American cousin has managed to overcome phylogeny in this respect.
The spoken word has a great deal of potency. Witch-doctors have ritualistic forms which they use in driving away spirits. The real name of a chief is frequently not known to the tribe, he being called some "praise-giving" name, the idea being that no one can then harm him by means of his name. It is believed that when a man is very rich, he will die if any of his friends say that he will. It would be interesting in this connection to know if more Negroes than whites take other names. I have no data on the subject, although I remember a number of such cases in Negroes. I believe also that the custom which is very prevalent among the Negroes of naming children after some famous man has something to do with this idea of the name having some effect on the person. When a person is condemned to die they pierce his cheeks and cut his tongue, so that he cannot swear against the king.

The reasoning of most of the tribes is delightfully simple. Among the Kafirs when an individual acquires ideas which are considered false, as, for example, when he becomes demented, he is given emetics and purgatives to get rid of these wrong notions. They believe that a person cannot hear well until his ears are bored. Noticing that a certain white man always wore a dark suit when it rained they begged him during a wet spell to change his suit so as to stop the rain. They are also assiduous in plucking out the first white hairs, believing that these cause old age. When a white man who has been their guest for some time is about to depart it is customary to mingle with his food some of the powdered skulls of ancestors, the idea being that thereby the white man comes to have some of the same blood as they themselves and when he comes to give his parting presents he will naturally be liberal.

The moon is regarded with a great deal of mistrust, especially the new moon. The traditions concerning it are legion. The common saying is that the sun and moon are the same age, the former brings daylight and gladness, the latter witchcraft and death. Once they quarreled, the moon saying to the sun: "Look, you are no good, I have thousands of children, you have none." The sun replied: "You have killed all my children by your witchcraft." People are more likely to die when the moon first makes her appearance and when she is last visible. She calls the people her insects and devours them. The moon is the symbol of time and of death.

On the West Coast it is thought that a spirit, named Sassura, walks behind immature girls to prevent them from becoming violated. At puberty three beads are placed on the wrist of the
girl, one white, one black and one golden. These show Sassura that he is no longer needed. When a woman is married a certain sum is paid by the groom to her father, which is refunded if she proves unfaithful or barren. On the morning after the wedding her husband sprinkles her with white clay if he is satisfied that she was pure when he married her. When a woman becomes pregnant charms are put about her wrists, ankles and neck to protect the infant. She must not eat the meat of pregnant animals. No nails must be driven in her house during pregnancy, as this would close the mouth of the womb. The coffin of a first-born child is never entirely sealed up, as this would seal up the mother’s womb forever. After delivery in some tribes women are considered unclean for seven days, in others a year and in some places she nurses the child for three years, during which time she may not cohabit with her husband. The tenth child is buried alive in some villages; in nearly all of them a woman must live apart from her husband for at least a year after the birth of the tenth child. Twins in most tribes are regarded as bad luck, in some few lucky. In some places on the birth of twins a witch-doctor is consulted, who casts four kola nuts into the air and attempts to catch them. If he catches all or two or none it is considered favorable; if he catches three or one it is unfavorable. In some districts twins are regarded as monstrosities and are put to death. In other communities a hut is built in which the mother and twins must live until the latter are grown up (i.e., about twelve or thirteen). During this time the mother must remain chaste. If a stranger enters the hut, he is seized and sold into slavery. If a twin dies he is replaced by a wooden image, so that the other twin will not feel lonely.

The natives have a number of superstitions connected with monkeys. Those which frequent a cemetery are invariably supposed to be animated by the spirits of the dead buried there. The Kafirs say that if a person gets his back burned he is in danger of becoming a monkey. The Ashangi people think that the chimpanzee has some peculiar affinity for white people, while the gorilla has the same feeling for the black, basing their belief partly on the pale face of the former and the black face of the latter.

Many ideas are connected with the act of expectoration. Thus spitting in the direction of an enemy and at the same time pronouncing his name is supposed to work him harm. A little saliva is often blown on an amulet, or tutelary deity, when invoking protection; also it prevents harm to spit on a stone and throw it in a river.
It is frequently mentioned in books on Africa that the natives spit on the hand of a visitor when he is leaving. In reality this is meant to be blowing, to convey a blessing and blow off the evil, but the African does it so vigorously that there is much saliva in the act.

Charms and omens are far too numerous to mention. Love philters, for instance, find a ready sale. One of the most efficacious is made from three ingredients: a piece of the skin from the foot, a little mucous scraped off the tongue and some of the water in which the genitals have been washed; these three components are all taken from the victim of unrequited affection and placed in the food of her intended victim. Other love charms are water in which the person who wishes to be loved has bathed and also some of her menstrual fluid.²

Journeys are greatly dependent on omens and unpropitious ones will send a large party back to await a more favorable day. Thus a rat or snake running across the road means bad luck, although in some tribes it is only if they run from right to left; the reverse is true if they cross in the opposite direction. It is considered good luck if a war party returning meet a woman first.

A word or two about voodoo may not be out of place. Among the Ewe-speaking people the genetic names for anything supernatural are edio and vodu. The latter term is especially used in Dahomi and by the eastern tribes. The root word is vo meaning "to be afraid" or "harmful." The French and Spanish colonies recruited their slaves from the Slave Coast rather than the Gold Coast and hence the West Indies and Louisiana were populated largely with Ewe-speaking Negroes who brought with them their superstitions, which they explained to their white masters as being "vodu," later corrupted to "voodoo." Hence the idea arose that voodoo was a sort of secret society, probably some form of devil worship.

Without multiplying instances any more, let us glance at a few of the symptoms shown by psychotic Negroes and see if they cannot be correlated with phylogenetic experiences. Of course, strictly speaking, we are not able to say definitely that any delusion, hallucination, or mannerism, goes any farther back than the life-history of the individual. We can only surmise from the nature of some of them that they belong to the race consciousness. As Dr. Evarts (10)

²These same charms are popular among the American Negroes, the writer having frequently come across instances where they had actually been used.
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says, "These are but fragments of the primitive life, isolated peaks as it were, standing above the smooth sea of ordinary life and convention, enveloping the rugged mountains arising from the age-long life of humanity. They are characterized by an apparent absurdity, a general uselessness judged by ordinary standards, a great disconnection among themselves, a general atmosphere of being out of joint with the times and an inability on the part of the patient to give any adequate explanation of them."

Let me freely confess that many of the instances which I have included here are very doubtful. Take for example one deteriorated praecox, who during the acute stage of his psychosis is reported to have seen cows' heads on the wall of his room. This hallucination might ordinarily not attract much attention, but when we remember that throughout nearly all of Africa the natives are an agricultural people and cattle are their chief possession it takes on a different aspect. A man's wealth is generally estimated by the size of his herd, cattle is the universal medium of exchange, wives are bought for so many herd of cattle, to steal a cow is a more heinous offence than to murder a slave and the gift of a cow from a chief to a visitor is considered munificent. On the other hand when we hear a demented Negro say he ate his wife we feel that such an expression is something more than ontogenetical. Anthropophagy still flourishes in the interior or among the Fan tribes and even the coast tribes are not so far away from it.

In the following examples wherever the similarity to an African custom appears sufficiently obvious I am not going to stop to point it out. The numbers are the case numbers of these patients at the Saint Elizabeth's Hospital. First the

Case of S. Y., 3188. "Believes that sea-water is placed in his food." It might be mentioned that many tribes not far removed from the coast have a superstitious horror of the sea; in some places it is even considered death to look upon it. Exceptions are the witch-doctors, who make trips to the ocean and are believed to obtain powerful charms there. The sea-water itself is supposed to be potent for evil and the doctors get rid of enemies by it.

Case of F. L., 5184 (the case alluded to above). "If asked where his wife is he will say that he killed her and ate her; if asked why, sometimes he will say: 'Because I loved her,' sometimes 'Because I wanted to.' If asked about other relatives he will often say the same thing."

Case of C. T., 6740. "When this patient has epileptic attacks he says he hears the spirits of the dead which come back." As noted above
it is practically a universal belief that the spirits of the dead do come back and that they are malignant. It also is a common belief that epilepsy is caused by one of these spirits either fighting with the indwelling spirit for admission, or, having obtained admission, stabbing the person from within.

**Case of C. C., 6801.** "This patient talks a great deal about snakes; blows through cracks in the door to kill snakes. Sticks toothpicks and other sharp pointed things through his ear-lobes." Blowing on things is a common method of nullifying evil or of carrying a blessing. Piercing the ear-lobes is of course a well-known custom. In some tribes it is supposed to make the person hear better.

**Case of W. T., 7228.** "Patient wears cloth on his lips to prevent the fuses and electricity from injuring him."

**Case of W. M., 9520.** "Patient says he has thousands of children, no limit to them." Fecundity is a virtue in Africa and in the patriarchal government a man with so numerous a progeny would of course be a great chief.

**Case of J. R., 10984.** "This patient, who has been here since 1898, and was twenty-four years of age then, when asked about his food, says that the dates and olives are bitter."

**Case of S. P., 12239.** "Patient dreamed that he was converted and had some beads in his hand and a fellow patient was pulling them out of his hand."

**Case of S. H., 12641.** "Patient says his spirit was taken out from him while he was in the Philippine Islands. Since that time he has seen it hovering in the air. Says that he has had five spirits, but they were all driven out of him." The question of indwelling spirits has been gone into above, but it might be mentioned that among some tribes on the West Coast the number is five. First there is the spirit of the man himself, which we should call the soul; this goes to another land after death. Then there is an indwelling spirit which is called "kra" and which we might render inexact by "consciousness." This hovers about after death and enters some other body. It is also the spirit which leaves the body during sleep and has adventures, but on returning its perceptions become dulled when it enters the body and this is why dreams are recalled so hazily. Besides these two there are three indwelling spirits which partake of the nature of tutelary deities and named in order of their importance are, the spirits of the brain, the stomach, and the great toe. The spirit of the brain is the chief and is often referred to in proverbs as having supreme power. The spirit of the stomach is next important and is particularly appealed to in time of famine. There is also a fable somewhat like one of Æsop's about the other spirits refusing to feed the spirit of the stomach, who did no work himself, and how in consequence the body wasted away. The spirit which resides in the
great toe is seldom thought of except when a native is going on a long journey, when it is customary to offer up a short prayer to him and pour on that member a libation of oil and rum.

**Case of J. H., 13335.** "Patient stated that in Chicago a snake crawled up on another man and he was blamed for it."

**Case of A. H., 13217.** "Patient dreamed about 'chockchuckoo,' which he says means 'far distant lands.' Three voices came into his room from across the ocean. He also believed that he has three wives and millions of children; that his father was millions of years old and still alive. That he, the patient, is making little children, one day he made four thousand of them." In regard to the neologism given above I can of course give no definite information. I have often thought that a careful study of neologisms among negro psychotics might result in the discovery of many African roots, but, of course, a familiarity with the chief African languages, that is, such a familiarity as could only be attained by living in that country, would be almost indispensable for such a study. The reference to the father being a million years old and still alive would seem to imply that he was a great chief, really a god, for only the great chiefs are remembered long after death and in course of time if not forgotten they become gods.

**Case of E. C., 13148.** "This patient, when asked about his dreams, said: 'You might as well be dead as tell what you dream about.'" Dreams among the Africans are practically always regarded as the adventures of the wandering spirit and in some localities this spirit is supposed to visit Dead-Land, which is why a man will see in his dreams people whom he knows to be dead.

**Case of W. J., 13928.** "Patient thinks he can cause the death of people merely by touching them."

**Case of J. M., 15048.** "Patient hears his father (who is dead) talking to him and believes that snakes are after him."

**Case of H. R., 15868.** "Ghosts and spooks hunt him in his room all night if his light is turned out. A negro woman stared at him once in the dentist's office and this put a spell on him which causes pain in his heart."

**Case of A. R., 15954.** "Patient says that he has three little forms inside of him; 'three little people.' He was born from a white egg made from the good word. He sees black and white spirits going about."

**Case of J. B., 16045.** "This patient thinks that secret orders are responsible for people knowing every move he makes. A woman is in the ceiling above him and follows him about from place to place. He has sexual experiences with her which he describes in detail. She has control over him, sometimes holding his arms and preventing him from writing. He has an eczema in the gluteal region which he says was caused by a snake rubbing against him." The woman living above him
reminds us of Elegba, a sexual god of the Yoruba speaking people, who corresponds to the incubi and succubi of medieval Europe.

**Case of W. C.** “This patient saw heads of cows on the wall of his room at nights.”

**Case of S. J., 16360.** “This patient was visiting a girl and told her he was thinking of enlisting in the army. She told him not to enlist as she could tell him how to get plenty of money and be wealthy, but that her plan necessitated suffering on his part. He agreed, and getting on his knees at her command she placed her hand on his head and offered up a prayer which had a peculiar effect on him. It seemed like an affliction. He believed that this girl put a spell on him and since that time has not been able to work, but has been very happy.”

**Case of J. W., 16427.** “This patient saw a rainbow which looked like it was in some kind of a music; harp music. While at the penitentiary there was a conspiracy against him; one man there told him he was going to get some of his hair and bury it in the trunk of a tree and this would make him go crazy. He thinks this man must have gotten some of his hair for all the prisoners had their hair cut together.” The idea of being able to work injury by means of locks of hair, nail-parings, etc., is universal, not only throughout Africa, but in other savage or semi-civilized countries, and even prevails to some extent among the lower classes in civilized countries. In Africa when a king expectorates this is carefully gathered up by slaves and burned.

**Case of D. A., 16524.** “This patient is dead and it is only his spirit that makes him walk. He keeps his teeth shut while talking as he is afraid that a devil will get inside of him. He hears two sorts of spirits calling to him, an evil spirit which calls out evil and corruption and a good spirit which tells him to hold fast. The good spirits pass by him on the right side and the evil spirits on the left. This patient was also heard to talk about going to Atlantic for the power of the salt.”

As intimated above the natives believe that there are disembodied spirits about looking for opportunities to enter living persons when their “kra” is away (as, e. g., when they sneeze). Should this happen it would cause disease. The distinction between right and left exists in all tribes. Many of their gods are represented as carrying swords in their right hands and having their left arms behind their backs.

**Case of I. B., 16576.** “A doctor in Philadelphia burnt some roots which had an effect on his mind. When he gets well he is going to Africa to study the sun spots.”

**Cases of R. H., 16626, H. C., 16668, and R. W., 17116, may be grouped together as cases where the patient believed that his troubles all began by someone putting a spell on him, which is of course the common African explanation for illness, failure of crops, bad weather, etc.
Case of R. H., 17877. "When asked the season he says it is 'corn season.'" It is customary in Africa to allude to seasons by the crop which is then fruitful; thus we have "corn season," "palm-wine season," etc.

Case of L. W., 17542. "He says that he is so jammed full of people that talk so loud they keep him from sleeping. They are black and white. He can tell the difference by the differences in their voices. They kick against him and make his arms and legs sore."

Case of O. C., 18022. "Patient saw the shadow of a snake on his bedpost."

Case of A. G., 19360. "Patient feels a serpent in him which runs and then stops."

Case of L. R., 19238. "Patient says he is the great-great-grandfather Mason of the world. A woman lives upstairs and uses his name. Says the other fellows are snake-masons."

Case of T. M., 19557. "Patient says that when a lady passes on the street while he is eating they take a picture of her and put it on his plate and he has to eat it."

Case of W. K., 19864. "Patient dreamed that he was in a high 'lift' of air and a plug was cut out of it like his shape. He swallows seeds of trees. These trees grow in the earth and he has a 'transformation power' over them. Says they are offsprings of his. Voices talk to him out of the trees. He might be sitting under a tree and it would commence to converse with him on various subjects. Sometimes he speaks to the waves of the sea and answers come back to him. A voice from the moon spoke to him one day and a light came down and encircled his head. Thinks that this was his father."

Case of A. M., 20565. "Says when he was in prison he was at work plowing for the warden and cut a snake in half; as he did so the snake hollered; and he thinks it must have been the man he killed." (He is a murderer.) This corresponds very closely to the idea of the dead returning and inhabiting animals, the spirit of a murdered man would be particularly likely to appear to the murderer in some such form.

Case of T. B., 20510. "Patient believes that he has had three pairs of eyes, the others were snapped out of him while he was asleep."

In addition to the above cases I am indebted to Dr. Evarts of this hospital who has called my attention to interesting cases among female Negroes. These I do not quote here because she has reported them elsewhere. (See Ref. no. 10.)

One other case from which I should like to quote somewhat at length on account of its interest; this is the case of B. H., aged 32, who has had dementia praecox for about five years. Voices talk to him in the "Tut" language and lay out rules for his conduct. These rules he tells the physician are as follows:
Rule I. Use no manner in your language.

Rule II. You can say anything, any kind of stuff.

Rule III. Don't notice the people downstairs.

Rule IV. You must have no education and use no learning.

Rule V. Don't look at any women or girls.

Rule VI. Certain things you must not eat, such as sauerkraut, tomatoes, soup, and peaches.

Rule VII. You must eat with your fingers (not knife or fork) and only eat cornbread and coffee.

Rule VIII. When you look at a newspaper or book, hold it upside down.

Patient said that if these rules were broken you would have to go through some sort of punishment, such as being burned or tied by the feet or go through something. At a subsequent interview the patient gave a number of other rules which the voices had laid down for him. These were that you were not to eat any crackers and drink no lemonade and eat no cantaloupe and no tomatoes and no steak. Another rule was that you cannot dress up, put on no good clothes and wear no collars and ties and no white shirt. Another rule was, that they did not allow cleaning up of the floor; when it was swept in the morning you had to sweep some and leave some. Another rule was, that you can't look out of the window at anyone passing by and you can't think well of anybody, but if you think anything mean of them, like "they were not fittin' for nothing," or "they were not any good," that would be all right. Another rule was: "Any wagon that passed outside, you couldn't look at it, that is, any buggy or carriage, but you could look at an automobile." Another rule was, you could not think about anything or talk about it except it was something you would never hear or meet with, or if you said you saw an auto go by if there had not been one. These voices seemed to be "playing the wind and making the rain."

These rules remind one of the various arbitrary and prohibitive laws enacted by the kings and priests in Africa. For example, here are a set of laws governing the town of Coomassie, where the king of the Tshi-speaking peoples lives:

1. No goat may be brought into Ashanti territory.
2. Nothing may be planted in Coomassie.
3. No one may whistle in Coomassie.
4. No palm-oil may be spilled in the streets of Coomassie.
5. No one may smoke a European pipe in the streets.
6. No such pipe may be carried with a burden.
7. No agricultural work may be done on a Thursday.
8. No egg must be allowed to break in the streets.
9. No vulture may be molested.
10. No horse-hide sandals may be worn in the palace.
11. No load packed in palm-branches may be carried into Coo-
    massie.
12. No one may look at the king's wives, and every one is to hide when
    the king's eunuchs announce their approach.
13. No one may use the king's oath without due cause.
14. To be convicted of cowardice is death.
15. It is death to pick up gold that has been dropped in the market-place.

The prohibitions about things to eat usually come from the priests who, when consecrating a tutelary deity for an individual, state that a certain kind of food must not be eaten out of respect for him. Or to ensure success in a certain undertaking they prescribe that a certain diet be avoided. For instance, if an inland tribe were going to war against a coast tribe, the priest of the former might say that his people must not eat any fish during the expedition, fish being sacred to some of the marine gods of the coast tribe. It often happens, too, that where a tribe is known by the name of some animal (usually because the founder of the tribe was so named on account of possessing certain qualities of that animal) the flesh of the animal is forbidden. Thus the leopard tribe must not eat the flesh of a leopard except in times of great famine, when they offer up a prayer to the animal before dispatching it.

Before concluding this report it might be well to anticipate certain objections to the data presented therein. The question as to whether or not the material quoted is really phylogenetic I have alluded to above, probably sufficiently. The chief criticism will be, I think, the fact that parallels for the above can be found in white patients, particularly the dementia praecox group. This is true, but I believe that in the white patient the appearance of such symbolisms is indicative of a regression relatively to much lower levels than in the case of the Negro. The latter being, as I have indicated, only one degree removed from extremely primitive levels, reverts very easily under stress.

In closing I wish to say that the above report is to be considered more in the light of suggestions than as any attempt at an elucidation of the problem. I found that African ethnology was a
much larger subject than I had anticipated and I was not able to
cover nearly as much ground in it as I should have liked. I also
discovered that the limits of such a paper as this would not permit
of the combination of any detailed report upon African customs
and any exhaustive study of cases. Therefore the first part of the
paper was made rather more complete and the second part rather
sketchy—more indications for future work on the subject than any
pretense at really adequate examination of cases. It is my belief
that the subject is a fruitful one. The native African shows the-
ology in the making. He is the raw material of civilization. His
gods are personal ones and all around him he sees Nature arrayed
against him in a host of malignant forms which he wears out his
life in trying to please. As Dudley Kidd says, “the native feels in
some dim way that the power behind phenomena is personal. After
much searching of heart he has failed to propitiate this weird
power, and day after day he feels disappointment eating into his
bosom. He has sacrificed his best oxen to the spirits; he has con-
sulted great diviners; he has done all he knows: yet he is only
brought face to face with the grim tragedy of life and the impassive
countenance of the Sphinx.’ There is none that hears or regards.
The skies remain like brass, and the sick are unhealed. His disap-
pointment and disgust are too keen and cruel for words. He must
battle on all alone against fate, while his more fortunate neighbors
have Amatonga or ancestral spirits to help them. The man’s heart
grows bitter under the weight of this whole Iliad of woes. Life
looks weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable. Bah! ‘let us eat and
drink, for to-morrow we die.’ He has stood on the ocean of mys-
tery, stretching out his hand into the dark void, and no answering
hand has come to meet his own. He has looked for help from the
unseen world; he has looked into the dark, cheerless grave; but
all in vain. ‘As for us, we have no Amatonga, and we may as well
perish.’ In his failure he shows that he is more than animal.”

My thanks are due the librarian of Congress, Mr. Herbert
Putnam, and the chief bibliographer, Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, for their
kindness in furnishing me with an elaborate bibliography on the
anthropology and ethnography of the Negro race.

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The fascinating article entitled "Compulsion Neurosis and Primitive Culture" which recently appeared in the Psychoanalytic Review\(^1\) proved as interesting to the sociologist as it must have been revealing to the alienist. The student of social customs was impressed by it because it disclosed the valuable contributions that studies of primitive philosophy and religion may be expected to make to the rapidly developing science of human conduct. It is probably not too much to say that any faithful and penetrating portrayal of animism, the first expression of primitive man's effort to organize his experience into a system, will most certainly illustrate some of the principles of Freudianism.

We have a very able and sympathetic interpretation of contemporary animism which certainly does prove valuable reading for the investigator of primitive conduct and thinking. I refer to the unusually discerning study of the religion of the western African tribes of the lower Niger written by Major Arthur Leonard.\(^2\) It is replete with important information for the student of mind and contains statements of special interest to the Freudian psychologist.

The character of these western African folk is such as to cause one to expect their religion to yield material of value for study by the abnormal psychologists, for Leonard states that they are, as a people, clearly neurotic in their tendencies. Leonard writes: "It is true that most of these natives—the Ijo and Ibibio particularly—especially among those who have not reached the years of discretion, are highly excitable, intensely emotional, and extremely impulsive, fundamentally neurotic, in fact. In this respect they are natural, like children, betraying their feelings in the same emotional and impulsive manner. More so, however, than children, they have moods beside and beyond the ordinarily serious and reflective, re-

\(^{1}\) October, 1914.

served and philosophic moods, when they retire, like the tortoise, into the outer shell of this existence, inside which they live another life, a life all their own and no one else's, in which nothing takes a part but the spirit or mental shadows of their own selves—a life which, although it is a great and magnificent illusion, is to them a solid reality, because, although it is the shadow of the substance, it is the life-giving shadow, which vitalizes the substance, so that it becomes an existence, or a being, that can think and move and act.”

The undoubted primitiveness of the people of the Niger delta greatly enhances the significance of their religious ideas for, as Leonard states, “Driven into a corner, as it were, physically and mentally—and such a pestilential corner too—they have literally stewed in their own stagnant juice, and so remained standing, a type of natural and prehistoric humanity amid the advanced and progressive civilization of the twentieth century.”

Concerning the meaning of this primitive philosophy and religion for the actual life of the natives there can be no doubt. Their animistic ideas do not lie alongside ordinary life as modern religious dogmas sometimes do; they permeate the entire social, moral and material world in which these simple people live. Indeed these conceptions regarding spiritual reality are the one important element of their thinking for their religion is, in fact, “their entire sociology and existence.”

It is significant that Leonard affirms that the father-element, born of the native's relation with his own parent, holds in his religion the foremost place. This is in harmony with the emphasis that Freud places upon the child's attitude toward his parents as being in modern adult conduct the source of powerful motives and persistent lines of thought. It is even more significant that Leonard considers the desire of the individual for love the reason why the relation of the child to his father has had so great an influence upon the religious attitude of the people. “Indeed, the entire principle which was at the root of ancestral worship, so-called, was that which emanated from the radical and social instincts, more especially those of suspicion and fear on the destructive, and confidence and veneration on the constructive side, that resulted in the very natural and personal desire, on the part of the individual, to adore and be adored. That these basic instincts were primarily responsible for the venera-

8 Ibid., p. 54.
9 Ibid., pp. 113-114.
6 Ibid., p. 67.
tion of the father in the flesh, i.e., for the first outward expression of man's homage to the generator and begetter of his own person, is reasonably admissible. Indeed, judged according to the existing patriarchal conditions of these natives, to whom the father is a law unto himself and his people, and the person of the eldest son, as priest to the family, is sacred, there cannot possibly be any doubt whatever on the subject. It is quite evident, then, that primeval adoration of the father in the flesh, combining, as it subsequently did, with a belief in the existence of the soul or spirit, developed first into the worship of the father in the spirit, and, later on, into that of certain deified ancestors, which, coöperating with a belief in the phallic principle, eventually arrived at a worship of the Supreme God, from whom the origin of all life was traced, and here, so far at least as these natural philosophers are concerned, it culminated.6 No one who appreciates the usual position of woman among primitive people will wonder why the mother-relation has so little importance as compared with the father-element.

It is clear that the entire animistic system of these people serves a subjective purpose and represents the control of the wish-motive which in human conduct, as Freud has so clearly shown, occupies a fundamental place. As in the case of the patient suffering from a morbid mental state the fictitious interpretation satisfies deep, unconscious desires and affords relief from the hard objective facts. Leonard has expressed this in a most happy way in the following observation: "In endeavoring, therefore, to fathom the psychology of these people, it is not only imperative that the dualism of their nature should be acknowledged, but that the supremacy of the spiritual over the human, in other words, of illusion or the subjective, as compared with reality or the objective, be clearly recognized. For in no other way is it possible to understand them. This alone will explain why a people who are literal and natural, acknowledging as they do the burden of the flesh and the practical value of utility, or the substantially useful, should live under the entire and absolute control of the non-existent phantasmal. Further, it will also explain the seemingly anomalous assertion that while the supremacy of the latter has certainly kept them from relapsing into the depths of decadent savagedom, it has at the same time prevented them from advancing towards the heights of expanding civilization."7 Perhaps this predominance of the wish has been even more

6 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
7 Ibid., p. 64.
forcefully expressed in another place, where the author writes: "The wish, which, as we have seen all along, was father to every religious thought, became at once the supreme opportunity of the priest, who, to gain his own ends, converted the mortal illusion into an immortal reality. It was but the human failing that, without difficulty, leads even leaders of men into a belief of that which they passionately desire—the same identical principle of which Terence says: 'Verum putes haud agre quod valde expetes'—you believe that easily which you hope for earnestly, a belief the sincerity of which has been confirmed and sanctified by time."  

The origin of the entire spiritual system of these Africans is, according to Leonard, their own forgotten acts and thoughts unconsciously expressed. This gives their animism the characteristics of the phantasy which expresses the psychoneurosis. "It is not simply that the adjustment of the balance is unattainable, because, in spite of the existence of unity and evenness, disintegration or detachment and inequality are inevitable. It is not only that the right and wrong, in other words, the supremely spiritual and the slavishly human, in their own contradictory compositions are inextricably compounded and confused, so that at times they find it difficult in practice to distinguish between the two. But it is that they feel more than they see—for mentally they are blinded by a nebula of spirit—feel it through the sensations and emotions; because, unknown to them, these sensations and emotions are but the reacts of their own forgotten acts, and the conceptions of thoughts that have been unconsciously registered by the brain, therefore unrecognized as their own, and attributed to the spiritual."  

Of course dominated as these natives are by pain-pleasure thinking and hostile to the requirements of reality-thinking they are unable to make progress. They show the same failure to make good social adjustment which the neurotic patient so often reveals and for the same reason. They dream dreams when purposeful, constructive thinking is demanded. "Apart from their aversion to change of any kind, and slaves as these people from time immemorial have been, and are, to custom and conservatism, and the iron discipline of their bogey-ancestors—who in their belief only depart from the flesh to continue a much more potential existence and government in the spirit—the bulk of the people have their thinking done for them by the priests, doctors, and diviners, who are de
facto the active thinkers and thought-leaders of their communities. Or rather, they have their thoughts interpreted, and if necessary transformed into actions. Do not misunderstand me, however. This does not in any sense imply that they are not thinkers themselves, for in the mass they are all dreamers of dreams, i.e., they think in a vague, indefinite, and impulsive kind of way thoughts that unconsciously become reflected and repeated in their dreams, which to them, however, are actual and personal interviews and interchanges of conversation between their own detachable and mobile souls and those of the departed. But they are passive and silent thinkers, whose power of thought only goes a short and restricted distance. For in spite of their marked impulsiveness and the contumacious, almost aggressive, individualism of their personalities in matters mystical, i.e., spiritual, or those which are beyond their comprehension—and anything outside the ordinary avocations of a cramped and limited life comes as a rule within this category—they are as powerless as newborn babes. There has ever been a powerful opposition to progress in part unconscious. There has, in fact, been no natural or social evolution, because of an unconscious, yet at the same time conscious, opposition to it on the part of those most concerned—not so much from lack of intelligence, but because the spirit of conservatism and centralization has altogether dominated, and so expunged, the broader spirit of decentralization and intercourse.

It is especially interesting to one familiar with Freud's teaching concerning the psychopathology of everyday life to notice how accidental acts are regarded by these African savages. They insist as does Freud upon the significance of actions due to carelessness or loss of memory. In other words they have made the remarkable discovery that sins of omission express deeply-lodged purposes. "For experience teaches us that they see in everything an unexpressed but all the more conscious motive, just as in every act they see and feel design. So although they recognize 'omission' as an offending causation, they do not acknowledge it as due to pure carelessness or loss of memory. For an 'omission' is quite as much an 'act' as a 'commission'; it is a something omitted, done with intent and deliberation, possibly—as they look at it—through the obtrusive action of other mischievous antipathies. So forgetfulness is an effect, whatever the cause may be, that it is possible to avoid.

10 Ibid., p. 59.
11 Ibid., p. 61.
Chance, coincidence, or accident are accordingly unknown, while design and premeditation, or predeterminism, are the levers that set in motion the entire machinery of human action.\textsuperscript{12}

The dream-life of this people is also given very great significance. The spiritual creations have been largely influenced by the serious regard given dreams. This fact is known and acknowledged by the people themselves. "It is, as a rule, only in dreams, and not when a person is awake, that the souls of the departed appear to the living. For dreams occupy a very prominent place in the philosophy, the religion, and the life of these emotional people. Dream-land, in fact—although it is, as it were, a land of shadows or spirits—is a veritable reality, and the figures of the dead which appear therein are looked on exclusively as souls, and in no sense as outside apparitions.

"Once more, in the words of Odinaka Olisa, 'apart from what our fathers have told us, the way in which we believe in the existence of the soul or the spirit is mostly through dreams, those which are good and those which are bad, i. e., nightmares. So we think that when a man is asleep, whether at night or in the day, his soul leaves the body and goes away and speaks, sometimes with the dead and sometimes with the living. So it is that on these occasions, or when a man projects his soul into the body of an animal, his own body remains altogether inactive and slothful and as it is in a trance or during sleep, and it remains in this condition until the return of the soul.'\textsuperscript{13}"

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 54.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 145.
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Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse

Abstracted by Dr. C. R. Payne

of Wadhams, N. Y.

(Vol. I, Nos. 5-6, 1911)

1. Further Contributions to Dream-Interpretation. Prof. Sigmund Freud.
2. A Lie. Dr. F. Riklin.
5. The Psychic Treatment of Epilepsy. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel.

1. Dream-Interpretation.—Freud gives from his personal experience with patients the analyses of certain symbols occurring in dreams. The first of these was “the hat” as symbol of man or male genitals. The dream fragment given was that of a young married woman who suffered from agoraphobia and temptation-anxiety. The second was that “the little one” (child) denotes the genitals (male or female) and “being run over” signifies sexual intercourse. This interpretation was supported by the analysis of a dream from the same patient as the first. The third example illustrates the representation of the genitals by buildings, staircases and shafts. This use was shown in the dream of a young man inhibited by a father-complex.

In conclusion, Freud gives some less frequent dream symbols: displacement to childhood is dramatized in the dream by the figures appearing as of gigantic size. Again, a man dreams that he goes to a railway station to take a train when the platform of the standing car approaches him. This inversion of the actual conditions is an index denoting that some other part of the dream content should be inverted.

2. A Lie.—Riklin analyzes the motives which caused an honest servant-maid to tell a useless lie and finds that the lie was the substitute realization of a repressed sexual wish.

3. Is Bronchial Asthma a Sexual Neurosis?—Sadger believes that in many cases this question may be answered in the affirmative. In all the cases which he has investigated, the sexual basis has been absent in none. He reports in considerable detail the analysis of a young homosexual man who had had terrific attacks of what seemed to be genuine
bronchial asthma and shows the underlying repressed sexual motives. Besides the psychosexual aspect of the question, Sadger thinks that a peculiar erogenous activity of the nose and allied organs may be a factor in causing asthma. He lays considerable stress on the importance of the actual physical disturbances of the sexual act as causative agents, such as coitus interruptus, frustrated sexual excitement, etc.

4. Contribution to the Theory of the Resistance.—Adler tells of a woman patient who displayed her resistance to the analysis by asking to have her appointment made later in the day than usual and gave only banal reasons for desiring the change. The occasion for the appearance of the resistance was that the analysis was touching upon a painful incest complex.

Adler proceeds from this case to sketch some of his theories regarding the mental development in respect to sexuality in men and women. He believes that women feeling their weakness develop a distrust of all men. "The evaluation of the man is the most uniform phenomenon of the neurosis." This depreciating tendency goes back to childhood, where the child rebels against having the father over it. The mistrust of all men is carried over to the analyst and according to Adler forms a large part of the basis for the resistance.

5. Psychic Treatment of Epilepsy.—Stekel believes that a large percentage of the cases diagnosed as epilepsy are in reality neuroses. In the epileptic attack, there occurs a victory of the criminal unconscious over the moral consciousness. He presents four cases to support his views. In the first, that of a fifteen-year-old school girl, the attack was occasioned by unconscious criminal (death) phantasies against her mother. The second case was that of a man aged thirty-two. In this case also, death wishes against his wife were revealed.

The third case, Stekel describes in much detail. The patient had a perversion, urolagnie. The analysis showed that this perversion was a derivative of a much deeper-seated pathological complex, sadism. The dream analysis traced this sadism back to its origin in early childhood.

The fourth case concerned a man aged thirty-seven. Here again criminal phantasies toward a brother-in-law were the determining factor. The history of this man with an account of the many unavailing methods of treatment which he had undergone for his epilepsy and Stekel's analysis and cure of him is most interesting.

Stekel's conclusions are as follows:

1. Epilepsy is, more frequently than we had previously thought, a psychogenic trouble.

2. In all cases, a strong criminality is in evidence, which has been repelled from consciousness as unbearable.

3. The attack stands for the crime, thus also eventually a sexual act which is a crime.
4. Pseudo-epilepsy is curable by psychoanalysis. It requires longer periods of treatment, since the splitting of the personality has progressed extraordinarily far.

(Vol. I, Nos. 7-8, 1911)


2. The Concept of Instinct. Dr. Stefan v. Máday.


1. Karin Michaelis's "The Dangerous Age."

Rosenthal analyzes the female characters of the authoress, Karin Michaelis, as presented in her book, "The Dangerous Age," and other works and shows the unconscious motives which probably lurked in the authoress's mind. The principal character studied is a married woman of forty-two who suddenly and without apparent cause obtains a divorce from her seemingly excellent husband and secludes herself in an isolated villa which she had had built by a young architect. The analyst shows in very clever manner what important parts a money-complex and a father-complex have played in preventing a normal and healthy development of the woman's life as a girl and the bitter fate which this pathological development brought to her later life. The analysis is well worked out and illuminating for many of the dissatisfied women seen by every neurologist.

2. The Concept of Instinct.

v. Máday points out that the changes in psychology occasioned by the study of the unconscious demand a restating of the concepts used in the science. After discussing the various terms and definitions which have been used by various psychologists and philosophers during the recent past, he proceeds to give his own provisional definition of instinct (Trieb) as follows: "The instinct is an elementary psychic function of motor (emotional, dynamic, centrifugal) character; it (that is, its becoming active, functioning) is the effect of an act of cognition (as emotion, sensation, idea, thought), with which as sensory (intellectual, static, centripetal) element it is joined to an experience; the (released, active) instinct is accordingly the cause of every activity of will (psychic movement, act).

3. Psychoanalysis of a Case of Blushing-Anxiety.

Luzenberger had a woman patient, aged fifty-two, who blushed upon the slightest excitement without any apparent cause. The symptom had been present in her earlier life and reappeared again at the time of the menopause. He
traced it back to early impressions in childhood when intestinal worms had been passed from the bowel, a feeling of disgust which had arisen in connection with these that had been transferred to all worms in general. A further determinant had been the onset of the menses without previous instruction regarding the physiological meaning of the condition. These feelings of physical uncleanness had later been transferred to the moral sphere.

4. Case of Autopsychic Disturbance of Consciousness.—A boy of seventeen came under Juliusburger's observation for having written two letters of which he had no memory. In one to his employer he accused himself of having stolen goods from the former which it was shown he had not done. In the other, he informed his parents that he had been promoted by his firm and sent away to other cities as their representative and told what fine things he was doing. The boy had had epileptic attacks. This transitory psychosis, during which the letters were written, seemed like an equivalent for an epileptic attack. It was occasioned by an emotional conflict with his mother and brother over his love for a girl, their berating him for spending a small sum for a present for the young lady and his identifying himself with a fellow-worker who actually had stolen goods and sold them for his own profit. The letter to his parents corresponded to his wish for promotion and larger salary. Juliusburger presents the case as illustrating the value of psychoanalysis in comprehending the psychoses.

5. Pikler's "Dynamic Psychology" and its Relations to Psychoanalysis.—Rosenstein reviews the chief points of Pikler's "Dynamic Psychology" and discusses the question whether it may form the connecting link between the older psychology and the Freudian psychology. He believes that it may do this. He considers it suited to form a common ground for the investigations of normal psychology and psychopathology especially since it denotes a psychophysics in the correct sense of the term, which keeps sight of the whole psychophysical organism and does not withdraw to unimportant measurings of intervals and sensation quantities.

(Vol. I, No. 9)

1. Results of the Psychic Treatment of Some Cases of Asthma. Dr. A. STEGMANN.
2. Origin of Symbolism in the Dream, Dementia Praecox, etc. Dr. A. MAEDER.
3. Concerning Obscene Words. Dr. S. FERENCZI.
4. Syphiliphobia. Dr. ALFRED ADLER.

1. Psychic Treatment of Asthma.—Stegmann has reported in an earlier article (1908) cases of asthma in children which led him to
believe that the disease developed more from psychoneurotic factors than from a somatic basis. He now discusses some later cases of asthma which have come under his professional care. One of these was a woman aged forty-one, twice married. The malady began at thirty-six. Investigation showed that the asthmatic attacks were the result of jealousy and desire to keep her husband at home from the city. The treatment was interrupted before it could be concluded. The second case was that of a woman, aged forty-five, who had suffered from severe asthma since she was twenty-one. A real psychoanalysis could not be carried out, but the short treatment demonstrated the effect of early sexual traumata, an unfavorable attitude toward the father and later jealousy of the husband’s family and his scientific activity as causative factors. The attacks were rendered much less severe and less frequent by the partial treatment. The author believes that asthma belongs in the anxiety-hysteria group.

2. Origin of Symbolism in Dream, Dementia Praecox, etc.—Maeder presents a brief consideration of the mechanism of the origin of symbolism in dream, psychosis, etc. In the delusions of dementia praecox, a patient often projects some organ into the outer world, selecting some object in the outer world of similar shape or appearance to stand for it, thus identifying his organ with the external object. The object becomes the symbol for the organ. For instance, a patient identifies his blood vessels with the water pipes of the asylum. The process is similar in the origin of a symbol in the dream except that the organ may be replaced by any objects of interest in general. The affectivity plays an active rôle in the process.

3. Obscene Words.—Contribution to the psychology of the latent period. Ferenczi seeks to determine why the popular names for sexual and excremental organs and activities arouse such strong resistance in the minds of most individuals. One cause is the fact that the child learns the terms first during the period of his first attempts to comprehend the sexual and excretory functions and the words, along with the thoughts of this period, are later vigorously repressed by the moral censor. Another is that these words possess a peculiar power to compel the hearer to imagine with special vividness the organs or processes denoted. They occasion regressive hallucinations, as it were. That is, such words awaken many powerful phantasies which have been rigorously repressed. Ferenczi gives illustrations from his analyses to substantiate his views.

4. Syphiliphobia.—Adler calls attention to the frequency of syphiliphobia among neurotic patients and makes the following observations on the symptom: (1) Syphiliphobia springs from the desire for assurance; it is never the sole form of the assurance but regularly cooperates with most or all of the neurotic measures of assurance. (2) All meas-
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ures of assurance are introduced by the phenomenon of anxious expectation. (3) The anxious expectation results from the feeling of inferiority and uncertainty, which is acquired in the stage of childhood from organic inferiority and from the fear of a permanent female rôle and this feeling is retained in great part in the unconscious in later development.

(Vol. I, Nos. 10–11)

1. Some Problems of the Interpretation of Saga. Dr. F. Riklin.
4. Anatole France as Analyst. Dr. S. Ferenczi.

1. Some Problems of Saga-Interpretation.—Riklin points out that Ludwig Laistner, twenty years ago, declared that saga originate from dreams, and particularly from nightmares. Psychoanalysis makes this assumption certain. The saga shows plainly that it has a common origin with other products of repressed unconscious motives. The gods reveal plain sexual characteristics, they are dream figures and personify as such (repressed) sexuality. The simple folk-saga are nearer to this nucleus than the higher myths which take into consideration the cosmos, the outer world, the question of life and death, etc. Riklin describes many points which nightmares and saga have in common.

2. Precursors of Freudian Thought.—Silberer mentions some of the poets, authors and philosophers preceding Freud who have described mental phenomena similar to that which his psychology elucidates and discusses at length a passage from Bulwer Lytton’s “A Strange Story,” which deals with repression, flight into illness, psychic trauma, etc. Among others whose writings show an intuitive understanding of mental phenomena, he names Shakespeare, Richard Wagner, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Justinus Kerner and Maurice Maeterlinck.

3. Loss as a Symptomatic Act.—Freud pointed out in his Psychopathology of Everyday Life that the losing of objects is often an expression of lack of esteem for them by the loser. Rank describes an instructive case from his own observation which substantiates Freud’s findings.

4. Anatole France as Analyst.—In a most readable little article, Ferenczi shows us how Anatole France displays in some of his writings a comprehension of mental phenomena very similar to that founded by Freud’s psychoanalysis. He says in conclusion: “From these examples it is obvious to us that A. France performed a great piece of analytic
work independently of all professional psychology, with results similar to those which we attain with the refined methods of the Freudian psychoanalysis. We find also in his writings in general the proper estimation of the unconscious, the infantile and the sexual so that we must regard him as one of the most important predecessors of the analytic psychology."

5. *Hysteria and Mysticism of Margaretha Ebner.*—Pfister sketches the life of Margaretha Ebner, a Catholic nun and mystic of the late middle ages, and interprets her bizarre acts and sayings in the light of psychoanalytic knowledge. He shows how she identified herself with Jesus in certain of her hysterical symptoms, how she suffered from inability to stand and walk, from pains in head and teeth, from hoarseness, pains in heart and hands, from the sensation of having her limbs broken, intolerance against being touched, from feeling of suspense, from death marks on her hands, from uttering of cries and other imitations. He also demonstrates her masochistic joy in suffering tortures.

6. *Eduard Möricke.*—Friedmann quotes from some of the writings of the German poet, Möricke, and shows how he, like so many other poets, intuitively perceived some of the truths regarding mental mechanisms which Freud has since so brilliantly demonstrated.

(Vol. I, No. 12)

1. Personal Experiences with Freud’s Psychoanalytic Method. Dr. James J. Putnam.

This is a translation of Dr. Putnam’s paper read before the American Neurological Association in May, 1910, in which he discussed psychoanalysis and reported some of his early results from the same in his practice. The whole article may be found in English in the Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease for November, 1910.

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**Abstracted by Leonard Blumgart, M.D.**

**OF NEW YORK**

(Vol. II, Part One)

(Continued from page 252)

There seems to be no doubt that the moment the association word is heard there rises into consciousness the fantasy which belongs to it from the unconscious. Pfister believes that the fantasy is fully formed
in the unconscious and has been there from such time as the mental picture which goes to form it was first seen. This is a possible explanation of why certain things we see—pictures, plays, views—make a deep impression on us; they are used by our repressed complexes as materials in both our day and night dreams. It is also possible that the picture later becomes the carrier of gruesome thoughts and for that reason it sticks fast in memory. The complex which is in the unconscious takes the picture and hides itself within it so disguised that it can come into consciousness in response to the stimulus word. Without this disguise it would probably have been difficult, if not impossible, because of its painful character, for it to have come into consciousness. In elucidation Pfister quotes incidents in Max’s life which the latter uses to clothe his unconscious wishes.

He says: “In certain persons repressed hate forms out of suitable personal experiences, or imagined experiences, fantasies according to the laws of dream work. It is by means of these fantasies that the individual satisfies his hate; a satisfaction effected by making the injury to the hated one, either patent or disguised, the content of a day dream which shows that injury as already accomplished. The sexual components of hate appear in the form of sadism and masochism.”

He does not know how true this may be in others, but although his casual observation of the process has shown that many do not produce such fantasies, he thinks this does not preclude the possibility of their presence in the unconscious. He looks upon these day dreams of Max’s as having the significance of safety valves for his psychic life.

Before the fifth session the reconciliation between Max and his brother was accomplished. It came about spontaneously without suggestion from Pfister and was effected in spite of the distrust and doubt on the part of Arno.

By the seventh session the boys were really in close sympathy and had talked over certain painful incidents with brotherly frankness and affection. With their reconciliation Max’s fantasies underwent a marked change.

Reviewing the transformation of the earliest hate fantasies that occurred after reconciliation, and considering the new ones that came later in the analysis, Pfister formulates important laws governing the psychology of hate and reconciliation. He says: “When hate is intensified, the hate complex continually uses for satisfying itself new pictures in producing day dreams. When reconciliation takes place the earlier fantasies return. They are then unchanged but weaker and less clear, or else they have been changed so as to deprive them of their earlier painful characteristics.”

To understand the significance of the spontaneous or stimulated day dream of the patient, one must keep in mind that, on the one hand, he
had said he was dominated by an inner evil compulsion, on the other, that he had felt these compulsive horrible fantasies an indescribable burden. Without doubt this is a manifestation of repressed wishes, which, because of their antagonism to the moral concept in his consciousness were not allowed to enter. We see how clearly the repressed wishes are mirrored in fantasy, in which disguise one's conscience allows them to enter consciousness.

The symptomatic value of Max's day dreams was revealed much more convincingly later in the analysis, when, believing himself to be fully reconciled to Arno, he had a number of murderous fantasies which showed the presence of remnants of his hate complex. When inner or external forces roused his hate it would not show itself in its true form. Instead one would find a harmless, or perhaps a fatal, episode concerning unknown persons. In this way, by means of allegory, the complex was able to work itself out without danger of being detected by the patient himself. Pfister's admonitions to the boy failed, therefore, because they did not touch the complex and were directed only toward a few relatively harmless external symptoms such as the memory of painful events with their bitter feeling, but never toward the many unconscious sadistic revenge desires.

Pfister shows that blood-and-thunder moving pictures and dime novels stimulated the boy's hate and served to disguise it by being used as material for his day dreams. Max, however, did not restrict himself to these, also using stories from history, geography and religion. In this way the unconscious impulses spread further and further while simultaneously the boy grew more and more isolated. He guarded the secret of his growing hate with increasing anxiety in order not to be looked upon as a terrible being, and the more he withdrew from reality the more his libido expressed itself in fantasies under the dominance of his hate complex. According to Freud the isolation from the world is an inherent tendency of every psychoneurotic disturbance. Jung says: "The complex prevents the possibility of transference, consequently of psychological adjustment, and in this way inhibits the instinct of race preservation. It isolates the individual and by introverting the libido puts him in a vicious circle."

The analysis in this case acted on the day dreaming exactly as it would on obsessions, phobias and hysterical manifestations. It drew the repressed concepts in their true form into consciousness. The compromise produced—which is the fantasy—had to give way, since it could not any longer fulfill its purpose. Therefore the analysis has only a negative task in that it must dissolve resistances. The new directions that the instincts must follow must be built by other forces within the individual. Where these are absent it is impossible for the patient to evolve into an ethically normal person.
In moral imbeciles analysis has only a theoretical value in that it serves to explain their acts. For ethically normal persons this destroying of resistances and the consequent freeing of repressed complexes is of tremendous value. The complexes are reacted to and transference follows so that the individual is again received within the herd. A common complex is no complex. We see this in monastic orders, etc. When a complex is shared it ceases to be interesting. Naturally an analysis cannot prevent new injuries with their resulting formation of hate complexes, but the morally healthy patient learns through his analytic experience the value of a frank and free discussion with some one whom he respects and trusts and in this way a new way of living is opened to him. If this is impossible for inner or external reasons the result obtained from an analysis is only temporary.

In Max’s case there was a considerable improvement in his relations with his brother. They were very intimate and for months enjoyed a hearty companionship. But unfortunate family conditions, idleness, bad companions, poverty, the irritability of the mother who feared her children’s criticism of her lax ways, all these combined to give an atmosphere that finally impaired the relation between the brothers. Their confidence in and affection for Pfister, however, remained the same as long as they were under his observation. One must remember that the whole analysis was incomplete. Before it was finished, indeed before it was well begun, Max had gone away.

Pfister closes with his observations of the ethical estimate of hate. First, it impoverishes a personality by a one-sided direction and fixation of its interests. The complex turns its attention with monotonous persistence to such things as give it satisfaction and utilizes them for this purpose. Second, the individual is despiritualized by a growing dependence upon his unconscious desires. There is great danger that he may lose the freedom of his soul, partly through persistent irritability, partly through explosions of rage. Third, a paralysis of the will is the result of the unfruitful struggle between love and hate. Fourth, there is a waste of constructive energy in unproductive fantasies and dreams. Fifth, sadistic and masochistic sexualization of hate results. Sixth, the progressive isolation of the patient is inevitable. The introversion of the libido as a result of the complexes throws the hate-filled person back upon himself to live within himself. Egotism is inseparable from hate. The pathological tendency of hate based on this introversion is clearly shown.

Reconciliation, on the other hand, reveals its ethical value first, in that the patient is placed in a position to acquire new concepts and is also stimulated to over-compensate the defences in his life caused by hate. Second, when reconciliation changes the destructive and evil energies of hate into the positive effort toward affection there occurs a trans-
formation of sadistic to masochistic mechanisms, and when these latter are sublimated there comes with the regression of the revengeful spirit the desire for penance. When reconciliation, without analysis, is able to turn back energies which have used the paths of hate, it unconsciously accomplishes the work which the analyst consciously strives to do for the psycho-neurosis.

As these investigations prove that reconciliation is a process which furthers a healthy attitude, so confidence in psychoanalysis as the natural means of moral therapy is strengthened by this evidence of its agreement with the empiric method.

5. The Opposite Meaning of Root Words.—In this review Freud points out a marked similarity between a certain process which obtains in the production of dreams and one that evidently obtained in the evolution of language. In his Traumdeutung, fourth edition, page 237, he says:

"The attitude of the dream towards the category of antithesis and contradiction is most striking. This category is unceremoniously neglected; the word 'No' does not seem to exist for the dream. Antitheses are with peculiar preference reduced to unity or represented as one. The dream also takes the liberty of representing any element whatever by its desired opposite, so that it is at first impossible to tell about any element capable of having an opposite, whether it is to be taken negatively or positively, in the dream thoughts."

Freud's first understanding of this peculiar inclination of dream work was through a chance reading of this monograph by the philologist, Karl Abel. This gave him the clue to the astonishing explanation that the process of the mind in the production of dreams is identical with that of the evolution of the oldest known language, the Egyptian.

In the beginning of his monograph Abel indicates the long slow growth of the Egyptian spoken language that must have preceded the earliest attempts of their written language, the first hieroglyphic inscriptions.

He says, on page four: "Now in the Egyptian language, the only relic we have of primitive words, there are many with two meanings, one of which is the direct opposite of the other. Imagine such apparent nonsense as, for instance, that the word 'strong' at the same time denoted 'weak,' the word 'light' also meant 'darkness,' that in calling for beer another would use the same word to call for water; conceive that, and one has the astonishing practice of the old Egyptian language."

Again, on page nine, Abel says: "Egypt was everything else but the home of nonsense. On the contrary it is there that we have the earliest signs of the development of reason. It had a morality which was pure and dignified, and had formulated for itself the majority of the ten commandments at the time when the races now ranking as
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civilized were in the habit of sacrificing human beings to their blood-thirsty idols. A people which in so dark a period was able to keep the torch of justice and civilization alight, could not in its speaking and thinking have been exactly stupid. . . . A people who could make glass, build the pyramids, must at least have had sufficient intelligence not to hold one thing as meaning itself and also its direct opposite. How then can we understand the Egyptians allowing themselves such a peculiarly contradictory language?"

Before he explains this incomprehensible procedure, he astounds us further: "Of all the eccentricities of the Egyptians' lexicon, perhaps the most extraordinary is that in addition to words which within themselves have opposite meanings, it contains two-syllable words compounded of two distinct words, the whole word having the meaning of only one of its component parts. In other words, there are in this extraordinary language not only words such as 'strong' which also denotes 'weak,' 'command' which means 'obedience' as well, but impossible words such as 'old-young,' 'far-near,' 'in-out' or 'out-in,' which, in spite of the opposite meaning of the two parts, only have the significance of one part."

In these composite words there are clear contradictions purposely united, not to form a third meaning as happens in Chinese, but solely to have the word mean the first of its two parts. Abel gives an explanation of this, which, like all apparently difficult things, is quite simple. "If it were always light we would never know the difference between light and darkness, and would therefore never be able to conceive of light or have a word for it. Everything is evidently relative upon this planet, and has an independent existence only in so far as it is related to and differs from other things. Thus, as every concept is the twin of its opposite, how could it first have been thought, how could it have been communicated to others, if not by comparing it with its opposite? As one cannot conceive of the concept of strength without its opposite weakness, the word which denoted strength also immediately suggested weakness, through which latter the former was able to come into existence. This word therefore did not really express strength or weakness, but rather the relation between the two, and the difference between the two, which difference produced the two words."

Man could not, therefore, achieve the oldest and simplest concepts except by considering opposites, and then gradually separating the two antitheses and considering the one without consciously measuring it with the other. Now as speech is used not only to express one's thoughts, but also to communicate them to others, one would ask how did the ancient Egyptian let his neighbor know which of the two parts of the word he desired to express. In the written language this was accomplished by means of determining pictures, which were placed after
the word and denoted its meaning. When the word “ken” denoted “strong” there was placed after it the picture of an erect armed man. If its purpose was to denote “weakness,” there followed a picture of a sitting tired figure.

In the same way most of the other two-meaning words were accompanied by determining pictures. Abel surmises that in speech a gesture was used to determine the meaning of the word. He says that it is the most ancient root words which show this phenomenon of antithetic double meanings and this disappeared in the further development of the language. In old Egyptian, all phases of development up to the single meaning to the single word can be followed. This is accomplished by a slight phonetic modification in the root which totally changed the meaning of the word. For instance, by the time the language had developed to the evolution of the hieroglyph, the word “ken,” originally meaning “strong-weak,” had been modified into “ken” (strong) and “kan” (weak). In other words, concepts which could only be thought of in connection with their antithesis were, in the course of time, sufficiently grasped by the mind to allow of two concepts, each of which has an independent existence and a separate vocal symbol.

Abel believes the easily obtained evidence for contradictory meanings in root words in the Egyptian is capable of application to the Semitic and Indo-European languages as well. How much this method of evolution may have prevailed in other languages remains to be seen, for although opposites must have been present in the thinking processes of every race, that they are everywhere retained or recognizable is not inevitable. The philosopher Bain in his book on logic, without knowing the facts, was able to deduce on purely theoretic grounds the logical necessity for these facts. He says: “The essential relativity of all knowledge, thought, or consciousness cannot but show itself in language. If everything that we can know is viewed as a transition from something else, every experience must have two sides; and either every name must have a double meaning, or else for every meaning there must be two names.”

Freud gives a few illustrations from the appendix of the monograph, of opposites in the Egyptian, Indo-Germanic and Arabic languages. In Latin, “altus” means both “high” and “deep”; “sacer” means “holy” and “damned”; where phonetic changes have occurred, we see in “clamare” (to shriek) “clam” (quiet); “siccus” (dry) and “succus” (moist). The German “Boden” still means both the highest and the lowest parts of the house; “böse” (bad) has its opposite in “bass,” old German for “good.” The old Saxon “bat” (good) has its opposite in the English “bad”; the English “to lock” in the German “lücke” (hole); the German “kleben” in its English opposite “to cleave.”

1 It has occurred to the abstracter that the English “to cleave” contains within itself two meanings—to cleave unto, and to cleave apart.
Abel calls attention to other clues of archaic methods of thinking. We still use "without," compounding it of two parts, "with" and "out," of antithetic meanings. The word "with" at one time denoted not only conjunction but also separation, and we see the remnants of this in the English words "withdraw" and "withhold." The same change is apparent in the German words "wider" (against) and "wieder" (together).

Another remarkable similarity to dream work is the peculiarity of the Egyptian language to read the words backward and give both arrangements of letters the same meaning. This inversion of the letters occurs too frequently in Egyptian to be explained by coincidence. It is also found frequently in the Semitic and Aryan languages. If one restricts one's self to the German and English, one notices that "top" is the inversion of "pot," "boat" of "tub," "hurry" of "ruhe," "balken" of "club."

Freud cites many examples from other languages. Abel attempts to explain the phenomenon of phonetic inversion by a reduplication of the root word. Freud is unable to follow him in this explanation. He reminds us how children love to play with words by turning them around, and how the psyche in producing its dream reverses the dream material for its various purposes, not by reversing words but by reversing pictures and the order in which they normally appear. Freud is more inclined to explain this phonetic reversal on a much deeper psychic basis. It is upon the similarity in the characteristics of dream work and the practice in the oldest languages that he bases proof of his idea that thought is expressed in dreams on the model of regressive archaic principles.

There is forced upon the neurologist the irrefutable suggestion that if he desires to understand the speech of dreams and to interpret it more clearly he must make himself better informed of the development of language.

6. Psychologial Investigation of Cases of Dementia Praecox.—Maeder first gives the clinical histories of two cases of dementia praecox of the paranoid form and then goes on to give their analyses, which are among the clearest and most exhaustive in the literature.

In the first case, during the time of the analysis, the condition of the patient improved to such an extent that it was possible to transfer him from the ward of the most violent cases to the quiet open ward where he has since remained. Maeder does not draw any deductions from this incident as to the therapeutic value of the analysis. He simply calls attention to it. He goes into great detail concerning this first case, a patient with two main complexes, a sexual complex and an ancestry complex. He also applies the Jung association experiment to him to show the readers of his paper how this method gives a general view of the psychic make-up of the patient.
The second case is also analyzed in great detail. There are spread before us the patient's mental processes concerning his persecution, his hypochondriacal complaints and his feelings of insufficience. The analysis of his acts shows them to be compensations in which the fulfilment of repressed wishes is wonderfully clear. In fact the patient compensated himself to such an extent that he practically evolved a new language, a new anatomy and a new philosophy. Maeder finally shows that the so-called dementia of some of these cases is only apparent.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a theoretic consideration of these two cases, their mechanism, the origin of the delusions of persecution and of grandeur. From the analysis of the first case, J. B., we find that his wife was in a sanatorium for an incipient tuberculosis when she received a letter from him unexpectedly speaking of divorce. He gave as his reason the fear that he might be infected with her disease. Later he wrote that he had been called to something higher. Naturally his wife could not understand him. He then had the additional ideas that she had been unfaithful and had had an abortion. (This last really had happened as the result of the incipient tuberculosis.) In his delusion of grandeur he based his desire for divorce on the ground that through diplomatic channels he had become engaged to marry the Queen of Holland. He finally declared that his wife was persecuting him and injuring him with weapons. He became brutal, maltreated her and had to be confined.

The analysis shows the presence of well marked polygamous and homosexual tendencies which did not come to the foreground nor express themselves in acts until he had become psychotic. His wife is naturally an obstacle to the realization of his desires. Her mere existence frustrates them, as is shown in the genesis of his persecutory ideas concerning her.

The mechanism of the origin of this delusion of persecution seems to be that there exists in the patient a primary tendency towards definite active self-realization. This expansion is inhibited by a passive obstacle in his environment which his ego feels to be a dynamic one. He then animates it and thus transforms it into an aggressive power. This reaction is not only characteristic of people with delusions of persecution but is generally recognized as quite common. One needs only to observe children when they strike themselves against objects and hear them say "bad chair," "bad table," to be convinced of this. Nor is it only an infantile mechanism. Xerxes attempting to punish the ocean by having it beaten with chains, is an instance; and among the Greeks all inanimate objects which had caused the death of a human being were banished from the country. The Indians used to bite the stones that hurt their feet. The same mechanism is also observed in animals. This tendency to vitalize objects has been called by Tylor "animism" and is
a primitive and common type of reaction which probably has a biolo-
gical significance in that it serves to protect the individual.

In J. B.'s case there are undoubtedly homosexual tendencies. In the
delusion of persecution is clearly shown in
a fantasy that Maeder quotes of a healthy young man who, on merely
seeking a beautiful woman, felt the desire to possess her, a thought he
repressed because of its unworthiness. Within a short time there sud-
denly came to him the fantasy that this woman was coming toward him,
that she was making sexual advances, and so stirred him that he was
overpowered and succumbed to the temptation.

In the same way, J. B. plainly shows homosexual tendencies. In his
paranoid fantasies he suffers from homosexual attacks upon himself.
The transformation of an active instinct into a passive suffering is the
result of repression, as shown above. The repression is not an indefi-
nite Deus ex machina but is the result of the system of inhibition fos-
tered by education and society. Freud plainly formulated this mech-
anism of persecution years ago. A certain wish rises to consciousness
and being repressed appears in a changed form as persecution. In
other words, the wish of the ego is projected upon the wish object and
is reflected back on the ego. This is called a projection and has the
value of relieving the ego of a certain tension because it is not forced to
recognize as its own a wish which it consciously perceives as evil. The
wish is depersonalized, so to speak, and the ego is no more responsible
for it. The patient lives a purely passive existence, and as such cannot
consider himself immoral.

The mechanism of projection is a defence reaction against concepts
unpleasant emotionally in consciousness. The fact that the projection
takes place upon the wish object is worthy of special attention. The
persecution in paranoiacs is usually felt as coming from those persons
whom they formerly loved or who had a marked attraction for them.
If one has expected much from anyone and it has never been realized,
one is easily inclined to ascribe the failure to the bad will or even to the
positive dislike of the other. The fear affect that accompanies this
psychological mechanism in paranoiacs is for the most part of particular
intensity, for which reason it does not possess the significance of a
safety valve, in decreasing tension, as in the normal individual. For the
paranoiac it is a defense mechanism which has failed.

Freud, by his concept of fear as repressed libido, has made it possible
to understand the psychological affect which accompanies this mechanism.
Maeder has shown the genesis of the delusion of persecution. It grows
and spreads over everything because the individual groups all associa-
tions according to their emotional value. This holds true not only for past impressions but also for new ones. J. B., for instance, traces the society that persecutes him back to the beginning of history. Its first member was Cain.

All disasters, such as the destruction of a Zeppelin, or a railroad accident, are interpreted as signs of persecution by the evil forces. The feminine evil spirit in the persecutory society takes on the characteristics of his wife. It is dark and Catholic. These two concepts are spread so as to take in all dark-haired races, people of southern climes, especially the French, his wife being a Frenchwoman. The Catholic complex is developed to include the Jesuits, all conservatives and all Catholic orders. The colors red and black are the demons of the underworld that plague and persecute him. He further develops the concept of red to include the free masons, the liberal party, especially democrats and anarchists. His idea of grandeur transformed his former sympathy with them into the opposite, the concept of their persecution of him. In short, anything which produces or contains a painful affect is placed under the category "bad" and "enemy." Everything good belongs to the blond race which dates its ancestry from Abel, from whom he is a direct descendant.

These sufferers gradually shut themselves off from their environment. They more and more lose rapport with the outer world and all sympathy with their fellow men. The normal person has a constant interchange with his environment. He gives to it and receives from it. There is something, be it woman, politics, religion or sport for which he has an interest, and which leads him to a certain activity. The schizophrenic gradually loses all this. The world becomes empty for him. He gives it less and less and finally receives from it only that which is absolutely essential to existence. Jung's paper on the psychology of dementia-præcox, and this detailed analysis, are evidence that the inner life of these patients does not stand still, is not empty. There comes to pass gradually a more or less manifest delusion of grandeur. The sufferer is wonderfully built, tremendously strong, understands and knows everything. J. B. tells of the wonderful look in his eyes, its power to awaken love in everyone, his potency, upon which the potency of all things in the world depends. Each one considers himself the fine flower of civilization. How can we understand this? How reconcile the two factors? Through the abnegation of the outer world. By the withdrawal of spiritual and sympathetic intercourse with humanity there must be a retention of energy. The instinct towards productivity, expansion, is restrained. It becomes introverted. It applies itself to the ego instead of to objects in its environment. This is the cause of the active inner life, the overcharged individuality which leads to ideas of grandeur. One's ego runs riot. It is no longer checked by
the circumstances of outer reality. Now all the infantile wishes, also no longer restrained, surge to the top, and express themselves in fantasy.

Maeder's analyses show quite clearly this restoration and consequent fulfilment of infantile wishes. J. B. is king of Switzerland and the emperor of France. His father was a Swiss citizen, his grandfather a citizen of France. The second patient, F. R., associates only with intellectuals of the highest order, thinks and speaks an esoteric language; his father was a school teacher, he himself failed in school. The psychoses give these patients their compensation, and in their fantasies they achieve that which fate has denied them. For them the pathway to grandeur is the continuation of the normal process of infancy, inasmuch as ideas of grandeur are present in every child. To the child, the father is the hero, the ideal; and this impression is only gradually corrected through experience, disillusion and comparison. It is very interesting to observe how the paranoiac rehabilitates all these infantile concepts and coördinates them with the present.

Maeder next discusses the interesting mechanism of projection which he calls "exteriorization," the psychological process of building these ideas of grandeur. J. B. identifies the color of the heavens with that of his own eyes. Everything that happens in the heavens happens therefore to him. He also identifies his genitals with fruits. The second patient, F. R., feels every change in the plumbing or the structure of the institute which harbors him as an interference with his own nerves or blood vessels. In these two patients the cosmos is all ego. This process grows and develops and takes in everything except those things that persecute. The summit of their delusions of grandeur is reached and the patients live in a world filled with their own complexes. Whereas formerly they denied the world, they now fill it with their own wishes and so again come in contact with it. Many of these patients in the final state of their insanity, are hence useful automatons in the institutes where they live. These two processes, the primary introversion and the secondary exteriorization, play important parts in the psychology of dementia praecox. The delusions of persecution and of grandeur are two separate and independent psychological mechanisms which have a common origin in that, in the final analysis, they originate in the instinct life of the individual.

Maeder closes his paper with the following remarks: "... In the psychosis all symptoms have a relation to emotionally laden complexes. ... The content of a psychosis is absolutely individual, but the mechanism is the same in all cases; the motives of their acts are relatively few and for the most part owe their origin to the instinct life of the infantile period of development. There exists in these paranoid patients an active intellectual productivity of a constructive character. An intensive examination by the psychoanalytic method gives the conclusion
that their dementia is only apparent; that of dementia in its real meaning, such as in organic insanity, there is not the slightest evidence. The thought processes of the patients are very active and when one can get them to apply themselves they can describe relatively complex pictures and repeat long stories. Their low ability to concentrate is the main source of their error. Their activities are not sufficiently adjusted to their environments. They proceed from within outward but do not receive that correction which a sympathetic feeling for the external world would bring. They live in a dream world in which the unfulfilled wishes of their childhood and of the present are realized—nay, more, reach a pathological over-compensation."

Maeder leaves undecided the question as to whether the inability to adjust himself to the ever-changing world, or whether the expansion of his inner mental life with the secondary neglect of reality, is the primary defect in the patient. The first hypothesis of primary insufficiency is the one he inclines to because it rests on biological grounds. The analyses of these two patients show the influence of their social strata and of their parents. Maeder shows conclusively that their parents had a certain early definite influence which determined later development of the patients; their mature tastes, their choice of professions, their sympathies and antipathies.

The transformation from the normal to the pathological is not sharply demarcated; on the contrary it is very gradual. There is really no separation in the continuity of the individual's life. The psychosis is not built up on new mechanisms, nor does it develop without mechanisms. The symptoms do not arise spontaneously and without cause. Nor does the psychosis use special material for its development, on the contrary it uses that derived from earlier experiences, and selects from the present according to previously formed bias. The instincts of normal activity, the self-preservation instinct, the sexual instinct, with the multiplicity of partial instincts, continue to express themselves in the psychosis. What seems to be lacking is their coordination.

7. Analysis of a Compulsion Neurosis.—Stimulated by Freud's Remarks Concerning a Case of Compulsion Neurosis (abstracted in The Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. III, No. 1, page 98) Riklin reports this case. Although he modestly states it is an incomplete analysis, those psychic structures that the patient produced, during the short time he was under treatment, are beautifully worked out. This paper is without doubt one of the most detailed descriptions of compulsion mechanisms that have been published. Their very detailed and complicated structure preclude their being abstracted without destroying their value for the reader. I earnestly commend the original to all who desire a better understanding of Compulsion Neurosis. Not that there is anything new, but Freud's observations and deductions are here given substantial verification.
Riklin first gives a complete history of the patient. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the patient's main symptoms, which began with his adolescence, when his compulsions reached the degree of intensity which made of them symptoms. First the "washing" compulsion, which is but the obverse side of his fear of unclean things together with the fear that all things are unclean.

Then Riklin describes his patient's collection of articles which are called his "museum." These were kept much as priests keep the Holy Scrolls, and were treated by the patient with suitable ceremonies.

The bits of paper containing notes, fairy tales, photographs, bottles containing water, pictures, clippings, etc., were the symbols of his fast disappearing infantile life which he thus sought to preserve. Another means by which he attempted to preserve and gratify the infantile life is the "Island Fantasy." On this island, the creations of his imagination come to pass, all the wishes and plans of his boyhood. It is his paradise. One must read this paper to appreciate the extent to which these patients can go in their fantasy formation. There is also described the patient's fear of sleep which results in a troublesome insomnia. The analysis shows clearly the relationship of sleep, death and sexuality which underlie this fear.

In close connection with this sleep fear is his great "Riddle of the Ego" which the patient refused to go into because he realized that if it were analyzed he might be forced to give it up. The resistance was evidently too strong.

This case of Riklin's is of a much more infantile type than that which Freud described. But he also vacillates between the old and new objects of his libido. The new ones, however, have not as yet been crystallized in one person so that the regression is still the stronger force. His illness is the means whereby he can postpone his detachment from his parents, and the finding of a new libido object. In fact, his illness is at present his libido object, for he cannot give it up, much as he desires to.

Riklin finally points out the strong similarity between a compulsion neurosis and a dementia praecox. In both transference to new objects is difficult. The praecox does not, however, even try to transfer to new objects and returns completely into the infantile world; the compulsion neurotic has more rapport with reality, more object-love, the elaborations of his fantasy are more careful, more understandable and are characterized by their intellectuality.

8. Notes on "The Sexual Need" by Wittels.—"This book is written with as much passion as intelligence. It discusses the questions of abortion, syphilis, the family, the child, women and their professions. Its motto is 'Humanity must live out its sexuality or it becomes crippled.'" Following the lead of this text Wittels raises his voice for
the liberation of sexuality in its broadest sense. He speaks a language that one rarely hears, the language of a ruthless, almost fanatical candor which does not sound pleasant, which is not agreeable to one's ears. He would like to tear off the mask of deceptions and lies which covers our modern civilization.

Jung is not concerned with, nor does he desire to judge, the ethical tendencies of the author. Science should only listen to this voice and silently see that this explorer does not stand alone, but that he is a leader for many who are following this path. Science has yet to confirm his lead in a movement the origin of which is hidden but the scope of which broadens day by day. Science must seek to prove and to understand that which is true in the evidence that Wittels brings. The book is dedicated to Freud and bases itself on much of the psychology which Freud founded, for it forms the nucleus of the scientific rationalization which this monument of the present day is. One must not confuse these two things. To the social psychologist this movement is and remains an intellectual problem. To the student of social ethics it is a challenge to which Wittels, in his way, seeks to respond. Others attempt it in various ways. One must listen to all.

It is necessary here to warn one's self to keep away on the one hand from enthusiastic approbation, on the other from blind opposition. One must make it clear to one's self without passion that that over which people are fighting also goes on in our own souls. For one ought really to have made one's own, the knowledge that humanity is not a collection of separate individuals but that it possesses a high degree of psychological unity, that the individual in comparison to the mass seems only a minute variation. How is it possible justly to appraise these matters if we do not admit that they are personal affairs? He who can do this will first attempt a solution of the personal problems, and in this way make it possible for him to attempt the solution of the greater problem. Humanity still has an imperative desire to judge immediately who is right and who is wrong. When one has learned the basis and background of one's movements and thoughts, and deeply realized how often our logic is but overdetermined rationalization, then one loses one's joy in fighting and public wrangling. One discounts one's own complexes and preserves thereby one's perspective, which is an urgent need of the times.

Wittels will certainly not remain alone. He is but the first of the many who out of the shafts in the mine of truly biological psychology, which Freud has sunk, will bring up ethical laws which will radically refute those things which have been conceived of as "good." As a witty Frenchman once remarked, "Of all the inventors, he who invents in the field of morality is treated worst, for his new thing can only be immorality." That is both witty and sorrowful, for it shows how untimely our concepts of morality have become. They are not the result
of the best that modern thinking has been able to achieve, a biologic and historic consciousness. This deficiency must sooner or later irrevocably bring our moral concepts to destruction.

Jung quotes Anatole France as follows: "Although the past shows them constantly as developing rights and duties, they would believe themselves deeper if they foresaw that the humanity of the future would make for itself other rights, other duties, and other gods. And finally, they are afraid of dishonoring themselves in the eyes of their contemporaries by adopting this horrible immorality which is the morality of the future. It is this which prevents us from anticipating the future."

Here we see the damage which our old concepts of morality accomplish. They cloud one's vision for new moral concepts, new discoveries, which, no matter how pragmatic, always have the odium of immorality thrown upon them. It is here particularly our eyes should remain clear and keen.

The urge toward the reformation of sexual ethics is not the product of an errant mind but the result of a need which springs from the very source of nature itself. Argumentation and quibbling do no good here. It is the duty of those who are wise to accept facts and to make the best of them, and in order to accomplish this one must often do rough and filthy work. This book of Wittels' gives one a foretaste of what is coming. It will frighten many and make them flee in terror and the long shadow will naturally fall upon Freud's psychology and one will seek to destroy it as the hotbed of all evil. It is against such objections that I should like to shield Freud's psychology. Our psychology is a science against which the most that can be said is that it has discovered the dynamite with which the terrorist works.

What the student of ethics or the practical man will do with this does not concern us and we do not want to be a party to it. Many who have no right will enter and commit the greatest possible folly and injury with this dynamite. Our goal is science. With the fights that will ensue over this we do not concern ourselves. If religion and morality as a result should break up, so much the worse for them if they have not the inner strength to justify themselves. The search after knowledge is also a force of nature which with inner and irresistible necessity goes its way and allows neither hypocrisy nor compromise. It cannot be identified with the changing rules of the practical man and therefore is not to be measured by a moral yard stick. It is an astonishing fact that one must mention this because there are still people who color scientific knowledge with moral prejudices. But psychoanalysis like every other true science is above all morality. It integrates the unconscious and so coordinates instincts which were formerly autonomous and unconscious within the hierarchy of the mind. Man now is potentially different, he seeks his true self-realization and does not blindly follow the dictates of his unconscious.
The ideal aim of psychoanalysis is that condition of the soul where "should" and "must" is supplanted by "will"; where one is not only master of one's vices but also of one's virtues. In so far as psychoanalysis is purely rational it is neither moral nor unmoral, does not have rules, nor say you "must." The great desire of humanity for leadership will undoubtedly force many to give up this standpoint of the psychoanalyst and formulate commandments. One will give moral rules, another will prescribe the sowing of wild oats. Both are in the service of part of the mass of people and obey only part of the tendencies of mob psychology. Science stands over and above all this and gives the power of her weapons both to Christians and anti-Christians. Science, as we well know, has no prejudices.

"I have read no book concerning the sexual question which severely and mercilessly tears our present day moral fabric into bits, still remaining truthful in its main concepts. It is for this reason that Wittels deserves to be read. But one must also read many others who write about this problem, for the important thing is not the book but its problem."

9. The Newer English and American Literature.—This article is an exhaustive review of the literature which does not lend itself to further abstracting.

10. Freudian Psychology in Russia.—This report written in the middle of 1909, shows that Freud's teachings were just beginning to be discussed in Russia, and were awakening the intense interest which characterized their appearance in other countries.

11. The Freudian Teachings in Italy.—Assagioli's reports show that Freud's theories have made but little progress in Italy. He ascribes this to the tendency of the Italian psychiatrists to focus their interest on the clinical picture of the neuroses, preferring to study their symptomatology and their classification. Another reason is the anatomical and bio-chemical methods which are pursued to investigate psychiatric problems to the neglect of the psychopathological ones. There have been, however, in the three years preceding the writing of this report (1909), a number of exhaustive papers on the Freudian teachings, which show that they are being received there without either that unbounded enthusiasm which so clogs their progress, or the blind unreasoning prejudice which they have called forth in other places.

12. Psychological Works of Swiss Authors.—This is an abstract of the psychological work done by Swiss authors up to the end of 1909. Among the authors abstracted are Jung, Bleuler,Binswanger, Claparede, Eberschweiler, Flournoy, Frank, Isserlin, Riklin, Fürst, Maeder, and Pfister.
Miscellaneous Abstracts


This paper takes up first the question of the priority of magic or animism. According to Wundt the idea of the soul has 3 principal sources, first, immediate sensory experiences (the "body-soul"); second, the external soul, derived from the cessation of the body's living functions with the last breath, and third, the shadow-soul derived from dreams and visions. Magic he considers is derivative and secondary, and animism is wholly independent of magic. A talisman, originally owing its power to an indwelling spirit, may degenerate into a magical object.

It is not, however, necessary to infer that animism preceded magic. There are conditions that may give rise independently to a belief in magic. The author assigns a low degree of probability to the view that magic precedes animism, but a much higher one to its precedence over religion. He questions Frazer's views on how religion superseded magic. Frazer's view is, that as the inefficiency of magic became manifest through experience, religion was adopted as more consistent with it. "The wizard inferred that if the great world went on its way without the help of him or his fellows, it must surely be because there were other beings like himself but far stronger, who, unseen themselves, directed its course. The distinction between magic and religion is first that religion involves appeal to the supernatural which is absent in magic; but Frazer has shown himself that no amount of experience can discredit magic, generally, in untutored minds; and, moreover, his view is based on the supposition that experience showed the worship of spirit in prayer and sacrifice to be more efficacious than magic in obtaining human ends. Is there any reason to think this ever happened? Must we not rather say that, whether one relies on magic or religion, experience of failure counts for almost nothing?

But the impersonality of pure magic sets in, as it does science, at a great disadvantage in competition with religion. Further, while the failures of magic always need to be excused, as by mistakes the rites, or the opposition of stronger magic, religion brings with it a new excuse for failure, the caprice of the spirits or gods propitiated. Herein lies a second great distinction between magic and religion; the laws of magic are as unvarying as the conceptions of cause and effect, but religion introduces an unpredictable factor from the supernatural. In sum, religion is probably a later growth than magic; but whether animism,
as a belief in separable or separate spirits, human or other, is later or not than magic, there is insufficient evidence.

There is some discussion of ideas and practises of magic adopted by animism. As the ghost theory spreads, the magical force of things comes to be considered spiritual. The talisman owes its virtue to a controlling spirit. If a person or thing was originally taboo either by inherent virtue or by the force of a spell, animism explains the danger by the wrath of a protecting spirit. A boundary having long been taboo, a spirit is imagined to protect the boundary. Omens, furthermore, have a magical origin, but in most parts of the world they have come to be treated as divine premonitions, as their nature favors. For, they usually do not suggest a direct causation of the event, they are often remote in time from the event, they are not indications for the event in detail, but of only good or evil, and they are not like charms, rites or spells, the property of a man or acts of a man; and must if implying foreknowledge, proceed from some spirit.

Lastly, spells addressed to any object tend to the personification of it, as is illustrated by examples. Some examples are given showing the access of animism to an original magical rite.

On the other hand, an animistic interpretation of prayers, rites, etc., may be lost and a magical interpretation alone remain (retrogradation). Various examples are given. A saint's finger joint may at first be treasured as a fetish having the power of the Saint to save from shipwreck. After a time it may be carried as an amulet without any thought of the Saint's interposition. Omens, from being divine messages, may become occurrences that merely encourage or discourage a man. In any rational conception of prayer the form of words conveying them cannot matter to a god, so long as they are piously meant and devoutly meditated. Yet everywhere there has been a tendency to reduce them to strict formulae, any departure from which may impair their efficacy. So far as this occurs, their operation is magical; they have become spells. It is noteworthy that when peoples change their religion they retain their magic. "In Norway, after the general acceptance of Christianity, Lapland witchcraft was still valued. The victory of the insurgents at Stiklestad, where St. Olaf fell, was thought to have been due to the magic armor of reindeer-skin that Thore Hund had brought from Lapland; though all St. Olaf's men wore the cross upon helmet and shield."

Magical powers of a superior order may be possessed by ghosts and used to inspire human magicians, as shown by various examples. "Black magic is at first merely the use of magic for antisocial purposes; when tribal gods are recognized, black wizards are those cooperating with inferior gods or demons who may be opponents of the high God. Various examples are given of the magical operations of spirits; concerning the belief in a corporeal soul stuff, the various ways in which
they may change bodily forms, and their uses of amulets and talismans. Finally, the control of spirits by magic is taken up. Since the spirits are capricious and inscrutable, it is necessary, in order to restore confidence in all their relations of life, that their caprice should in some way be overcome. For this there are three methods; the increase of prayers and sacrifices, working upon the fears or ability of the spirits, and constraining them by magical rites and formulæ. The wizards of the Congo catch spirits in traps; or drive them into animals, which they behead; in some tribes the medicine men even buy or sell their spirits. The paper concludes with a number of political and social analogies.

F. L. Wells


The author draws a distinction between two types of animism. One significance is to denote the proneness of people of unscientific culture to explain various natural occurrences as due to the action of spirits. This he calls hyperphysical animism. The other is the usage of animism to denote a supposed attitude of savages and children which attributes to everything a consciousness like our own and regards the actions and reactions of natural objects as voluntary and purposive. This he calls psychological animism. He calls attention to the incompleteness of the illusion in psychological animism. "When myth making" and in rites savages may speak and act in the full sense that the objects dealt with are sensitive intelligent beings, though their conduct towards them is entirely effective. They may preserve elaborate rituals in growing and cooking rice, but they cook and eat it just the same. Their animistic attitude therefore is not primitive, spontaneous, necessary illusion, but an acquired specialized way of imagining and dealing with certain things. Were it not possible to combine in this way the imaginative and the practical all wizardry and priestcraft would be nothing but the sheer cheating it often seems to superficial observers. One must bear in mind several modes of belief about animism: (1) that things have or are possessed by a conscious spirit and that this spirit is a separable entity; (2) that things are themselves conscious, but their consciousness is not a separable entity; (3) that things are not conscious but are informed (pervaded?) by a separable essence, usually called soul (better, soul-stuff) which may be eaten by spirits or may go to ghost-land with them; (4) the extension or limitation of these beliefs to more or fewer classes of things. For example when a people break objects above a grave or bury them in it the objects must be supposed to have soul-stuff, but on the other hand, there is evidence that the same people do not regard these objects as conscious beings. It appears most probable that savages distinguish between themselves and certain animals on the one hand, and,
on the other, the remaining animals, plants and inanimate things; and raise
the second class to the rank of the first, as conscious agents, only
when there are special incentives to do so. Some of these he enu-
merates as (a) its use as a totem, (b) things that seem to move or act
spontaneously, (c) whatever is regarded as having magical force, (d)
whatever is much used in ritual. The most probable origin of hyper-
physical animism is the belief in human ghosts, derived especially from
dreams. Some savages distinguish certain dreams which are revelations
and others which are mere fancies. He feels that the extension of the
ghost theory to animals is easier to understand than the irregular limi-
tations which beset it. Various classes of animals develop ghosts; animals
that occasion widespread fear, animals that come to be in special
intimacy, animals slain at funeral feasts, animals that are important
prey to a hunting tribe. He comments on the distinction between ghosts
which are associated with some definite material body, and spirits which
are not so associated. There are various ways in which what was
formerly a ghost may become a pure spirit. It is only in a late age, that
the notion of incorporeal spirit is freed from physical qualifications,
partially and amongst a few people. Originally a ghost or spirit can act
physically just as a man can, because he has the same organs, but with
greater power because mysterious and more feared. Some tribes be-
lieve that a man has a multiplicity of souls, thus the Dakotas believe in
one that dies with the body, one that remains with or near it, one that
accounts for its deeds, and at death goes to the spirit world, and one that
lingers with a small bundle of the deceased's hair, which is kept by rela-
tives until they can throw it into an enemy's country to become a roving
hostile demon. It becomes necessary for men to defend themselves
against the power of the ghosts. Some peoples abandon the dying and
even their villages and crops along with them. When it becomes incon-
venient to do this, beliefs develop in the efficacy of beating the air with
boughs of firebrands, breaking the corpse's legs, or placing around the
grate loaded "ghost-shooters" (straws filled with gunpowder). Eco-
omy may also induce the belief that ghosts are easily deceived, as in the
widespread practice of carrying a corpse out of his house through a
hole in the wall, trusting that the hole having been immediately repaired
the ghost can never find its way back. In one tribe a very large eel
being taken for a ghost, no one might drink at the stream except one
pool, "which for convenience is considered not to be sacred." A con-
flicting desire creates a limiting belief. In general it may be said that,
allowing for the influences of geographical conditions and tradition and
foreign intercourse, the chief cause of the evolution of a spirit-world is
the political evolution of those who believe in it; so that the patriarchies,
aristocracies, monarchies and despotisms of this world are reflected in
heaven. Tribes of the lowest culture—some African Pygmies, Fuegians,
Mafulu, Semangs, Veddas—have the least animism; at successive grades—Australians, Melanesians, Congolese, Amerinds, Polynesians—animism increases and grows more systematic; and it culminates in the barbaric civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, Peru. Religion arises with the differentiation of superior beings, heroic, ancestral or other gods from common ghosts. Carried to its limit, this becomes one cause of the dissolution of animism; for the power that comprehends all powers ceases to be an object and becomes immanence of all things, good and evil.

F. L. Wells
VARIA

Note on the Sexual Symbolism of the Cretan Snake Goddess.—
One of the recent acquirements of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston
is a statuette of the Cretan snake goddess in ivory and gold, dating from
the sixteenth century B. C., a period at which Minoan art reached its
highest development. According to the archeologists, this statuette has
a profound religious significance and is regarded either as a particular
priestess who is the central figure of the cult of the Minoan religious
belief, or as a temple snake charmer. It seems more reasonable to suppose,
however, that this statuette represents the snake goddess of the early
Minoan belief, the great goddess whose care embraced all creatures of
the sea and land, and, in a special sense, all those who had gone to the
under-world.

A brief description of this statuette will show that from the psycho-
analytic viewpoint it has an interesting sexual significance. Briefly the
statue was reconstructed from the fragments, although no detail of the
discovery could be ascertained. The statue is carved in ivory and
richly decorated with gold. It measures 0.161 m. (6½ inches) in
height. In the Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the
statuette is described as follows: "The goddess stands proudly with her
arms held out to the front and each hand vigorously grasping a gold
snake which coils itself about the forearm. She is crowned with an
elaborate tiara, whose edge curves up in semi-circular form at the front,
back and sides, while a small cylindrical piece rises in the center. Each
of the four semicircular plaques is pierced near the top for the attach-
ment of an ornament, and a drill-hole at the back shows that the head-
dress was encircled by a gold band. Above the forehead is a row of
seven deeply drilled holes which, on the analogy of other ivory heads
found at Knossos, held the ends of gold curls. A number of frescoes
show that such loose tendrils floating about the forehead were a feature
of the Minoan lady's coiffure. Behind, the hair falls in a mass of wavy
locks upon the shoulders. The face is rather long, narrowing towards
the firm chin; drilled holes represent the pupils of the eyes. The whole
expression is wonderfully keen and lifelike. She wears the character-
istic Minoan dress, consisting of a tightfitting jacket cut so low in front
as to entirely expose the breasts, a full skirt with five plaited flounces,
and an apron. The Minoan bodice resembled that worn by peasant
women in many parts of Europe to-day, but differed in that it extended
up to the neck behind and was furnished with short, tight-fitting sleeves.
Three nails which held in place the small vertical strip of gold in front,
represented the fastenings of this bodice. One of these nails held also the ends of gold bands, now lost, which passed around the breasts and up the side of the neck, marking the edge of the jacket. The bands around the upper arms are not armlets, but the embroidered hems of the sleeves. A hole at the base of the neck in front served to attach a necklace. The slender waist is confined by a broad, concave hoop of gold. Five gold bands which decorated the hems of the flounces of the skirt are fortunately preserved, but, owing to the splitting of the ivory, the three lower ones no longer reach completely around it. They increase gradually in width from top to bottom, and each has a different incised pattern. Three pairs of holes in front, between the girdle and the hem of the first flounce, give the outline of the narrow apron. The surface enclosed by these holes is smooth, whereas the flounce on either side shows minute horizontal folds. Though no traces of paint are preserved, it is likely that the apron had a different color from that of the skirt, and that the jacket was similarly distinguished from the adjoining flesh parts.

It will be noticed from this description that there is an overemphasis of the female sexual elements, in that the breasts are very prominent. The phallic symbol of the snake is well known and this meaning is here overemphasized by the representation of two snakes, not so much for the sake of artistic balance, but as a reinforcement of the male element. It is really an instance of the “doubling” motive which so often occurs in mythology and in dreams, for the purpose of reinforcement. When this phallic symbol occurs in a female subject, it becomes really the sexual neutral or bisexual libido or the libido neutralized or in opposition.

In myths and in dreams, this mixture of the male and female motive is often seen as expressing the bisexualty of the libido. Instances are the witches in Macbeth, in which occurs a condensation of two sexual elements as women with beards or in some of the snake dreams of hysterical subjects. The bisexual symbolism of dreams has the same meaning and source in the unconscious as the bisexual symbolism of this snake goddess. This blending of male and female elements is also emphasized in the bearded and masculine image of Venus or in the bearded Isis or in the double figures of Herakles and Hebe.

A form of hermaphroditic comradeship was well known in ancient Crete and later spread among the Dorians after the invasion and became the Dorian military comradeship of the seventh century B.C. This interesting statuette therefore represents the generative force in nature, condensing male and female elements in one hermaphroditic symbol, since the goddess in question was the Great Goddess of the early Minoan belief, whose particular domain seemed to comprise all dead and living things.

Isador H. Coriat.
BOOK REVIEWS


In the second part of this book, pp. 173-288, Professor Leuba presents the statistical results of an inquiry into the prevalence of belief in a personal God and in immortality, among various groups of persons. These consisted of college students, men of science and historians, the members of the latter two groups being also divided according to professional distinction. Consistent differences are found between these groups, in the prevalence of the beliefs studied. In a group of American college students, believers in a personal God were found in 56 per cent. of men and 82 per cent. of women. 32 per cent. of men and 17 per cent. of women assert that the non-existence of a personal God would make no difference to their lives. In a more intensive study of a single college, the percentage of believers in immortality decreased as the students were more advanced in college grade except for the junior class, which showed the smallest percentage. This junior class was supposed to be of "exceptional independence and intellectual superiority."

In different departments of knowledge, greater and lesser men compared as follows in their percentage of believers in a personal God:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greater</th>
<th>Lesser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men of science</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors of sociology</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologists</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historians</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar situation was found in the percentage of believers in immortality, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greater</th>
<th>Lesser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professors of sociology</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologists</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historians</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relatively to the belief in a personal God, the psychologists show the least disposition to believe in personal immortality. The percentage of believers among physicists and biologists compares as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal God</th>
<th>Immortality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physicists</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biologists</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“When the student of physical laws,” comments Professor Leuba, “has come to accept determinism in the physical world, he may and often does keep for the less generally understood biological and sociological phenomena the traditional belief in divine intervention,” while the biologist and sociologist are more likely to carry determinism into their special fields also. A number of responses to Professor Leuba’s inquiry are quoted in detail, among which may be noted three that represent the Godhead as a female personage, “a second greater mother,” writes one, “to whom I can tell my troubles.”


The psychoanalytic reader’s attention may be called to the appearance of this work. Figures of speech like those here documented represent in language the same sorts of symbolisms as the psychoanalyst is accustomed to find in the manifestations of the unconscious. Conceivably, a collection like this might furnish clues to interpreting the latter. And it has long seemed to the reviewer that it would be easier to assimilate the psychoanalytic concept of symbolism if one were introduced to it via the figures of speech, which are accepted symbolisms established by just as recondite mechanisms of association as are ascribed to the “dream-work.” A pump here represents immobility; a tire-explosion a kiss; a bath-tub a Ford automobile. It is not the farthest of cries from these to the patient who symbolized a castration fancy towards his father in a diurnal breakfast of sausages and waffles.


This book, of sensational vogue among the pious, has much of interest to psychoanalysts. Its frontispiece attracts attention by the needless display of a wrist encircled by hair—both recognized fetiches. Her mother was interested in Calabar so that (p. 2) “Her own earliest recollections were associated with the name of Calabar.” When she was old enough to play (p. 3), “it is interesting to note that the imaginary scholars she taught and admonished were always black.” Later her father became a drunkard and (p. 6) “all the endearments of his . . . daughter were powerless to save the man whose heart was tender enough when he was sober”; accordingly it was apparently by regression that she took to religion and (heading to chapter I, inserting capitals) “It was the Dream of my girlhood to be a missionary to Calabar.” In time this was gratified and it is not surprising that a principal item of her interests was the rescue and nurture of twin-infants. Details as to this and
many other pertinent matters (such as her being sex-shy, p. 166, but before men of her own race only) are too frequent in the volume to enumerate; a chief value of the evidence is that the witnesses would be shocked at the bivalence of their testimony; for instance, the concluding paragraph: "Many influences move men and women to beautiful and gallant deeds, but what Mary Slessor was, and what she did, affords one more proof that the greatest of these is Love."

Alfred Ela.


We are again indebted to Dr. Brill for another translation of one of Professor Freud's works. Dr. Brill has already given us in English a most excellent digest of the theory of wit elaborated by Professor Freud in this volume, but it is with no less satisfaction that the original volume in all its completeness comes to our desk. It is needless to say that it is a distinct addition to the psychoanalytical portion of our libraries, and as in all other of Professor Freud's writings it bears the stamp of his genius.

So much has already been written about this subject apropos of this particular exposition of it, especially Dr. Brill's abstract of it some time ago, that it seems hardly necessary to review in detail the theories set forth, in fact it would be quite difficult, even impossible, to do so within the limits of a book review. The principal reason for this is that the theories developed are slowly elaborated and constructively built up by the detailed examination of evidence. The book proceeds just as the author has thought it out, and therefore there is a mass of material hardly appropriate for review but wonderfully helpful to the reader who can follow along in the path that the author prepares for him. Suffice it to say that the work is divided into three parts—the analysis of wit, the synthesis of wit, and the theories of wit—and after some nearly four hundred pages of a most admirable and illuminating exposition of these subjects the author sums up his conclusions in the following terse formulæ: The pleasure of wit originates from economy of expenditure in inhibition; the pleasure of the comic results from an economy of expenditure in thought, while the pleasure of humor comes from an economy of expenditure in feeling.

To the reviewer one of the most stimulating features of this remarkable work is the way in which the author constantly reduces the psychic phenomena to terms of energy, and explains the pleasure resulting in wit, comic and humor in terms of energy distribution.

White.

The title of Dr. Webster's book is peculiar in that it tells exactly what the book is about, and yet strangely does not suggest its character. From hearing the title alone one might suspect a more or less purely literary production. As a matter of fact the work is a very careful anthropological investigation of the existing evidence bearing upon the origin and development of days of rest, of which our present-day Sabbath is the modern type.

The author takes up a critical examination of these various rest days, deals with the history of market days, various holy days, special tabooed days such as those occurring after the death of relatives, and relates all of these to systems of recording time, based particularly upon the phases of the moon. His discussion of the lunar calendar is an exceedingly interesting and valuable one. Finally such special problems as the Babylonian Evil Days, the Hebrew Sabbath, and special unlucky days, are considered.

In general the author concludes that the origin of days of rest, which have at various times and among various peoples developed to such an extent as not infrequently to include the larger portion of the year, is in tabooed days, and that the relationship of these two definite time intervals, such as the week or the lunar month, or on the other hand the dedication of those days to Gods, are secondary matters. The book is an exceedingly well put together anthropological study and shows very well the development of rest days, particularly in decadent civilizations as a response to the pleasure principle.

White.

NOTICE.—All business communications should be addressed to The Psychoanalytic Review, 64 West 56th Street, New York City.

All manuscripts should be sent to Dr. William A. White, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.
THE MECHANISM OF TRANSFERENCE

By William A. White

Life only avails, not the having lived. Power ceases in the instant of repose; it resides in the moment of transition from a past to a new state, in the shooting of the gulf, in the darting to an aim. This one fact the world hates; that the soul becomes.—Emerson, Self-Reliance.

The matter of the mechanism of the transference, is perhaps, in a practical way, the most important problem in psychoanalysis, and although it is frequently referred to in the literature, on the whole I think it has been discussed only rarely. With the exception of Professor Freud's articles and the more recent discussion of the subject by Jelliffe in his articles on Technique in the Psychoanalytic Review there is no adequate discussion of the subject so far as I am aware. Then again it has been one of the points of attack on the whole psychoanalytic movement and been referred to in the controversies in a way which seems to make it imperative that some sort of definite statements should issue regarding it. I especially wish here to call attention to certain features which, while they may be understood by a few technical workers, I feel convinced are not understood outside of this limited group.

In discussing symbolism I have taken the position that the symbolism which was of especial interest and value to psychoanalysis was only a special form of symbolism in general, only a particular manifestation of a general principle. I believe the mechanism of transference should be dealt with in precisely the same way. In


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other words, what we have come to speak of as the transfer is only a special instance of a universal psychological mechanism and we can come to a better understanding of this special instance only after having grasped the meaning of the mechanism in its wider reaches.

In my address of last year I endeavored to show that the two concepts individual and environment, far from being mutually exclusive, could only be considered as the two elements of a dynamic relation, of a constant interplay of forces, in which their relative values are in a constant state of flux. From this point of view each concept can be seen to have value, not intrinsically, but only as an expression of the relation, and consciousness becomes an expression of this dynamic relation at the psychological level of reaction. In other words, consciousness can only be conceived as the psychological aspect of action, the conduct or behavior of the individual, or as Bergson puts it: "Consciousness means virtual action."

From this point of view of consciousness as virtual action certain other reactions at the psychological level come in for a little different consideration than that usually accorded them. Thus perception, which is ordinarily regarded as in some way functioning to give us information about the environment, we meanwhile remaining passive, can be much better understood if it is conceived of as a preparation for action, yes, even as action itself in its early, tentative, trying-out stages, again in the sense of Bergson when he says: "Our perceptions give us the plan of our eventual action on things," or in another place: "The objects which surround my body reflect its possible action upon them." Memory, even, comes in for a like treatment so beautifully and inimitably expressed by Bergson in his Creative Evolution when he refers to the cerebral mechanism as being arranged so as to drive back into the unconscious almost the whole of the past "and to admit beyond the threshold only that which can cast light on the present situation."

Bergson therefore puts it that "the fundamental law of psychical life is the orientation of consciousness towards action" and in his summing up of the situation says: "Consider perception, to begin with. The body, by the place which at each moment it oc-
cupies in the universe, indicates the parts and the aspects of matter on which we can lay hold: our perception, which exactly measures our virtual action on things, thus limits itself to the objects which actually influence our organs and prepare our movements. Now let us turn to memory. The function of the body is not to store up recollections, but simply to choose, in order to bring back to distinct consciousness, by the real efficacy thus conferred on it, the useful memory, that which may complete and illuminate the present situation with a view to ultimate action.

For Bergson then matter becomes "the aggregate of images, and perception of matter these same images referred to the eventual action of one particular image, my body."

All this absolutely justifies the statement of Hall when he says: "Epistemologically speaking, no one can know what he does not objectify." Then, if we will also take into consideration the wish, as Holt does, as a "motor attitude," "a course of action which some mechanism of the body is set to carry out," we have a pretty complete formulation of the body as functioning by action and of its different partial functions as partial, preparatory or incomplete actions.

This gives us a form of idealism which does not deny objective reality, as did that of Bishop Berkeley, but which does realize that objects of reality can have no meaning for the individual until he perceives them, but as this perception is already a part of his action upon them it is because he has projected his attention, his interest upon them for the purpose of bringing about a better adjustment in relation to them, that they are perceived, and further, that perception is a process of objectification is seen when it is realized that what we perceive depends upon our particular motor set toward the object, in other words, what we propose to do to it.

The mechanism of transference, then, as I see it, is this universal mechanism of objectification upon which all relations with the environment are based at the psychological level of adjustment. Upon its remaining sufficiently adjustable so that the libido, interest, attention, may be moved freely among the objects of reality, depends our capacity for wide interests, our possibilities for acquiring knowledge. It is necessary, to my way of thinking, to keep this

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8 Matter and Memory.
9 Hall, G. Stanley, Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology.
11 It is interesting to note that certain injuries to the cortex show a defect of attention of just this quality of easy mobility.
wider meaning in mind in order to understand some of the particular problems which arise in the course of analysis.

Thus, the concept of transference, as we have seen, is essentially a dynamic one, and can perhaps most simply be expressed in terms of attention and interest, these psychological attributes being expressive of the direction and the object of the libido. The neurotic patient is relatively autoerotic, that is, his attention and his interest are fixed upon himself as object and a therapeutic result cannot be obtained unless the libido can be detached from such relatively infantile ways of pleasure seeking and be made free for useful activities, in other words, until the libido can objectify itself in the world of reality. Now it comes about that in endeavoring to produce this result the physician himself becomes the first object of attention and interest for the libido, and this objectifying of the patient's libido in terms of the analyst is what is meant by the phenomenon of transference in its narrower psychoanalytic sense.

This transference phenomenon is the most valuable force within the physician's control for helping the patient. In fact it is the force with which the physician must work, his object being to direct the energies of the patient into the world of reality, using his temporary point of advantage in the stream of this energy merely for the purposes of direction or, as has been very well said, occupying himself the position of a bridge between the introverted libido of the patient and the world of reality.

During the period when the physician stands in this relation to the patient he has over the patient enormous authority and influence which it is his duty to use unreservedly for the benefit of the patient, and at this point I am reminded that the phenomenon of transference is spoken of in the controversial literature as if it were something which pertained to psychoanalysis alone. That of course we know is not so. This same transference of interest to the physician takes place equally in all departments of medicine, the main difference being that in psychoanalysis the physician is conscious of what is taking place and uses the force which is placed in his hands knowingly and intelligently for the benefit of the patient, whereas in other departments of medicine the physician is only too often unconscious of what is happening, and therefore, being blind to the real situation not infrequently uses the force which has been placed in his hands to the absolute destruction or to the detriment of the patient. It is not necessary to cite instances; the practice of medicine is full of them. I am only minded to speak of one—a
woman who was laparotomized three times for the purpose of relieving certain pains of which she complained. My study of her indicated quite clearly that the last two of these operations, and probably the first, were entirely uncalled for, and were quite clearly nothing more nor less than efforts of the patient to maintain a relation of childish dependence upon the physician, to whom she had become greatly attached. A psychological mechanism which is capable of such results is surely worthy of the most careful study, and I think we may agree that if it is capable of exercising such enormous force for destruction it is equally capable of exercising as much force for good. It is therefore really of prime importance, in my mind, that the transfer mechanisms should be dealt with as phenomena of the first importance in the practice of medicine aside from the particular field in which we are interested.

Now with reference to some of the details of the transfer in the psychoanalytic procedure. I have indicated its object. Its object is to bridge the distance between the introverted libido and the world of reality, and it is therefore desirable that when this bridge has served its purpose that it may be removed without any disturbance to the patient. In other words, when the physician has brought the patient back to efficient contact with reality he should be able to step aside without seriously disturbing the newly created relation, and to this end I have always believed that it was of prime importance that the transfer should have as few points of real contact as between patient and analyst as possible, in other words, that it should be kept as nearly as may be at what I might call a fictitious or ideal level so that there were less real wrenches with reality when it came to loosening it.

In thinking in these terms I am reminded of the history of historical characters, and I think of three progressively further off in the period of history, namely, Lincoln, Napoleon and Caesar. And I see the character of Lincoln, who by the way was personally known by many men still living, already beginning to acquire the characteristics of a hero which we recognize as being projected upon his memory by the folk soul, while Napoleon who recedes still further in history, who is further away from reality, who was not known by any group of living persons, has already acquired these characteristics in very considerable degree, and if we go still further back, not only further in point of time but in character of the civilization and nature of the people, to Caesar, we find this process of accretion of folk elements still more greatly magnified, still more in evidence.
Now we know that in the mechanism of the transfer the analyst is to the patient the father image. Now this father image means something for the adult patient quite as indefinite, quite as nebulous, quite as indistinct as does the figure of Lincoln, Napoleon or Cæsar mean to us, and I believe if it can remain at such a father image level all is well, but that with every addition of real personal points of contact, real man-woman relations, for example, the transfer is in danger of doing harm to the patient and is correspondingly more difficult, when the time comes, to dissolve.

It is for these reasons that I believe that as a part of the technique of psychoanalysis the physician should keep his personality as far removed as may be from the problem in hand. This is an exceedingly difficult thing to do, and it is the one thing above all others that the patient will frequently use every ingenuity to circumvent. The patient, we must remember from the point of view of the unconscious, does not wish to get well, and therefore all the little dexterities which are practised are tricks to sidetrack the analyst from the goal of the analytic procedure and so destroy its therapeutic effects. To be more specific and in order to be more easily understood, let us take the situation of the analyst a man and the patient a woman. No more common effort on the part of the patient is made to destroy the effect of the work than the effort at utilizing a portion of the hour for the purpose of a social chat. Such a method of procedure is subtle; it easily comes up on the blind side of the analyst because he not infrequently is tired and welcomes a little relaxation from the effort of the analytic work, and he therefore easily drops into discussing the latest play, or the most recent novel, or perhaps he may go so far as to drink a cup of tea, and otherwise place himself in a relationship which absolutely destroys his power to use the transfer for the benefit of the patient.

But the matter does not stop here, nor is it quite so simple a thing as this would indicate. The analyst must use his position of authority for one purpose and for one purpose alone—for the welfare of the patient. In my experience if he wavers from this course by ever so little he is in trouble forthwith from which it may take no little time and work to extricate himself, and perhaps he may not be able, even though he recognizes the trouble, to do so. Of course the way in which the transfer is checked up, the way in which it must be known whether it is working to the advantage of the patient or not, is, for the most part, through what can be read in the dreams. The dreams often show very clearly and pre-
cisely the difficulty. They indicate the nature of the resistance which has arisen. Dr. Jelliffe in his discussion has given a number of such instances. I will only mention one. In the course of the analysis of a young man I had quite evidently yielded to the seduction which some interesting dreams and phantasies offered of putting two and two together and showing their meaning to the patient, in a spirit I must acknowledge that was rather one of showing my own prowess than of attempting to do something for the patient. The next sitting the patient brought a dream in which I was very clearly portrayed as a prestidigitator doing a trick with an egg, of the kind which belongs to the group that might be described as "now you see it and now you don't." Such a dream should serve the purpose incidentally of reminding the analyst to get back on the job and remember that showing off can be of no value to the patient; in fact, quite the contrary, it tends to lower the analyst in the estimate of the patient and limit therefore his capacity for influencing him favorably. My experience is that if the analyst departs never so little from the object of trying to help the patient that the patient senses the situation and the power of the analyst for good is correspondingly limited. This is the object of the psychoanalytic procedure and must not only be the principal object but must be the only object in order that the best results may be accomplished. The analyst cannot analyze his patient for the purpose of getting material for a paper to be read at a medical meeting if he cares anything about helping his patient. The work of psychoanalysis is a work of service in the best sense of that term.

Now with regard to the matter of dissolving the transfer, taking away the bridge. We have again the same problem as that which maintains between parent and child. There are two kinds of love which a parent may have for a child, one of which has the child's welfare solely in view and the other of which is absolutely selfish, although to the average observer they look alike. The parent must be willing to let his child go forth into the world because he knows that only in that way can he benefit his child. Not infrequently, however, he keeps his child in the family, doing everything in the world for the child, surrounding him with luxuries, and as a mother said to me of her daughter not long ago, that she had never wished for anything she had not had. Such a love is purely selfish, and it is the relationship which the analyst who is led astray in the course of his procedure will build up with the patient so that the dissolution of the transfer becomes almost im-
possible, but if he has kept to his task and insisted also that the
patient keep to her task the relationship which has been built up is
one that can be dissolved, and when dissolved, like the relationship
between parent and child, is the final step which makes for that
efficiency that the patients lacked when they applied for treatment
and which the analyst undertook to help them attain.

Thus the particular instance of the mechanism of transference,
as we see it in psychoanalysis, is seen to conform to the rule laid
down in my introduction. The mechanism for transferring the in-
interest, the libido, must remain adjustable, the libido must remain
mobile, its fixation is at the basis of every neurotic disturbance and
finally produces those phenomena of crystallization with which we
are familiar as characteristic of old age. As progress must depend
upon the ease of movement of attention, interest, over the field of
reality, therefore the personal transfer must be just enough for
effective therapeutic results but of a character to obviate the evils
of fixation. Freedom of the libido means youth, life; fixation
means old age, death, so that, after all, the way in which the trans-
fer is handled, the final result as expressed in the transference
mechanism, using it now in its broader meaning, is the measure of
the success or failure of the analysis.

The mechanism of transference, therefore, in its larger sense,
is not only a problem, and a very important one, for psychoanalysis,
it is an equally important problem for the whole practice of medi-
cine. My own belief is that much that is obscure in therapeutics
and much that is harmful, too, would have a great deal of light
thrown upon it by an earnest study of this mechanism. I have no
doubt that a very large number of operations and similar pro-
cedures are useless, not to say dangerous, in themselves and might
be avoided if the patient-physician relation were studied seriously
and could be understood.

Then when we come to the problem of education the transfer,
far from being incidental, fairly comes to occupy a place of first
importance. The positive and negative attitudes of children to-
wards their teachers are but outward signs of the capacity of the
particular teachers in question to really help the children. The
wonderful plasticity of the child mind and the tremendous and far-
reaching influence of a teacher upon the future life of the pupil
either by creating antagonisms and hate or standing as an ideal and
so repelling or attracting the child along the path of certain in-
terests can hardly be overemphasized.
The matter might be indefinitely pursued. The whole subject of suggestion comes in for consideration and in the last analysis the sort of influence for which each of us is responsible upon those about us, and through our various activities, upon those more remote. In all of these matters it is the privilege of the psychoanalyst to be the teacher, for his special work brings him into contact with these problems in a way to peculiarly emphasize their importance.
Without attempting a prophecy in the literal sense, it seems worth while, in the present stage of advancement of psychoanalysis, to briefly review its present activities and attempt to ascertain what the future offers for its various medical and cultural aspects. As a therapeutic procedure, psychoanalysis is not only comparatively new but really epoch-making in the help it furnishes to nervous sufferers. As such, in certain well-selected cases of the neuroses and psychoneuroses, it is immeasurably superior to the so-called rest cure, a procedure whose effects in neurological therapeutics have been most pernicious.

Physicians are beginning to recognize the efficacy of psychoanalysis and while only a few mastered the technique, yet increasing numbers of cases are referred to those who have specialized in the subject in order that the nervous sufferer may be given the benefit of a really fundamental type of treatment. At least this has been my experience and I am sure it must be the experience of other workers along this line. It seems to be becoming more and more evident to the profession that the technique of psychoanalysis is something which must be learned and mastered through experience, in the same way that the technique of a Wassermann test must be learned in the widely different field of serology.

The technical methods of psychoanalysis, as in all fields of exact science, are undergoing modifications and improvements in the hands of the workers in the field; for instance, there seems to be a lessened tendency to explanation and the digging out of repressed fantasies and more stress and insistence laid upon the handling of the resistances and transferences. As stated by Adler¹

"The revelation of such repressed feelings is not of much thera-

peutic value, at least, it can only be of value when by means of it the connection with the infantile mechanism which is responsible for the predisposition to the attack becomes apparent to the patient. At times there results even a seeming relapse which may be explained by the fact that the patient directs his predispositions against the physician because the latter has injured his feelings of personal worth."

A great deal of the future of psychoanalysis depends upon improvement of its technique. The results of the method can best be ascertained, not so much by the study of individual cases, as by careful statistics of the effect of the method by different workers. An attempt at a statistical study based upon the results of nearly one hundred psychoanalyses has already been made.2

The relation of psychoanalysis to ethics and the effect of psychoanalytic conceptions and the theories of repression and the unconscious can be easily seen in some recent philosophical publications. In fact, the idea that introspection alone is able to get at all the facts of consciousness, as maintained by some academic and experimental psychologists, is being relegated to the limbo of outworn ideas, in the light of our present knowledge of unconscious thinking. We are learning, too, that the spontaneous sublimation of a patient should be encouraged and no effort should be made to minimize and thwart it. In fact, I am beginning to believe that as a type of emotional sublimation, religion, using the term in its broadest sense without any reference to any particular dogma, offers one of the most effective and satisfactory routes for the sublimating process.

Pfister3 makes the following statement concerning the value of sublimation in religion:

"Psychoanalysis also teaches us to estimate the value of religion anew. I confess that the beauty and the blessing of a healthy, ethically pure piety have only become overwhelmingly clear to me from the investigations here described. Religion, in favorable cases, guards the libido repelled by the rude, avaricious reality, against conversion into hysterical physical symptoms and against introversion into anxiety, melancholia, obsessional phenomena, etc. Freud speaks of the 'extraordinary increase in neuroses since the decline of religions.' I would much rather have unfortunate people whom I cannot really cure by anlaysis, in an extreme sect or a cloister

2 Isador H. Coriat, Some Statistical Results of the Psychoanalytic Treatment of the Psycho-Neuroses, Psychoanalytic Review, April, 1917.
than in a psychoneurosis. Of course there is also much neurotic misery in cloisters and religious communities."

As an example of this sublimation in religion, I can cite the following case, partly because of the patient's intelligent appreciation of the psychoanalytic process and partly because it furnishes an insight into exactly how psychoanalysis works.

The following was written by an intelligent woman, a sufferer from a severe compulsion neurosis of years' duration. Although her father was a clergyman and a college professor and she was thus brought up in her childhood in a religious atmosphere, yet the severe compulsions which concerned the excreta of the body and made themselves manifest by obscene thoughts, acted as a barrier to her religion, since she felt that her neurosis was a moral fault or a moral contamination. Her recent dreams have shown an unconscious tendency to sublimate through religion and this form of sublimation was encouraged. At the beginning of the analysis, the resistances were strong, but these were gradually overcome and transference became marked.

In a recent dream, she seemed to be going through the aisles of a magnificent cathedral to a door, when she found a clergyman of her acquaintance (an old lover who married someone else, much to her disappointment, and consequently she never married) sitting at his study. In the dream, there was an emotion of a deep faith. This dream shows not only the wish to sublimate in religion, but likewise a transference to her physician (who was really the "clergyman in his study"), since she has been unable, for social reasons of marriage, to transfer her feelings to the clergyman himself. The clergyman is her doctor, her confessor. The account of the patient's sublimation in religion follows in her own words.

"'We can know God only in our fellows, and we can know our fellows only in God.' This was the teaching—put into words by one who knew him well—of a Christian minister, a man of insight. Now as I begin to experience the healing power of psychoanalysis, their truth comes to me in fuller measure, brought out and illuminated by the process. For the relation between physician and patient seems to me to have much in common with God's dealings with man.

"Thus if the doctor is to help his patient, it is of the first importance that the latter shall trust him and turn to him in entire confidence. Accordingly from the beginning of the analysis the physician strives to inculcate this confidence, and to make the patient feel that he is his friend. Little by little the patient's resistance is broken down by this attracting force until at length he yields with-
out reserve. Is not this human power akin to the constraining power of the divine love?

"Again, especially in the early stage of the analysis, it almost seems as if the patient were left to his own devices. The physician apparently follows his lead. The patient must think and speak what is in his own mind until with some degree of definiteness he realizes his own need. Not until then, when the patient is ready to receive it, does the doctor give the helpful suggestion, the consoling thought. Surely this is God's way of dealing with the world. The great discovery is made only when necessity has driven men to search for it.

"Best of all is the way in which the experience of psychoanalysis contributes towards a living faith. It brings home to us the deep need of the human soul for a friendship outside of itself. The nervous invalid turns to his physician almost as a child to its mother, trusting that somehow he is going to he helped. He learns that 'confession is good for the soul,' that the burden is lightened by sharing it with a friend. At first it is hard to reveal his own weakness to another, but as he goes on he finds that he is always able to take the next step. He realizes that the attitude of his hearer is not condemnation, but sympathy, and that with the true physician the depth of this sympathy is measured only by his patient's needs.

"Presently, however, as the analysis proceeds, the patient is brought to realize that this dependence on the doctor is a means, not an end, also that the moral obligation to lay bare his inmost soul to a fellowman exists only in his own imagination. He knows now that it is the part of a full-grown man or woman to bear his own burden, that in relation to his fellows each human being stands alone. It is only God who can meet man's deepest need, the experience of psychoanalysis has revitalized this familiar thought. And this is the truth that makes us free.

"The patient knows that he is free, and he feels as if he had reached this conclusion by himself. Yet when he reviews the progress of the analysis, and takes again in retrospect each successive step, he realizes that the path has been open for him to walk in, that his physician has led the way. He has been thinking the doctor's thoughts after him. Those words of a great poet come to his mind. 'There is a power that shapes our ends, rough-hew them though we may.' He knows that in the psychoanalysis of life this experience is a stage through which he has been led by the great
analyzer of our souls. Through his fellow-man he has come to know God.

"Thus we learn that science is the complement of religion, that psychology no less than theology leads us to God."

It is interesting also, in the popularizing of psychoanalysis, and as a measure of what we may except in the future of the popular expositions along this line, how much is being written by those who are thoroughly familiar with the science. I refer to certain plays which, though not critical in a dramatic sense, yet within a short space of time can give an audience a fair conception of the meaning of psychoanalysis, also to the effects of psychoanalysis in interpreting anthropology and finally to a genuine psychoanalytic poem such as Aiken's "Jig of Forslin." This latter attempt is interesting, for here combined with the highest type of poetry we find portrayed a cycle of wish dreams which were impossible of fulfillment in reality by an ordinary man.

Psychoanalysis can do much, too, in formulating on the basis of its principles, rational rules for mental and nervous hygiene, rather than the usual loose conceptions of will power, etc. In fact it points out that the real prevention and mastery of the neuroses must come from within, from individual analyses, rather than through any general propaganda along the lines of mental hygiene, since the latter at its best can only indicate collective rules which cannot be adopted to the complexities of individual minds.

As the psychoanalytic technique becomes perfected, we may expect better and better results through the treatment of such conditions which were formerly looked upon as hopeless, such as certain well selected cases of dementia praecox or mild paranoiac states. Certainly, in my experience, the treatment of homosexuality is far more hopeful with psychoanalysis than with the older methods of suggestion and hypnosis. When psychoanalytic principles become known to educators they may do much to prevent the development of a neurosis during the critical formative period of a child's life. That tendencies to petty stealing or even fantastic lying may often be the beginning of an hysterical or a compulsion neurosis, is very necessary for the educator to know, in order to refer the child to the right source, where these faults may be scientifically corrected rather than thoughtlessly punished. It is to be hoped that future studies of juvenile delinquency and juvenile faults will be strongly influenced by psychoanalytic conceptions, that is, one must look for deeper motives than even the most painstaking anamnesis affords.

4 See "Suppressed Desires" of the Provincetown Players.
In cases showing compulsive tendencies in stealing, the so-called kleptomania, it is useless to ask a child why he takes certain things, since the real motive is unknown to him, whereas a short psychoanalysis may often clear up the situation and furnish valuable therapeutic hints. For instance, I had the opportunity to psychoanalyze the case of a boy who was in the habit of pilfering money at home and spending it on the normal childish desires. An analysis revealed a strong Oedipus complex and, in addition, it demonstrated that the boy took money from his mother, never from his father, since he knew that this act would remain unpunished by his mother on account of the strong attachment she had for him. The obvious therapy was to break up the Oedipus complex so that the boy would have as much fear of stealing from his mother as from his father. This was successfully accomplished.

Clergymen, too, have found a knowledge of the principles of psychoanalysis of great value in their religious and moral advice to those who apply to them for consolation in life’s battles and struggles.

Adler’s approach to psychoanalysis from the organic side, interpreting organic inferiority as the basic mechanism of what Freud terms the conflict, is of great value for the future development of psychoanalysis, particularly in harmonizing the view points of those who are either inclined to functional or to physical interpretations of the development of the neurosis.
HERMAPHRODITIC DREAMS

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The theory of bisexuality has had a most important influence in widening our conception of the various types of sexual inversion, particularly since it has been shown that the latter is an acquired desire associated with a definite sexual object, rather than a congenital disposition of the germ plasm. On this basis of bisexuality can be explained the relationship between cruelty and the sexual impulse, which in its bipolarity originates both sadism and masochism. In homosexuality too, the sexual feeling is only rarely distinct; in other words, cases of complete or pure homosexuality are infinitely rare. In most of these cases we can determine a form of what may be termed psychic hemaphroditism, in either the conscious social reactions of the homosexual or in his unconscious mental life, as shown in the dreams. Our psychoanalytic investigations have demonstrated that the best evidence of bisexuality in human beings is furnished by the dreams of conscious or unconscious homosexuality. Such dreams, which I have termed hermaphroditic dreams, are essentially bisexual in their blurrings or blendings, a sort of a dream condensation, in either a symbolized or literal form.

In his three contributions to the sexual theory, Freud has emphasized the bisexual nature of man, and it appears to us that the best evidence of this bisexual nature can be found in the human unconscious as furnished by the dream. As stated by Edward Carpenter, "In the deeps of human nature the sex-temperament is undifferentiated" and psychoanalysis has shown also that, up to a certain age, the sexuality of the human child is also undifferentiated, in fact, infantile fantasies are often of the somatic hermaphroditic variety. Because the infantile is the source of the unconscious, the appearance of hermaphroditic dreams may be interpreted as the infantile type of thinking occurring in the adult mind. These types of dreams, therefore, refer to those primitive mental processes

1 The Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk, p. 82.
which are so characteristic of the child's mentality. Hence this hermaphroditism is emphasized in certain primitive peoples, such as the bearded Venus of Cyprus or the bearded Isis in ancient Egypt or in a more symbolic form, in the Cretan snake goddess. Dreams originate from the past in every sense, and not only are reflections of the childhood of man, but likewise of the childhood of the world, as shown in the strong relationship between dreams and myths.

It is stated by Freud\(^2\) that the adult sexual constitution is really formed from the original bisexuality of the infantile life. Such types of hermaphroditic dreams furnish the best evidence of the bisexual nature of man. They have been found particularly to occur in the psychoanalysis of homosexual individuals and have a decided prognostic value as showing the median point of the swing of the pendulum from homo- to heterosexuality, a sort of a neutral sexual image due to a fusion or a condensation of the bisexual tendency of the unconscious. In a previous contribution,\(^3\) the prognostic value of these hermaphroditic dreams was emphasized in the following terms, as indicating the progress of the psychoanalysis of a case of homosexuality: "Homosexual individuals are troubled with dreams which are either literally homosexual or contain elements of a disguised \(\text{Œ}dipus\) complex. If the psychoanalytic treatment is successful the literal homosexual and \(\text{Œ}dipus\) dreams gradually disappear and are replaced by dreams that are neutrally sexual; finally as the treatment successfully proceeds, the dream life becomes distinctly heterosexual. Thus the dreams of homosexual individuals not only furnish the material for reaching the unconscious mechanism of the homosexuality, but are of decided prognostic value."

In cases where unconscious homosexuality may occur, as in certain paranoid states or in the compulsion or anxiety neuroses, the same type of dream has been found. Sometimes the dreams are literal, sometimes symbolized, as will be shown more in detail in the course of this paper.

Previous to the time that psychoanalysis had emphasized their value, such types of dreams were evidently known, but without any suspicion of their importance. For instance, Krafft-Ebing,\(^4\) in discussing psychical hermaphroditism, states that in these cases the

\(^2\) Interpretation of Dreams, p. 480.
\(^3\) The Psychogenesis and Treatment of Homosexuality, New York Medical Journal, March 22, 1913.
\(^4\) Psychopathia Sexualis, p. 342.
“heterosexual instinct may be but rudimentary, manifesting itself simply in unconscious (dream) life.”

In a case of a compulsion neurosis, with a strongly repressed homosexual tendency, the following dream occurred during a period of the rapid subsidence of the compulsive thinking:

Dream.—He seemed to enter a dance hall where there were a number of boys and girls. The latter, although dressed in female costume, yet had full beards on their faces. He remained there only a short while and then descended some stairs to a sort of a basement pool room, where there were a number of rather tough-looking young men. He remained there only a short time and then fearful that he might come to some harm, he said to himself “This is no place for me” and started to climb the stairs. The stairs seemed then to be very rickety, particularly the last three or four stairs, which seemed about to fall down. Then he appealed to a young man, who seemed to be the proprietor of the establishment to help him up, which he did.

Analysis.—This dream was instigated by a bearded woman whom he had seen at an amusement resort some weeks previously. The hermaphroditic nature of the bearded girls in the dream is of significance as showing the progress of the psychoneuroses towards cure. This particular dream picture bears a striking resemblance to the bearded Venus in female attire occurring in Cyprus as noted by Dr. Frazer in his “Adonis, Attis and Osiris,” where the bearded goddess was worshipped in this double form, a proof of the strong relationship between dream work and myth-making. This work of both condensation and displacement is the same for both dreams and myths.5

What is the meaning of this singular hermaphroditic element in the dream? To answer this question, the dream must be analyzed as a whole. The entire dream is a symbolized expression of the subject’s struggle with his unconscious homosexuality. The descent into the basement (the subject’s unconscious) where only men were present, represents a desire to return to his homosexuality, while the ascent of the stair case, with all its difficulties and being finally helped up the last few stairs, symbolizes the saving effect of the psychoanalysis. Thus the descending of the stairs is a symbolic representation of a sexual (homosexual act) and the climbing up

stairs represents the hermaphroditic tendency of the unconscious at this particular stage in the treatment of the neurosis. The girls with the beards represent the neutral point of his sexual struggle as an hermaphroditic symbol, before he again reverted to his unconscious homosexuality and when he was again saved from it by the psychoanalyst. Therefore, in this dream, the hermaphroditic figures through a sort of condensation and displacement symbolize the neutral point of preparation for getting well. Thus this dream not only represents the therapeutic catharsis of a psychoanalysis, but in Maeder's sense the bearded figures of girls have sort of a preparing function for the future recovery, a sort of a readjustment of the sexual desires of the subject. In this sense, the dream "renders an autosymbolic presentation of the psychological situation of the unconscious."6

A woman suffering from an anxiety hysteria and with strong sadistic feelings towards animals which finally, as a defence reaction, led her to become a pronounced anti-vivisectionist had the following dream. She appeared in a public place, clad only in a night gown and on looking down at herself, she saw, to her surprise, that she had male sexual organs.

A woman with a compulsion neurosis, had the following symbolic hermaphroditic dream. She seemed to be standing in a field, dug full of holes and in her hand was an ordinary wooden water pail, full of semen. She poured the semen in the holes, it seemed for the purpose of raising babies and, in the dream, she thought that babies would appear out of the holes, in the same manner that plants grow when seeds are placed in the ground.

It seems reasonable to suppose that this may be interpreted as a symbolic hermaphroditic dream. The peculiar condensation of a woman fertilizing the earth (Mother Earth) with seminal fluid, for the purpose of making babies, represents a sort of a coitus act in an hermaphroditic individual. The resemblance of this dream to the Deucalian legend in Greek mythology is certainly striking, for in both, the symbolism seems identical.

A homosexual, during a period of neutral psychosexual feeling which occurred in the psychoanalysis, as sort of a forerunner of the recovery, had the following dream. It appeared that a large number of dresses and clothes were brought into a room where he was standing, as if for a young girl about to be married. Among these was a long veil of red silk, embroidered and jeweled, sug-

6 Maeder, The Dream Problem.
gesting the red veil worn by Chinese brides. He put the veil on his own head and as he stood there a man came from behind and kissed him.

From my analyses of homosexual subjects the following types of dreams may be selected as sufficiently indicating the nature of their psychical hermaphroditism:

1. Being in girl's clothes.
2. Seeing naked men with women's genitals.
3. A boy vaulting a fence, dressed in kilts, the under portions of which appeared to be women's underclothing.
4. Vested women in a church resembling choir boys.
5. A man giving birth to a baby.

A young man developed an anxiety neurosis which arose during his betrothal and the analysis showed that the anxiety was produced by a struggle or conflict between giving up the mother-image for that of his betrothed. The following dream developed during the course of the analysis. He seemed to see his fiancee naked in a bath tub. It appeared that she had male genitals, which were diseased and epitheliomatous. This is a typical hermaphroditic dream. The fusion of male and female elements represents the solution of his difficulties desired at the time, namely, if his fiancee developed some malignant and fatal disease, his conflict would be solved and he could revert to the mother image.

It seems from this material that psychoanalysis can actually change the unconscious bisexual tendency of man, in the same way that it can raise our primitive unconscious traits to a higher cultural level.

These bisexual dreams are not mere realizations of homosexual feelings; neither, as maintained by Stekel and Adler, are all dreams to be taken in a bisexual sense. This type of hermaphroditic dream is merely a transitional product in the unconscious of homosexual individuals, although it must be admitted that such dreams are an evidence of the bisexuality of the entire human unconscious.
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF "THE YELLOW JACKET"

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The following study of the material of the Yellow Jacket has been restricted, necessarily for the sake of clearness, to the symbolism, lines and characters that have an immediate value for certain problems in psychopathology. Each interpreter will naturally select somewhat different material from the play and present it according to his purpose. The Yellow Jacket was selected because of its profound psychology and the marvelous sequence of its unfolding of the personality of the male youth.

The material for the poem, for the play is a poem, I am informed, was found in the writings of the ancient Chinese poets, particularly Confucius. The method of its presentation is taken from the Chinese stage.

The poem, as a whole, and its mine of symbolism is, therefore, not the fruit of one personality but the product of countless individuals who peopled eastern Asia for thousands of years. Hence, as one would expect, most of the symbolism, the lines and story, except for minor adulterations, is a synthetic arrangement of the most pertinent expressions of feeling of those peoples. Whatever is retained and repeated through the centuries lives and is used again and again because it most clearly expresses the trials and yearnings of the unconscious—the soul. Such expressions as are not so pertinent are lost through disuse.

The mediums through which this wonderfully clear expression of the most profound depths of the human soul was transposed into English, were an Arabian poet Benrimo and an American poet and dramatist, Mr. G. C. Hazelton. The exquisite expressions of feeling and lines by the characters must be attributed to the genius of Mr. and Mrs. Coburn, who not only had to train their assistants to act Chinese characters, but certain personalities had to be selected that had already grown up with particular characteristics so highly developed that they were already the natural result of certain affec-

1 See S. E. Jelliffe, "The Yellow Jacket, etc." The Medical Record, April 21, 1917.
tive fixations and were living counterparts of the characters they portrayed.

A word about the imperturbable property man is necessary here. Dressed in black, moving silently, stoically about the stage, heedless of all feelings of players and audience, he symbolized remarkably the utter indifference of the material world to the strivings and yearnings of the human soul. In reaction to him, the audience was perplexed, laughed, gasped and wept without sorrow as they realized the helplessness of themselves in their own strivings with the material world.

Wherever the interpretation of the poem can be given in the words of the poem, quotations are inserted as parts of sentences, or paragraphs. The sequence of the interpretation follows the sequence of the lines as closely as possible, but it is necessary to read the play and if possible also to see it staged in order to follow the analytic study satisfactorily.

**ACT I**

"The good and honored Ming Wang, Son of Heaven and of glorious memory, was visited by an enchanted dream—full of strange beauty. In sleep he rambled over the moon," hence the Yellow Jacket is a dream-play which deals with "mother’s love, the love of youth, and the hate of men, which makes them do unhappy things."

The Yellow Jacket is a fantasy which expresses in beautiful poetry, with exquisitely rich, yet simple symbolism, in uncanny sequence of development and balance of feeling the most profound, mysterious yearnings and trends of the soul of the male youth. He who will understand the symbolism and truths of the Yellow Jacket will obtain a clearer vision into the deeper recesses of the soul of any man from whatever land he may come. By the style of a man’s personality one may perhaps even know where, in the unfolding of his personality, he was turned from the realization of his just heritage and by what forces.

The property symbolism, action symbolism and word symbolism of the Yellow Jacket should be interpreted as a most wholesome dream portrayal of those indelible impressions of the human soul made upon it by those people and such properties which, by the nature of their relations to a man, must affect the course of the personality’s unfolding and make its unfolding possible or warp it.

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2 Published by Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
The story is told in three acts, which portray the three great stages in the development of the male youth’s personality. The first act relates the tragedy of his weaning. The second act portrays the exquisite pleasures attending the unfolding of his potency and the cruel, serious, necessary disappointments of adolescence. The third act portrays, with wonderful condensation and simplicity, the struggles he must endure to reach the full and rightful development of his heritage if he is to wear the Yellow Jacket of goodness, virility and happiness.

In the beginning of the play Wu Hoo Git, the young hero of the Wu family and first born of Chee Moo, the kind mother, is a nursling. He is destined by the physiological powers he has inherited, like all normal children, to wear the Yellow Jacket of goodness, virility and happiness if he is properly guided, and will search and pray for it; play, work and fight for it and finally demand it (of himself). The first act must be interpreted as the experiences of the nursling in his little world and portrays the first great tragedy of his life, his weaning. (The tragedy of a forced or too early weaning, of which until recently nearly half the cases resulted in malnutrition, suffering and death, was largely due to the infected and impure vegetable and proteid foods which had to be substituted. This is always a period of suffering and fear for the kind mother and child, and the restless, amorous father becomes a source of great anxiety when he urges a premature weaning. Premature weaning is also a common method of getting rid of the unwelcome infant.)

To the newborn infant, who is without experience or impressions by which to understand the world, Wu Sin Yin, the father, symbolizes the mighty power who bows to no one because it is beneath his dignity and in his household all must bow to him. He has “the third eye of wisdom,” and seems to “shape the destiny” of all in the baby’s world. He is the “Great Sound Language,” which is the meaning of Wu Sin Yin, because to the baby, looking with awe and wonder upon the strange world, his father’s great voice utters the word-sounds that seem to animate all those about him since they seem to move whenever he makes sounds. And his own vague self, whatever it is, is affected with such violent feelings when the great word-sounds are turned toward him. The father also has the “evil-eye” that stares at him and causes painful reactions of fear in his body.

Wu Sin Yin represents the jealous father who looks upon his son.
with an unwelcome “evil-eye” because the infant has usurped property, his wife-mother’s most delicate expressions of care and affection and time, as she naturally abandons herself to the joys of nursing and cherishing her baby. It is well known that infants, like young animals, become terror stricken when they are stared at or spoken to with deep, harsh sounds. Adults instinctively use soft sounds and brief looks into the baby’s eyes, not even the mothers may stare if they wish to keep the baby happy. Animals seem to instinctively use similar adjustments, such as staring and uttering deep, hoarse sounds to intimidate; and brief looks, with facial muscles relaxed, and soft purring sounds to comfort the young.

For the infant who has little or no experience to compare and contrast objects with, everything in his environment becomes differentiated into the things that are moving or are not moving. When people are motionless they are dead, like the chairs, bed, etc., so that when the great word-sounds of the mighty father are directed at things (people) and they respond, to the infant’s senses they have been made to come to life by the word-sounds. This is probably one of the origins of the animistic belief of adults as found in folklore, some philosophies and psychologies. It is probably the origin of the world-wide fantasy, started in the infancy of the human race, that God the Father created life by speaking the word into the ear of the motionless clay form or breathed into the nostrils. Also since the animating word enters the body through the ear the fantasy origin of life began with impregnation through the ear, as the impregnation of Mary through the word of God being spoken into her ear by a spirit messenger from God. (This has been discussed more elaborately by Ernest Jones.) John i, 14—“The word was made flesh,” etc., and John i, 1—“In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.”

A patient said her physician was God, because he gave her such strange feelings when he looked at her and she added significance to her observation by saying that this happened even though he never touched her.

The existence of the son deprives the father of much of his freedom and necessitates the sacrifice of his wife’s affection, time, money, work, etc., hence the origin of usurping the father’s kingdom. The praises of the worshiping women of the household, as they admire “the celestial” beauty of the infant, throws a “thunder-cloud shadow” of jealousy into the father’s eyes and he can only
see the "cramped," "crooked," "crab-like" form of the nursling. As the helpless infant looks into his father's face, his feelings instantly react with pain and fear at the unwelcome glance of the hostile father. (Such fathers, when they are not depressed by the birth of the son, tend to criticize the mother for over-attentiveness to the child.)

Often among psychotics, among children, primitive people and even in psychology and literature, we find a marked tendency to speak of the good self and bad self, good Annie or John and bad John, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, etc., and when a woman has two children she is two mothers and three children, three mothers, etc. Wu Sin Yin's "two wives" receives due significance when his wife as a mother of one child is one wife and her potential second pregnancy is the second wife.

Wu Sin Yin begins the play as a "most unhappy man for he possesses two wives." He longs for the return of the loving embraces of his wife, hence he speaks of a longing for his second wife. His costume and manner symbolize his station, power and sexual hunger. His painted face hides his designs and feelings. That portion of his tunic, which hangs between his legs from his waist and is a modification of the loin-cloth, is by far, more ponderous than the loin-cloths of the other males in the play and its end is significantly rounded. It is richly covered with gold and colors to signify his potency and desire. He walks with a mighty, ostentatious step and speaks with a loud, harsh voice. He enters with a great burst of sounds from the musical instruments. In an Americanism he is "the great noise" of the play.

He speaks of his aversions for his "crab-like and spider formed" child and its mother, his longings for Due Jung Fah, his "beautiful second one," and plans a secret departure of his first wife's soul—her nursing affections. Due Jung Fah, the second wife to be, who may be interpreted as the first wife's growing desires for another pregnancy, enters the garden with her maid Tso. With beautifully symbolic phrases she complains that the "butterflies and bees and the humming birds do not come to my garden. They fly to make hers beautiful." "The gold fish die in my lily ponds and swim sunkissed in Chee Moo's across the wall." (They are not fertilized. The insects and humming birds often symbolize the male organs of impregnation in art and the psychoses. They enter and fertilize the flower. On p. 73, l. 6, there is the line "two flowers met and a child was born!" The fish and flowers may also symbolize
the fetus or female genitalia. A classic dancer interpreting the Spring Song wore a cluster of flowers in front of her pelvis. A recent painting exhibited in a New York Art Gallery showed a young woman standing up to her knees in a pond, holding a fish in her hand in such position that it suggested having been drawn from under her tunic, which was held up with the other hand. In the "water," were the shadowy forms of other fish to come.)

Due Jung Fah departs after she says: "My mind is crowded with thoughts of her cripple monster child, for my soul has not given forth a child seed." She leaves the garden, but Tso tarries long enough to express the mischievous spirit of the half playful, half serious gossip and expectations of the race, that more children should be born and that she had slyly forced herself upon Wu Sin Yin and Due Jung Fah.

Tai Fah Min, the father of Due Jung Fah, and the grandfather of the next infant, now enters, with a painted face to mask his thoughts, the home of Wu Sin Yin and the infant. He urges that it is time for another child and the people (race) will be pleased to see it. To the infant he is also a great power. He would deprive him of his mother, wanting his daughter to have many children, each child being a further propagation of himself.

Father and grandfather urge a second motherhood, which the second wife will welcome as soon as the first wife is "dead," that is, has finished nursing and weaned her "celestially beautiful" boy.

(The very severe anxieties, fretting, depression, insomnia and inability to take other food than from the breast, which infants suffer upon weaning, is the first emotional tragedy of the infant. His sufferings arouse such pity, sympathy and anxiety in the mother, when she is forced to wean her infant because of the desire of her husband, that she is often pulled between the desires of her child and of her husband, hence the husband welcomes the moral support of her father who is himself not a little hungry for some renewed attention from his daughter and a little jealous of his "dragon-eyed" grandson.)

The anxiety of the coming weaning is expressed in the anxious words of Chee Moo, "the kind mother," as she makes her appearance in the play. "Oh woe is me! Murder is in the air. The evil spirits build walls about me whichever way I go. Now you know that I am Chee Moo and this is the child Wu Hoo Git. The devils put toads in our path to croak and awake him that he might cry out and reveal us." Her words of concern and pity are expressed to soothe the anxiety of the baby. The second wife, or second mother-
hood, having consented to her husband’s and father’s feelings, has begun the weaning, which is symbolized in the sending for the farmer (or producer of vegetable and animal foods). Chee Moo, has a serious tendency to devote her whole life to the first child in order to save him from the tragedy. Beautifully she prays: “My boy, my pretty boy whom evil plotters call cripple and monster formed child but who, as you see, is celestially beautiful. Let your baby dreams be a silent prayer to your ancestors for help. I will cry out to them from a mother’s heart for your protection. We will fly to the mountains, the place of the issuing clouds where your mother will weave fabrics of silk to cradle you in until your baby arms can wield a sword to confound your enemies. The lantern of my love hangs in the temple of my mind, and I pray you my ancestors, let no unkind wind spirit or water spirit quench the flame of my child-love.” The last sentence seems to mean that the wind spirit or water spirit, since impregnation is often believed to result from the entrance of a spirit through the water or by the wind, might quench the flame of her child-love (nursing affections) by a second pregnancy.

The farmer is ordered to behead Chee Moo and the infant, but cuts off the head of the coy, dainty, flirtatious Tso and mutilates her face by chopping off her ears and lips and gouging out her eyes. (This simple substitution of the beheading and mutilation under the guise of fooling the husband and saving Chee Moo enables the youth to obtain his revenge for his weaning by having the instigator, who is not an immediate member of the family, mutilated and made the scapegoat. The mutilation also satisfies the infantile anger and is expressed like the hatred of the dementia praecox who chops off the lips that lied to him, eyes that blinked to others and the ears that listened to others’ love. Such tendencies to mutilate the body are often seen in drawings of dementia praecox patients and mutilations are strikingly popular with a revolutionary mutilation movement among certain discontented temperaments in art today who style themselves cubists and futurists. This mutilation tendency is also found in children when they mutilate animals, birds, insects, etc.)

The father leaves the dream-play after saying that he will bury the trunk of the first wife and sends word to the second wife that “I come. She need pray no longer. My arms ache for her.” And the farmer adds: “The demon sword for the girdle of Wu Sin Yin.” (The sword in the dream is a common symbol for the erotic phallus.)

The tragedy of the weaning reaches its climax in the spiritualiza-
tion of Chee Moo, symbolized in her ascension into heaven, and the abandonment of the infant to the care of the lowly farmer and his wife, the vegetable food producers, and the 'wolf-land' of trial and struggle.

Immediately after Lee Sin's line about the demon sword Chee Moo enters in flight "to the mountains where the evil-eye grows blind in the pure air of Heaven."

Then, Ling Won, the spirit of the ancestors (great grandparents, all united in one) of the infant, speaks from Heaven. (He is dressed in a white tunic, wears a blue beard and headdress and an inscription over his breast.) He has come to save the infant from the sharpened sword of his jealous father and the too excessive love of his mother. (The Oedipus tragedy of Sophocles may well be recalled here. Also the myth of the assassination of the children upon the birth of the heroes, Moses and Christ, by the rulers who regarded them as rivals of their power—see Otto Rank's Myth of the Birth of the Hero). 3

Chee Moo says she dreamed of the danger to her child and fled, and the ancestral spirit in Heaven tells her that he sent the dream. (Spiritual messages and angels, dream symbols, warned the mother of Christ to flee to strange lands from the man who ordered the murder of the infant. Moses was abandoned and became a potent leader, but Christ had a too devoted mother and he later was crucified for the sake of his father, which seems to be the fate of young men when their maternal affective attachments are too strong. A series of cases of panic with crucifixion have been collected in which the crucifixion was the final sexual submission to the father and occurred in men who had strong sexual affections for their mothers). In her anxiety for her helpless, suffering infant the kind mother cries, "Too terrible! Oh, Oh, I could fill a crystal vase with a mother's tears." The spirit of Heaven, who may well be interpreted also as the antecedent experience of the human race, warns against the dangers of excessive anxiety of mothers for the trials of their children. He says, "I come to break the crystal vase of a mother's tears that would drown her boy."

(The number of boys and girls, men and women who regress to the suckling infant level after painful trials and disappointments in love is little less than astounding. In the last three years a study of the inmates of St. Elizabeth's Hospital for mental diseases, with such observations in mind, has revealed that perhaps one fourth of the cases admitted are types of affective regression, most of

3 Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 18.
whom recede to the nursling level and some even so far as the intra-uterine age of the personality in order to find comfort. These people seem to return to the first heaven of love that they met with in their course through life. They have been drowned in the tears of pity and sympathy of their over-indulgent mothers.)

When Chee Moo begs for power to go through life with her son the "spirit of his ancestors" replies: "Not so, Wu Sin Yin would know you, for you are grown. He is so little that he looks like other babes and may escape." In order that he should not escape who would inherit his kingdom, as the wise men of the East told him, Herod had slain all the male children under two years of age in his kingdom. (The father's temperament cannot endure too close an intimacy between mother and son and "mamma's boy" soon wins the scorn of men, and boys resent the appellation because it signifies lack of independence and fortitude.) The noble Chee Moo heeds the warning that she must not be a mother for the present anxieties alone. Her part is far more difficult than that. Bewildered she asks "What shall I do?" And the spirit of the ancestors firmly replies, "Send the august Wu Hoo Git on his world journey alone." "You must come to us that Wu Hoo Git may live to the glory of the Emperor"—the advice the psychoanalyst must indelibly impress upon the mother.

Chee Moo makes her last protest against the weaning—"But he needs a mother to feed and look after him." (The obsessing nuisance in psychiatry). The answer of the spirit reminds one of Emerson's lines on "Cast the bantling on the rocks," etc. He comforts Chee Moo with "the ravens will feed him, the eagles will show him the mountain peaks, the humming birds will tell him the names of the flowers along his path; the gold fish will show him whither the streams flow straight. And a maiden will arise to teach him the story of love." "He will go up and up and up, till he wears the sun-hued garment." "The evil lines only wrought by demon cunning fade from his cheeks before the light of a new soul day. The cramped and evil thoughts born of his father's life flee before the sword thrusts of good thoughts which a mother marshals to cradle him."

Thus with "the light of the new soul day" the weaning ends and the infant's evil resentment of the father is tentatively displaced by good thoughts which his mother teaches him. Before the spirit of the ancestors departs he gives the mother another word of advice which is most vital to the healthy development of the personality and without which the youth must become a wanderer in society—
“Write Wu Hoo Git’s name and history upon his coat” (where it can be seen and felt).

As Chee Moo changes forever from a mother of physical nourishment into a mother of spiritual nourishment and joins her infant’s ancestors as a vital influence in the development of his personality, she says “Wu Hoo Git, my Wu Hoo Git. I am a willow weeping over the stream of my own life-blood. I will write your name on your garment in a mother’s blood that the life of the mother’s veins from which you sprang may enter into and become a part of your soul.” (Men owe their success to the mother’s wish impressed upon their souls, but so also do many men their failures. Much depends upon the nature of the mother’s wish.)

“Chee Moo here bites the second finger of her left hand until the blood comes, which she allows to drop into the palm of her left hand; then dips a finger nail of her right hand into the blood and writes on the white under garment (inner self) of the child” the most vital of all affective blessings with which the male youth can be endowed.

(The second finger (two) is the number symbol of the female, and the left hand symbolizes the uncensored frank sexual affections. The wish is written with the right hand, which symbolizes moral sincerity. The sign of the cross and the oath are always made with the right hand, the left would desecrate it. Hence his name and blessing are written with sacred approval and the blessing is for his virility, goodness and happiness.)

She writes: “This is Wu Hoo Git, pure and perfect, now decreed to live ten thousand years.” “Ancestors guard you, love, embrace you.” “Be kind to her who gives you love. Hope, pray, fight, live—to make others happy.” “The last drop in my veins to tell the story of my boy and put a prayer on his garment.”

Thus she gives “The last drop in my veins to tell the story of my boy and put a prayer on his garment. All—my baby boy,—all! A mother’s love!” Not a word for herself, not a restraining tie for herself to impede his growth. She gives him all and asks nothing. With his name, and that it is “pure and perfect,” written by his mother on his garment at the sacrifice of all she has, he need never doubt his legitimate place in nature or his worth. She has written what she wishes his life story to become. (The “black sheep,” usually the unwelcome child, of the family hates his brothers and father and becomes a source of pain and sorrow to his mother and of shame to his household. He has no well-defined wish in his heart, is inclined to brood, drink and break the social laws. In the
hours of his depression he clings to his mother like a nursling and broods because he cannot attach himself to a career. He makes a poor lover and a poor husband and feels a profound ineffaceable sense of having been neglected. Such men give one a deep feeling that something in their early childhood has been neglected. The selfish mother neglects the life-wish for her infant and he cannot go on without it. Children who have no mothers have a fostermother who may serve well, but never quite so well as the mother.

Mothers who fail to give “all” and subtly weave a selfish affective attachment or control about the infant’s heart must reap the broodings of a miserable man who can never reap his heritage from nature. The mother of such a man who had regressed to the childhood attitude when he found the trials of manhood too severe, was given a necktie by his mother. He smeared it with grease and then tried to smash his head into the wall. This behavior is intelligible if we consider that “ties that bind” are ties of affection and grease is a common semen symbol. Therefore, he smashes his head into the wall, because of his incestuous thoughts, for the same reason that other patients do that. His mother had unfortunately appropriated his love for herself and when his love needed overt sexual expression he became obsessed with the horrors of incestuous thoughts. In the Oedipus tragedy the infant does not depart with a life-wish to fulfill and he returns to become the lover of his mother and then destroys his eyes.

Paranoid temperaments are always men who cannot quite establish their biological potency. They cannot avoid feelings of disgust for the object of their sexual relations and many give a strikingly common history of having been indelibly impressed by their mothers with the feeling that sexual intercourse was vulgar and sinful. The sexual relations are not a normal function unless accompanied with love. But such men cannot love their sexual objects because of this love fixation on the mother, hence they tend to repress their heterosexual affections with horror and remain homosexual or attain a degree of heterosexual potency by vulgarizing the woman instead of loving her.)

After she has written her prayer on his garment, Chee Moo ascends to Heaven to become his inspiration. She says: “Your mother will never see you wear the sun-hued garment, but she will know.” (The sun-hued garment symbolizes the powers of perfect virility which she will never see but will know to have been attained by the nature of his personality.)

Wu Hoo Git is carried away by the farmer and his wife. His
mother now becomes a foster-mother in his affections. Her vegetable and meat foods make him feel like the adopted son of people who are poor in their sympathies and feed nothing but common foods. (It is a most common tendency for children to suck their fingers in order to go to sleep. Sleep can only come to anyone after they have become weary and indifferent to the anxieties and exactions of the day. Infants, and they often continue this until they are six years old and later, substitute a finger for the mother's nipple and quickly their sleepless anxiety for that which they loved disappears. Many parents unfortunately follow the hint and give their children "a pacifier" to suck and chew on. I observed a six-year-old boy who had never been able to sleep since infancy without sucking his thumb. He did this so assiduously and pushed his thumb so far back into his mouth that he not only developed a high arched palate but a very exaggerated form of turned up nose. I have been informed of a little girl who would arrange a bunch of soft flannel rags in such a manner that when she slept it rested against her cheek like the soft breast of her mother and at the same time a finger of the hand that held the "nino" which she called it, was thrust into her mouth to give her comfort. Another child sucked the inside surfaces of her cheeks to put herself to sleep. As a young woman she still has this tendency and it explains the behavior of a woman of about 45, who during a long period of profound depression, in which she had to be fed like an infant, sucked the inside surfaces of her cheeks. Men are often inclined to suck a pipe, cigar or cigarette when they tend to be uneasy, for its soothing effect. They nurse themselves with an after-dinner smoke.)

Children who have had a tragic weaning, because of a mother's lack of insight, or carelessness, or indifference, often develop a lifelong disappointment in their mothers without realizing why. When a boy's brother is born too soon he sees his mother's affections and breast usurped and he feels himself to be like an adopted or forsaken child. Such children often seek to attach themselves to other people for brief periods; trying to find a satisfactory substitute for the stolen love-object, and may become runaway children. Hence the poor farmer and his wife symbolize the changed nature of the parents to the child who have become like foster-parents. In the Catholic Church we still find the God-father and God-mother as sponsors for the child's "name" at baptism. Uncle Tom's Cabin still endures as the great classics for certain peoples because the forsaken, beautiful little Eva has many charming scenes with her kind, old foster-father-like-slave. All enjoy her beautiful death
and ascension into heaven with the mourning old slave proving his abject devotion to her cause. It wonderfully satisfies the old wish of childhood when we delighted in punishing the momentarily cruel parent with "you would be sorry if I should die." Youth must go through life's journey alone and feels himself to be in the "wolf land." Now his greatest solace is in his pets, the fields and streams. In the words of Emerson he is "wintered with the hawk and fox, power and speed be his hands and feet," and self-reliance will make the man.

It is not possible for a mother, who longs for divorce and freedom, to give her vital interests to the development of the child that has become the living chain of bondage for her affections. Neither is it possible for the infantile mother to breathe into her son a virility of manhood that will carry him through life. The homosexual mother raises the child unconsciously to be effeminate because of her aversion for the male attributes.

**Act II**

"Wu Sin Yin, the evil father" (like in all fantasies of the hero) was unable to kill his august son, Wu Hoo Git. This celestial young prince had dwelt twelve moons, when—Chee Moo took her passage heavenward. In the second act, "Wu Hoo Git has grown into youthful manhood, and stands at the portal of flowery life. He must pluck the azaleas of youth and observe them wither at the touch of his golden finger nails (autoeroticism). He must know the temple of the body before he knows the temple of his mind." (The adolescent’s transition into virile manhood follows only upon the full awakening of his physiological powers, which must not be inhibited by fears, too often subtly impressed upon him by the very people who should cultivate in him courage, self-confidence and love of these powers.

A physician, 28 years old, developed a grave anxiety state because of his failure to pass an important examination. "All my life," he said, "I have been tied to my mother's apron strings," and his father said he was "no good." His father, a too severe disciplinarian, had refused to finance him in school because he had no confidence in him, and the man, determined to show his worth, worked his way through. He was very neat, inclined to be stylish, rather dressy, proud of his delicate hands, tall, slender, narcissistic and "never had a fight" in his life. He avoided physical conflicts and was sexually impotent. He masturbated instead of making
love, and when he attempted to make love he had emissions in his clothing or immediately upon an attempt at copulation. His brother, three years older than himself, was "just the opposite," virile, active and had his father’s confidence.)

In a beautiful allegory Chorus compares the future of the youth to the soul of a girl that welded together the two metals of her father’s bell and its tone became one of virtuous harmony and love. "Wu Hoo Git, too, must pass through molten life that the fires may purify his soul and weld it into the purest strain." Contrary to the old assumptions about the sexual inheritance of men, it is now recognized that the personality must be cultivated and developed like the body or it will miss its goal. The study of animals as well as children has shown that the individual must learn how to control his functions (subjective learning) just as he must learn how to manipulate the environment (objective learning).

Suey Sin Fah, the farmer’s wife and the youth’s foster-mother, foresees the adolescent’s desires to leave home and see the world. "The boy runs away. He promises to return. He thinks he will return to the mother’s breast," for which she hopes but knows and feels he should not. (The youths who run away from home to see the world and return to the mother’s breast for refuge from its disappointments and failures are cases of affective regression and should be considered to be grave failures of the personality indicating a too strong affective attachment to the mother (breast). He must develop the courage to go on despite her resistances if she is so unwise as to impose them upon him.)

Every youth must struggle again and again with certain well-defined, inherent autoerotic and homosexual tendencies that arise under the stress of particular experiences and his development depends upon his mastery of such tendencies which are impersonated in the character of the vulgar Hunchback and the narcissistic Daffodil.

The Hunchback is the assistant of the egotistical, self-loving Daffodil and they conspire to ruin the progress of all youths who are determined to win their places in the sun. The psychology of the dream-play becomes more intelligible if the readers will interpret Wu Fah Din, the Daffodil and brother of Wu Hoo Git, and Yin Suey Gong, the Hunchback, and Wu Hoo Git, the hero, as the three important selves or dominant tendencies of the personality of the male youth at different stages of development of masculinity. The struggles he must endure with his brother and the temptations of the Hunchback are quite typical of the post-adolescent experiences
of all male youths who will win the Yellow Jacket of virility, goodness and happiness. The Hunchback, "monkey-man," impersonates the vulgar, primitive man interests of the adolescent, his masturbation and anal erotic interests. "A dragon yawned and belched him forth and a tooth caught him and he was born cramped of back." He delights in avenging himself on "mother-nature" and the downfall of those who were born straight. (Two men who had failed in their love-making and life work said they tried to masturbate themselves to destruction. This is not uncommon with insane patients.)

The narcissistic Daffodil, who must announce that he is a man, impersonates the more highly refined homosexual and autoerotic traits of the male youth which must be overcome in the course of development of the young man's personality or he will not win his goal of true manhood.

To overcome such personal tendencies the youth must pass through "molten life that the fires may purify his soul and weld it into the purest strain."

Wu Hoo Git enters the second act "like the sun over the eastern hill. He brings a new day." (Such greetings are the sweetest music to the adolescent ears as he expands without limit under the warm admiration of his awakening powers.) He enters with "I am tired of classics, I long for the free air of life." (An enormous percentage of male youths, finding they can escape the irksome restrictions of the school, evade it to find the world. Until recently, the ascetic and dogmatic teacher persisted in trying to reform nature to fit into his "classics." Only in the past few years has he been forced to realize that the school curriculum had to be made possible, for nature's assimilation.)

He is told by his anxious parents that he will find contentment in his home, "in a mother's arms," "in a wife's embrace," but replies he "must bear them all to judge." "He has the call of the world and must answer." (Every youth must soon free himself from the domination of his parents if he will develop self-reliance and his virility. The call of the world must be answered. The youth who fails to take this post-adolescent step, or if the parents should prevail upon him, because of their undue anxiety, or stubborn resistances and he is unwilling to be tested and clings to the mother's pity, is lost. The adolescent's impulse to freedom comes with natural spontaneity only during one period of development of the personality and its energies are the tide that sweeps on to manhood. If they are too firmly inhibited only a violent (perhaps insane) outburst of affect may carry him through later on.)
Wu Hoo Git, no longer to be restrained, asks, "Where is my real mother waiting? Where does my real father reside?" "Why should I be denied? A babe knows its mother. I demand my parents. I feel the blood of eagles in my veins." Deep in his soul he retains the image of his celestial mother and the heaven he lived in with her—he reveals this impression in "A babe knows its mother," and determines to restore her for himself and his love. He runs away from home, like many youths compelled by this Wanderlust to seek for the living image of their infantile impressions of their mother in order to reenter that ancient state of affective comfort. The words of Wu Hoo Git, later when he makes love, strikingly portray his longing. (One is surprised that the author of the play should have realized the importance of the delicate associations of mother and his love-making.)

Wu Fah Din, the Daffodil, the son of the second wife of Wu Hoo Git's father and the youth who usurped his brother's throne, the last to nurse at his mother's breast, now enters the play. Although in the play he has never seen Wu Hoo Git and no account of his having become aware of him is given us, he comes into the play full of "craft, guided by cruelty" to destroy the virility of Wu Hoo Git and keep him from the throne.

The Daffodil impersonates self-love, narcissism, homosexuality. In him dominate the destructive interests of man and his criminal tendencies. The things he says and does in the play, also the symbols he wears, reveal an astonishing insight into the character of the homosexual youth on the part of the authors. When he enters, the property man drops the sword into the property box with an audible bang to symbolize his sexual impotence.

He is fanned by an attendant and twice the property man holds a nosegay for him to inhale its fragrance. But the third time the property man pulls it away, disappointing him, to the delight of the audience, who tire of his self-indulgence. Also the refusal of permitting him the third indulgence symbolizes the refusal of his heterosexuality.

Compared to Wu Hoo Git he is dressed in a fastidious costume of many delicate colors and wears a head-dress of peacock feathers (proud head). He begins with "I advise the honorable audience I am a man, though I possess a daffodil nature. I go to view delightful embroideries, but retard my footsteps, that you may observe my charm. I was born great." (An exquisite presentation of the attitude of mind toward his fellowmen of the narcissistic temperament. When one is once familiar with such personal traits, they
are immediately recognizable. Biologically he is a distinct type of man.)

He says he is the rival of Wu Hoo Git, who comes from “an humble mountain home.” He cannot be happy so long as he must compete with this virile type of youth because “he is simply vulgarly manly, while I possess feminine qualities of great luxuriance.” (This is found almost consistently to be the cynical regard of the homosexual male and female for their more fortunate brothers and sisters.)

Such proud qualities perhaps are trained into the youth through some excessively indulgent parent, usually a mother, who is homosexual and has an aversion for vulgar virility. The narcissistic youth as a rule is lazy, fond of dreaming, inclined to shut himself up in the palace of his own fancies and live on dreams of what he will do in the future. He will not contend, man to man, because “it might break my finger nails and establish a bad precedent. You may think the match unequal, because of my delicacy in a contest with brawn,” but “craft, guided by cruelty, outweighs vulgar manliness. I must contrive to destroy his honesty and cleanliness of life.”

(The homosexual male or female youth, who is not trying to escape from self-love, is invariably afraid of pain and of humiliating the body in physical defeat. Such youths when they learn to hate their homosexuality often go to undue extremes to prove their virility and are very proud of injuries and scars. Homosexual women are usually terrified by the discomforts of pregnancy. It is absolutely necessary for the development of a virile personality to be heedless of minor pains and the physical discomforts attending contests if the personality is to be fully developed. Our universities, high schools and communities do not yet fully enough grasp these essentials of character formation to provide ample opportunities for the physical and personal training of the youths of both sexes. Homosexual male youths, tending naturally to heterosexual impotence, are able only to maintain their potency by undue forms of excitement, such as seductions, stimulants, vulgarity, perversions, newness of the sexual object, etc. They are commonly very boastful of their sexual conquests, hate women, tend to seduce virginity, cause young girls to become pregnant and then desert them, etc., become addicted to alcoholism and are unable to love their sexual object. They often make crafty, vicious attempts to establish their heterosexual potency in order to feel that they have reached a secure biological goal. Apparently male youths universally pos-
sessed the feeling that merely copulation is sufficient as a sexual feat to enable them to feel that they have won their Yellow Jacket. Young men often visit houses of prostitution in groups, not because they have pressing heterosexual cravings but because they wish to prove to each other that they are not homosexual. One such youth, to make his companions recognize him as a man, boasted that whenever he was seen with a girl more than once they could know that he had made another sexual conquest. It was his method of telling his audience that he was a man. The behavior of such men, when they are trying to establish their heterosexuality at any cost, is so typical that I feel the following incident may be related. A pretty, young, well-nourished, simple, unsophisticated country girl of very kindly disposition came to a hospital to work. Before long a tall, slender, “dudish,” proud young man, several years her senior, was seen to pay her special attention. He was very proud of his long, rather delicate fingers and his personal appearance. Such associations of the young girl looked ominous, but no means were immediately found to break up the associations and soon it was too late. He disappeared when she became pregnant.)

To destroy Wu Hoo Git’s honesty and cleanness of life, “the Daffodil” calls in Yin Suey Gong, the Hunchback, and purveyor of “porcelains” to “drop flowers in Wu Hoo Git’s path that my rival may inhale their odors of vice” and he adds “observe how I contend with brawn.”

(Innumerable are the splendid youths whose biological careers have been aborted by “odors of vice,” while blindly, like the “unsuspecting” Wu Hoo Git, they are trying to find their places in nature and escape the autoerotic and homosexual tendencies of adolescence.)

Yin Suey Gong “of the monkey form” gives “those who were born straight and august of face the world’s pleasures. Then to avenge myself on mother nature, who distorted me, I pluck down their star and delight in its fall.” The Daffodil insists that he must enmesh the youth. “Tarnish him. It must be done with perfume and gently.” When the youth has been tempted to indulge in immoral experiences the virtuous edge of his powers is dulled and if the odors have enmeshed him too insidiously he may never again be able to enjoy perfect virility, that is, love for his sexual object. “Odors of vice” is often strikingly referred to by dementia praecox patients in their delusions that people scorn them because they “smell” from their sexual transgressions.

True to the inquisitiveness of unsophisticated adolescence Wu
Hoo Git enters the strange world of overt sexual interests (the presence of the seductive hunchback) and asks: "Where do I find myself?" "What land is this?" He is "transcendently wise" in his ignorance and so easily flattered that he would, like the magnuminisous spirit of ebullient adolescence, put the vulgar hunchback "in a seat of friendship."

The Hunchback tells Youth that there are but two things that will truly please the taste of a man, "wine and woman," and he should be "tutored by glorious woman." He calls in the "love birds," "flowers of happiness" to teach him "life." The youth responds with delightfully impulsive expressions of feeling, "I am glad I came to this world. It makes smiling in my heart." He is attracted by the shyness and modesty of the four girls but timidly retracts again and again only to go a step farther each time in his learning. He finally selects the fourth one, who attracts him with a cough, because it is a "gentle salutation." "She fears you (the youth) may go astray if you talk too long to her august sisters." Wu Hoo Git responds with delight and whispers, "Does she think so much of me? I like her, she has a mother's heart." He continues, "I never had a mother. Now I have four. She sings with lips that part like opening roses. My foster mother never sang like that. The blood runs faster in my veins. I feel something here that beats." (The gentle cough of the adolescent girl is sweet music to the ear of the strong adolescent youth. Why such expressions of feeling should charm the ear of the youth is explained by the Hunchback as a gentle expression of fear and interpreted by the boy as a spontaneous sympathetic expression of a mother's heart. It is decidedly the opposite of his hostile father's great word-sounds. The poet made two girls attract the youth with their fans and eyes and then had him select the one who coughed. The cough of flirtation, the bored yawn and the sigh of relief, and sob of anguish, the scream of terror, the shriek of anger, etc., are all respiratory affective disturbances. It may be interesting here to correlate the physiological effect of fear and other emotions as found by Cannon, who says that when the adrenal secretions are increased by fear-causes in the environment it affects the bronchioles of the lungs first because the adrenin-charged venous blood reaches the lungs first, and the bronchioles dilate to permit a freer movement of air.)

Not since he was a nursling had the youth's affections been so gently touched by delicate expressions of affection in another and immediately his whole being vibrates with its caress. He discovers that he has a heart, by the effects of its excitement, and he
feels that she has a "mother's heart," very unlike his foster mother's but like the mother who nursed him.

(The physiological psychologist has discovered that simple cerebrospinal and autonomic reflexes in man and animals may be conditioned to react to specific types of stimuli by repeated experiences, hence it is reasonable to expect that the physical and personal characteristics of the tender, devoted mother should, through innumerable associations with her infant, "condition" its affective functions (reflexes) to react most pleasantly to very definite kinds of stimuli even though they are not met with until years later. The perfection of the past infantile pleasures may prompt a personality for years to seek for those wonderful mother-attributes. We see such youths, with affective fixations too strongly developed to be changed, wandering over the country seeking for a vague, unknown something that will bring back that ancient state of perfect composure and love. Such youths become hobos, itinerant tradesmen, try innumerable aliases, names of occupations for their names, etc. In insanity the affections are no longer controlled and the lost mother of infancy is restored in dreams, hallucinations and fantasies.)

(It is not necessary that the youth should learn to enjoy glorious woman through the guidance of a hunchback, but it is vitally necessary for him to learn it at the proper age. The youth who is too timid to make the bungling mistakes of adolescence and learn to make love is doomed to be worried the remainder of his life by an incessant feeling of inferiority and incompleteness in his development. To escape such embarrassment he tends to become a recluse and autoerotic or passively homosexual. It is imperative that he should learn to win the "slipper.")

Wu Hoo Git's lines are nothing more than marvelous in their revelations of an adolescent's awakening to his powers. He timidly hesitates to embrace the girl when urged to for fear he "might let her fall and shatter her dainty roundness." Even though he is encouraged that he will learn in time he fears that his "arms may not be strong enough." But when he learns of the girl's eagerness to help him he finds it easier than he thought. And "she grows more delicately beautiful." She is "sweeter than the rarest rose," "her breath is incense" and her kisses become "sweetmeats rare."

(Thus only may youth learn the enrapturing charms of heterosexuality and be weaned from selfishness, egotism and homosexuality. Betray his spontaneous expressions of interest in woman to "prudish" convictions that his interests are shameful and disgusting instead of being a glorious heritage, and the flowering of
his or her virility becomes frozen in just that degree. It is surprising when one correlates the many who chronically censure interests in love and sexuality and who characteristically reproduce, in gossip, destructive interests but rarely constructive interests.)

Wu Hoo Git is amazed that the maidens are for sale, but naturally he would "buy them all" and finally keep "her who coughs," although he is surprised that he must pay "nine thousand taels for a mother."

(The identification of mother with the sexual object is not so surprising as it first may seem. Madams who conduct houses of prostitution are often addressed as "mother" by boys and they are usually large, portly, full-breasted women with often strangely maternal interests. Such characters may be found in literature, as Maupassant's "Tallow-ball," who feeds the whole party and finally sacrifices herself for their comfort. It is not surprising that homeless boys are strongly inclined to such company in their rendezvous.)

"Autumn cloud" teaches him love in the flower boat and he becomes a "wiser philosopher."

The hunchback sells the youth's love object for more gold to the emperor (father) and for this he cuts off the hunchback's hump. The girls grieve because the monkey-man has lost his hump and are overjoyed when it is returned. Why should the poet make the youth cut off the "monkey-shaped" man's hump instead of injuring him in some other manner? The symbolism here has a multiple value. The hunchback of the stooping, cringing, anal erotic miser is proverbial and the hunch, symbolizing vulgarity, is associated with greed for money, and masturbation ("dragon's tooth") for which the affections are sacrificed. The irate youth castrates the monkey-man, rendering him impotent, which is expressed in the dying, and the sorrowing of the girls. The purveyor is identified with the emperor through the sale of the girl and the youth's revenge is prompted by the same feeling that often makes him protest against his father's misuse of his mother when she feels no sexual affection for her husband. This often becomes the submerged cause of a bitter feud between the father and the brooding son. The hunchback is also the youth's vulgar cravings that get him into the dilemma and to save himself he castrates the hunchback.

A young man (twenty-three) wrote the following sentence in a letter about his first heterosexual experience: "The fourth day (italics mine) I went back determined to carry the girl out west and marry her. I imagined myself hopelessly in love." Hamlet has a
similar grievance against his mother because she virtually sells herself to his father's brother.

A brief diversion now occurs in the play to introduce Plum Blossom as the destined goal and inspiration for which Wu Hoo Git is seeking. To a critical prospective mother-in-law she says that she can embroider “king fishes” and “storks.” Both are “good birds” because they catch fish and taking fish from the water symbolizes the birth of the child. After the rupture of the bag of waters, the child, like the fish, comes out of the water, hence the tale that the stork brings the baby.

When Plum Blossom is accepted she is told to prepare herself for “six ceremonies in three days.” (The number three and multiples of three appear repeatedly throughout the play. Three symbolizes masculinity, the three parts of the male genitalia. She must prepare herself for two ceremonies a day, two symbolizing the female sexual attributes in her two breasts and genitalia.)

Like Wu Hoo Git, Plum Blossom retreats from pain (the domineering mother-in-law) to the grave of the mother that she may “pray and know” and be refreshed. During this scene of the sad, unhappy lovers at the grave of the mother the property man eats to symbolize their taking of affective nourishment. It should be recalled that the mother, through nursing, is the source of food for physical hunger and for the affective hungers. The sympathy hunger of the love-sick is proverbially associated with the head on the beast.

(In cases of serious affective regression, always caused by pain and disappointment, in young men and women, they often say they “died” and in their behavior return to the nursling age. Birth occurs with emergence from the uterus and the rebirth in the psychosis may follow the intra-uterine affective regression.

When an affective regression to the nursling age occurs the patients use many infantile mannerisms, such as speaking in baby voices, call the nurse “mamma,” have to be fed, clothed and kept from soiling themselves, take no interest in anything, do nothing creative and become completely helpless. A young man while in this state, sucked the handle of his tooth brush, a woman sucked the inner surfaces of her cheeks. Oral erotic homosexuality seems to be an affective fixation at the nursling age.)

Wu Hoo Git enters the city of the “dead” (the first affective regression in the play) and kneels at the grave of Plum Blossom. He chooses her for “motherhood” simply because her name (of four) feels the best, although he does not know why. The property
man holds up a weeping willow tree which the kind mother became when she was spiritualized and the identification of the departed mother with the (fourth) grave is completed. (In several cases of affective regression in young men, they claimed girls they knew, who had the same name their mothers had, for their wives.)

Plum Blossom, the girl, comes to the same grave, her mother’s grave, and finds the youth there. Her carriage and features fill his eyes with “graciousness” and he says “I wish you were buried here that I might take you to motherhood.” The grave becomes that of “our exalted mother” and Plum Blossom effects him so deeply that now he realizes that he had only “sailed on the flowery sea of sin”—although “would have celestially sworn that I had measured the depths and benefits of joy. I only stood on the ruin of the false jade cup.” He now finds his affections for Autumn Cloud were not true love.

Wu Hoo Git makes her his “mother-wife” and renounces his mother. (Inability to renounce the parent attachment for the love object always makes an unhappy mating. This is shown in innumer-able psychoses. The perfect love comes with a reincarnation of the cherished attributes of the mother and so soon as he finds the girl the youth must renounce his mother for his own sake and also to save the girl from the trials of contending with the domineering mother-in-law. The inability to break away from the mother fixation in several cases finally precipitated an affective regression in the son and in one case where the husband and wife both had mother attachments, too strong to renounce, the personality of the wife collapsed and the husband tended to become a psychopath.)

Because he has no name, and his “doors are not opposite” he cannot win his love-mate. Her people will not consent. The illegitimate son in society is regarded as impossible for mating. Never so much as in their mating are young men and women so grateful and proud of their ancestors. The worthy ancestors indicate the heritage they have to offer each other.

Wu Hoo Git, in despair, hangs himself to the weeping willow tree, and by suicide and attachment to the tree he expresses his intrauterine return to the mother. He has failed to win his love-mate and life is too bitter to endure. (Such crises often result in suicides. As I make this note, four men occur to me who made desperate efforts to commit suicide when they were unable to win their love-objects. Unfortunately one threw himself from a height, but two of them took gas and were resuscitated and the fourth shot himself. Years later, although paralyzed from the hips down the
latter married a substitute in a desperate effort to win his (mother) love-object. He married a nurse. She left him the next day.)

The retreat to the grave should be considered a nursling, affective regression after the castration and bitter disappointment of losing his first love and then later hanging as a still further regression to the intrauterine level. The disappointments that turned the youth back are similar to experiences that precipitate many of the cases of affective regression in our asylums.

Chorus announces that the spirit of his mother will save him (the mother is often hallucinated in states of affective regression). She sends a philosopher. He saves the youth and advises him “make yourself great in right living and your ancestors will find you. I will lead you to your home and my gray head will find you life and love, which I missed for want of guiding.” (By turning to philosophy the disappointed man finds comfort and in turn he feels an almost obsessive compulsion to guide others to happiness which he missed for want of guiding. Thus the race saves itself. The cases of affective regression are often remarkably responsive to the psycho-analyst, who represents for them a philosophy of living.)

Wu Hoo Git returns home and there he learns the true story of his birth as his parents tell him the story of the heritage he may win. Then mounted in his chariot in great exuberance of spirit he goes forth, with the gray-haired philosopher to guide him, to become a hero and win his throne for Plum Blossom.

(Throughtout the poem numerous references are scattered about Wu Hoo Git finding ancestors, learning his name, etc. In the dementia praecox psychoses one often meets with sullen, angry, worried, unhappy young men and women who deny their fathers and mothers, refuse to recognize them, accuse them of being “abductors” and “hypocrites” and demand to know the name of their real fathers and mothers. An Italian-English boy said the Queen of Italy was his mother and that he had been kidnapped by a nurse when he was eighteen months old (weaning period). He demanded to be freed from this woman, who controled him with a secret service, in order that he might find his real father. For weeks he has been brooding over these difficulties.

A boy, about fourteen, with great enthusiasm, said his father had changed in his attitude toward him and now treated him like a man. He no longer treated him like a boy because he had talked to him about sexual problems.

Great is the unforgettable day when the parents tell their children the history of their birth and admit them to an equality in
the mysteries of life and then only is the long pressing question of childhood and adolescence fully answered. Children, who learn of the sexual mysteries of their birth from their parents, seem to acquire a distinctive self-confidence and reassurance which is amazingly different from the self-conscious, timid, easily embarrassed and worried young man or woman who must grope in darkness to learn through casual vulgarity.)

The foster mother produces the baby jacket and reads to him the history of his becoming. Not until now has he really learned to know his father.

His foster parents give him a sword and the baby jacket as the “guiding star of a mother’s love to armor him” and Plum Blossom gives him her slipper. This betrothal of herself through the slipper is the most important of all. She says: “Let it abide next your heart on your weary way. In the hour of frightful necessity shake it and I will come to you.” The youth goes to seek his heritage, the Yellow Jacket of goodness, virility and happiness, thrice armed with the potent sword given to him by his father, the potent wishes of his mother and his mother-wife’s slipper. How can any stress defeat the biological potency of youth so armed?

ACT III

Chorus introduces the third act with “The second father-in-law, Tai Fah Min, though dead, still lives in spirit to retard Wu Hoo Git’s august progress.” Then Daffodil “takes his steps among his mulberry bushes, watching the silkworms spin while he threads his brain with evil.” Characteristically homosexual, he says: “I apologize for the apparent inadequacy of my brain against Wu Hoo Git’s brawn.” In his struggle with his brother he has “discovered some truths” about himself which he prefers not to have known. He retires to his palace of fantasies to contend with virility through the subtle forces of fancy.

(Narcissus lives in a palace of fantasy alone, for nothing is so beautiful as himself and he will not have it soiled by the thoughts or presence of vulgar people. He resorts to cunning and treachery to gain his ends because he cannot endure physical pain and defeat. To defeat the yearnings of virility self-love puts a series of obstacles in the way which to youth, who loves himself most of all, are insurmountable barriers, but to the young man who will win his biological goal are mere tests of strength.)

Eager for the trials of his strength Wu Hoo Git asks to be shown his battleground, but Wisdom advises him that “No man can foresee
his battleground” and every cloud may bring him peril. But true
to his manhood Wu Hoo Git will not be denied. He replies: “Love
quickens my desire for triumphant vengeance that I may conquer
all, secure my throne and place Plum Blossom on a seat of love
beside me.” (It will be seen, as the narcissistic Daffodil observes
with astonishment, that virility is constantly thinking of a woman,
and her love. It “quickens” his spirit and this goal idea is the
stimulant that generates all his energy to climb up and up, over-
coming all obstacles at any cost. Such mental mechanisms are vitally
necessary to the development of the personality of the young man
and woman and never under any circumstances can he forget it even
for a day if he will succeed. \textit{It should have unrestricted freedom
in his mind.})

He cares not for “monsters, terrors and murder to overcome”
for all his tasks “now are born of love.”

First he climbs a mountain, symbolized by a stack of chairs and
tables, and then crosses a raging torrent over “a span of thoughtful
kindness.” “Armored with courage” he draws the “sword of
progress” and knowingly adds “the end will never be seen if my
first footfall weakens.” When he stumbles to his knee he makes
“a silent prayer to the baby-mother message” and bathes his face
in “the sunshine of virtue” to cleanse “the serpent lines” of “his
father’s face which crawl in his by reflection.”

Now he faces the “Thunder-cloud,” who was requested by a
“world-power to overshadow” him “through bellowing fear.” But
his “wisdom buds with courage” and reading the thundering bully’s
riddle he refuses to sell his wisdom. (This reminds one of the
young man’s eternal struggle to win his place in nature against the
thundering bellowings of tradition, fears of hell and social ostracism,
of ridicule and the frosty aloofness of those who would keep things
as they are. It is like the struggles of science against the resistance
of religion and mysticism, the struggle of psychoanalysis with
prudery.)

When the thunder-cloud learns the goal of the youth he says:
“I withdraw my august self in fearfulness of wisdom,” and the
Philosopher tells the youth: “You have met the most fearful of the
gods (ignorance) and vanquished him.” Wonderfully Wu Hoo Git
replies “Give me the earth to conquer.”

This “coupling of brain with brawn” makes Narcissus’s “seat
of dignity rock in fearfulness.” He wonders at “the tripping
potency” that overcomes a god. (This is truly Chinese and Oriental.
There youth has been completely subdued for ages by horrible gods,
fearful incantations and ancient customs, until just recently. Since western philosophy has been forced in to help the young people of China and the Orient, the truths they are learning are rapidly destroying the thunder-gods of state and religion.)

Now Wu Hoo Git must solve the problem of “petty entanglements that bar his path from earth to Heaven” and will encircle him “with the beauties and love-knots of friendship.” A large spider’s web confronts his path and the monster entices him in “a voice as gentle as Plum Blossom’s.” Fortunately he sees behind the rainbow-colored web signs of evil and tearing the web to see through it discovers that it is the lair of a spider who catches “human flies.”

Although Wu Hoo Git cuts the “eye-chains that bind him to the monster,” he spits with daggers which destroy “life and love.” Youth becomes woven in the web of evil which dulls the fiery edge of his sword and he falls. His gray-haired counselor can not advise him here and he is almost overcome by the entanglements of gossip’s web when he remembers Plum Blossom and that her slipper will save him. Gossip’s web spins not and his joints crinkle in the light of purity when the virgin spirit of Plum Blossom appears. The spider withers and the youth feels in his expanding soul the power to overcome all monsters wild. He wishes that his love-mate might see his “unaided” triumph that she might adore his fiery bravery.

As his inspiration, Plum Blossom makes him strong, and yet true to the young masculine love for dominance he wants to feel that he did it all. This, however, is not possible. Every man that retains clearly in the background of consciousness a justifiable image of his love-object is strong. Its influence helps him to differentiate seductive vices from sincere friendship. The failure to recognize insincerity must warp one’s future and social strength. This, with thundering precedents, is one of the most difficult problems youth must solve and against which only the love for a practical ideal may prevail. After the spider’s web has been shattered by her command, Plum Blossom, with true virgin simplicity, says: “You shook the slipper and I came in your hour of need,” to which the youth adroitly answers “I shook it that you might behold my hour of august victory. Alone, I vanquished the beast of the fields.” (The delight of the audience at this transparent effort to appear self-sufficient suggests that the reply was really a good-humored admission of his helplessness in the spider’s web.)

In the light of Plum Blossom’s purity the spider seeks the dark and Wu Hoo Git impetuously builds a mountain of tables to reach “high Heaven.”
She warns him with a beautiful bit of philosophy: "Ascend not, for all men who strive to build a Heaven ladder and know the secrets of the gods have met with defeat and punishment—it must be born of love you know not of. My prayers alone must guide you, not myself."

This characteristic tendency of the female to spiritualize herself may be carried to the extreme of no longer making even Heaven sufficient for the male. When she tells him she has no lips to kiss, no heart to impress her hero's heart, and no legs he is astonished and dissatisfied. He replies, "No legs in Heaven! Then you are false to me and unworthy of my glorious victory" and descends from his mountain. (Woman must not forget that lips and hearts and legs must be a part of a man’s heaven.)

Before they depart he makes a fervent plea: "Love is in the heart, always. When next you come forget not to bring your exalted lips." And the wisdom of woman answers: "I shall augustly remember, for I observe man knows not a woman without her lips. I depart for my body." (For the female, charm, beauty and children are her goals and they must fade even before she reaches the middle of her life. For the male, power and virility are his priceless goals and for him they need not fade until old age. Intuitively woman protects herself against the certain waning of her physical charms by tending to build a Heaven in which lips and hearts and legs are not necessary. Always she must yield a little to man but always he must insist upon her yielding.)

The ever more potent youth and the guiding philosopher leave the stage and Daffodil appears in his palace to say: "I surmised not he had a slipper. It is a most dangerous potency to overcome. It upsets my plans frightfully. I must contrive a way to get it." (The slipper is the symbol of the female genitalia. The foot is inserted into the slipper. "The old woman who lived in a shoe (to live in anything is to be completely absorbed by it) had so many children she knew not what to do." The homosexual personality cannot appreciate the importance of the female’s sexual attributes to the virile male or the part it plays in his potency. In the play it is this slipper which love has given her hero that urges him on and gives him such power. At first the proud, austere, self-indulgent Daffodil saw only vulgar brawn and bungling impetuosity in his rival, then he saw brain and brawn and now realizes that also he has a slipper which gives him his strange potency and this indeed makes homosexuality uncomfortable.)

The fox-spirit, the Daffodil’s cunning grandfather, now opposes
Wu Hoo Git with thunderous voice and the youth conquers him, cuts off his tail (castration) and achieves the great satisfaction that must come to all sons who transcend their hostile fathers. (This is well, for of such is the progress of civilization.) Triumphant he says "Stay! You cannot yet aspire to the celestial bliss where dwells my mother, whose blood is on your hands. Depart below" —and the submissions of his childhood are revenged. (A shut-in impotent young man loved to tell of how when a boy he stopped his domineering father from abusing his mother by stepping in between them with a knife. It is astonishing that the author should have made Daffodil use his mother's father to steal the slipper. Paranoid young men often accuse their fathers, employers or fathers-in-law of contriving their impotence.)

Now the philosopher tells the young hero that "every man must look into the Garden of his Soul alone." His journey is ended as an adviser and the youth should go alone for "the mountain peak of life is now in view" (he has freed himself of his father's restrictions) and if the wisdom he acquired on his journey abides with him what he will see "will be as gloriously fanciful as a Summer's Sea." (For the strong, reality is more glorious and enchanting than fancy.)

The philosopher puts his coat of knowledge about the shoulders of the youth who returns it, turned inside out—which is what a well-constituted youth tends to do with all knowledge, so that out of the teachings gradually are sifted the gold from the sand. It turns cold and the beast "freezes up the warmth of kindness." The old counselor of youth dies and even the slipper of Plum Blossom becomes "a block of ice," and she deserts him in this hour of trial (which we do not like to see) but the spirit of Chee Moo, the kind mother, who wrote his life story in her blood returns to him and brings him warmth when he is left all alone. Now Plum Blossom cannot hear him, for he would go on to the mountain top and one step above that he will see "the world of love" and his "inner self." He hears the "mother's soul-cloud" and the jacket burns into his soul and "conquers the freezing chill." His "eyes at last open to the circling vision of 'realities,' which were only (practical) dreams." (There comes a time in every man's life, who would think for himself, when he is abandoned until he proves his truth.)

The Daffodil now retreats to his throne and walls himself in to protect himself in his last stronghold from the demands of Wu Hoo Git. (The homosexual paranoiac walls himself in a dream world, places himself on the throne of a king, God, of Christ, sur-
rounds himself with mysticism and false logic and makes himself immune from the demands of heterosexuality and reality which must direct the constructive affairs of Society.) Upon his self-created throne homosexuality feels himself “deserted by all” and deserts all, for his “self-importance still remains.”

Wu Hoo Git enters the palace, beats down the barrier with three mighty strokes of his potent sword and enters the throne room. Upon the father’s throne is seated the proud Daffodil who looks contemptuously down upon Wu Hoo Git. But when the rightful heir demands it he descends from the throne and yields the “sun-hued garment.”

Homosexuality only bumps its head twice, a humiliating substitute for the bow which should be made three times, and then he is forced to choose a prison. Characteristically he chooses “a garden! A garden of smiling flowers” and “retires to its fragrance” (to dream).

Wu Hoo Git, the youth, started with the story of his destiny written in his mother’s blood, when she weaned him, and though he prayed, worked, studied, played and fought for his virility he finally had to demand it and only then the last resistances of self-indulgence yielded. He was only then able to wear the yellow sun-hued jacket of virility, goodness and happiness. Promptly he summoned his love-mate and gallantly asked her to ascend the throne—after she had assured him that she had brought her “impressive body.” Her slipper was made his scepter and the spirit of his mother knew “the world and wisdom are his.”

The homosexual male youth is never able to quite free himself from feelings of inferiority and persecution by the more virile male. Homosexuality, being intrinsically feminine, tends to be lazy and passive and is not constructive unless compensatory strivings occur. The homosexual male’s greatest difficulty lies in his final demand of himself to imprison his narcissistic interests forever, take a slipper for his scepter, a maiden for his love and place her upon his throne.

In the Yellow Jacket the psychoanalyst finds a valuable guide for working with the male psychopath. They all suffer from affective repressions and have been devitalized by fears of the monster spider’s social entanglements, the thunder-God of tradition, self-indulgence and aversion for work, or have been “drowned” in the mother’s sympathy or suppressed by the father’s hatred. With assistance the patient becomes aware of his fears and repressions and although he does not have the parent’s blood-wish for his
virility he catches an inspiration from the attitude of the psychoanalyst and obtains a clearer vision of his biological career. Finally, as the philosopher advises Wu Hoo Git, so the psychoanalyst must say, *without moralizing or reproach*, "put goodness in yourself to shut out cold" and so soon as the patient grasps the value of this and if the wisdom he has learned abides with him, he will reply: "It is decreed I must mount alone."

If he is free from longings for sympathy and self-indulgence he will not be frozen in the social void.

With Emerson he has learned: "Trust thyself" and with Cervantes "to know thyself, which is the most difficult lesson in the world."
HEREDITY AND SELF-CONCEIT

By Mabel Stevens

Whenever brought to task for misdemeanors, a certain cowardly boy invariably cried out: "Don't yer blame it on to me, I tell yer! Don't yer blame it on to me!" His sham defiance was tell-tale. His words represent fairly well the suspicious haste of mankind in general to part company even with peccadillos. A voice within urges the offender to shift the burden somewhere else, upon anything convenient. "Behold, there is the scapegoat of heredity; let us send our sins into the wilderness of oblivion." Today, however, psychoanalysis bids fair to put an end to this diversion, and many others. Among them is one of which it may not come amiss to speak now. It is another form of self-defence in which one's ancestors can play an equally accommodating rôle. We refer to the use of heredity as a protective cover for self-conceit. There is a chance that the subject will repay elaboration; therefore, we will examine into the folly of a characteristic over-conscientious man of what we hope is a bygone period.

The prevailing frame of mind of such a man is similar to that of the earnest Christian when singing: "Oh, to be nothing, nothing!" This popular mode of self-effacement was at one time highly commended, because it was supposed to indicate the limit of humility. The Christian might do wonderful things—work veritable miracles—but he must give God the glory and disclaim all the honor himself. Oh, to be nothing! Christ all, self nothing. Obviously one could not be less than nothing.

As an offset to this attitude, an alternative suggested itself. Heredity came to be regarded as of increasing importance. Many people feigned to believe heredity all, self nothing. Accordingly, in the midst of many abuses from which heredity suffered, there arose one frequent use, which on the surface appeared worthy of approval. To be explicit: it often happened that if a man suddenly felt in danger of becoming too puffed up, he would forthwith divest himself of everything in his favor by ascribing his good deeds to some recently departed relative, or better yet, to some remote ancestor. For

1 Manuscript received March 14, 1917. [Ed.]
the farther removed the meritorious acts were placed, the greater the security against fostering self-conceit. Bad deeds might be retained, of course—common decency demanded it—moreover, they could not raise one's self-esteem. To read the record of past generations was in itself an education in humility. The depth of mental distress was reached when a given individual, in passing judgment on himself, was very certain that he never had done anything, was not doing anything, and in all probability never would do anything which any one of his ancestors would care to have attributed to himself.

From early childhood, most of us look upon our forefathers as heroes. If villains, they are nevertheless heroes to the infantile imagination. They live in phantasy like beings from Greek mythology, or from the modern dime novel, depending on the status of the child's family. It will soon become perfectly apparent that behind the ancestor worship there lay concealed, in the subject of our sketch, an extraordinary worship of self—and the devotee in the temple never suspected the truth; that temple was to him a Hall of Fame, he had dreamed of seeing his own name inscribed there some day. He longed to do something wonderful himself that he might be worthy of the other members of the family. The fact is, he knew little about them. Doubtless, they were honorable men, "all, all honorable men." But what did it matter? Knaves or no, he had immediate need of them—to use them as a refuge from the enemy. They must stand by him in a terrible emergency. Connected with the ancestor question was a tremendous responsibility; but, fortunately, it worked both ways. They introduced him into the world; so they must help him.

Now the necessity of being on guard against pride in one's own powers and attainments was most keenly felt at the very time when heredity became fashionable as a means of protection; but the conscious self, while hustling temptations out of the door, failed to notice what slipped through with them. In the process of using the idea of heredity as a shield, self-conceit—against which the shield was to be used—broke out under a subtler form.

From Alfred Adler's description of the aggressive factor in the child's make-up, we realize how persistent is the assertion of the ego. The Minderwertigkeitsgefühl is not agreeable to the adult, but the child fights it with primitive energy. The child has scant patience with the thought "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted" (Luke xiv, 11). The child does not like to sit in the seat of the humble. He resents being suppressed, squelched, snubbed,
and made to know his place. So, too, the infantile in the adult (in our case, self-conceit) objects with vigor to compulsory withdrawal into modest retirement. Liberty, then, becomes the chief good of life—the liberty to live.

Psychoanalysis indicates why over-zealous self-conceit may not count, all along, upon the cooperation of conscious factors of mind. The infantile (as this self-conceit) stands ready at any moment to revolt against repression. While the man's better, higher self, apprehensive of encouraging self-conceit, makes a sincere effort to prevent it, and chooses the path of heredity to escape temptation, his submerged self, ever on the alert, takes the identical means at the identical time to reach its own freedom of expression, thus bringing into the open that very self-conceit so much dreaded. One and the same process has worked against self-conceit, and yet for it. So anxious has he been to repudiate all connection with the contemptible foe that, at times, there has existed a feeling as if the enemy might attack a poor soul from without. How mortifying it would be to discover that his lurking-place was within! Ah! now there is no longer room for doubt, but plenty of room for humiliation. "Verily a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

Upon closer inspection, this heredity scheme of defence reveals itself as a species of compromise between the absolute surrender of the fervent Christian and the non-surrender of the unregenerate sinner. It is a half surrender, a concession to public opinion. Nay, it is more than that. It is a subtle form of self-exaltation, which could only pass muster under the guise of humility. Do we not come upon a genuine Freudian mechanism here? Our over-conscientious individual is rigidly trained. He is under an internal and an external compulsion to transfer the good achieved (that is to say, the credit for it) to some one else, and yet he fain would keep it. How can he both keep it and cast it away? Through the ancestor compromise. Brilliant thought! There is much consolation in that. One might not with propriety bestow a medal of honor upon oneself: but the decoration would shine with added lustre in a family picture.

In our relentless description it is but fair to recognize that this is a subliminal flow of thought sweeping everything before it. May we not believe that if the hidden motive were brought into consciousness, the artifice need never be resorted to, that it would disappear as hysterical symptoms do when the causes, accompanied by their emotions, rush into the light?

The subconscious self coddles self-conceit from the very beginning. The conscious self, on the contrary, despises nothing so
heartily as that selfsame inexcusable fault. It requires considerable manœuvreuring on the part of the subconscious ego to effect a public appearance for this secret favorite, so long repressed and ignored by the conscious ego as to be absolutely forgotten and its very existence questioned. We find that a kind of censorship is exercised, which, put into words, would read as follows: "No, dearest self-conceit, you must not leave your retreat. What! You are urgent? Well, I will relent. You may go through the gateway of satisfaction—but upon one condition, that you mask as a relative." And rather than remain in seclusion self-conceit accepts the terms.

Another reason why it is easy to follow the long road having the sign-board marked "Ancestor-Way" is because there is nothing to lose thereby. Not only are we sending our good deeds to good company, but what we are pleased to consider our forefathers' importance may thus enhance our own. After all it is the old honest policy of "give and take." We trust that our contribution to the sum total of production will be recognized. Strictly speaking, it was not a voluntary contribution, but we will take in return the honor which was theirs: for it is not to be "an affair without honor." We have no use for the Christian's hope of glory in another world; we want our modicum of praise now. It is not good form to blow one's own trumpet: but if an ancestor does it for us, it amounts to the same thing, being all in the family. What is our credit becomes his credit, and his credit ours. This borders on identification. People who have anything in common are to that extent one.

Once more we must not overlook the fact that these thoughts are imprisoned in the inner chamber of our mind. They fuss and fret and fume to have their will. They make us do inexplicable things, detestable things of which we are ashamed.

Now how far are the two acts similar? that of the Christian and that of the self-centered man? First: they are both based upon a conception of union or oneness.

The Christian's ideal of union with God could be illustrated by many passages of Scripture. One taken from Christ's prayer for His disciples, expresses this best. We read in John xvii, 22, 23: "And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one even as we are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one." This ideal of union explains why the perfect Christian, as portrayed by Christ, has regarded whatever he did as of God. Thus Christ said to His disciples: "Take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak: for it is not ye that speak, but
the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you” (Matthew x, 19, 20). We will not undertake the task of proving or disproving the
doctrine of Divine Immanence. Whether true or false, it has in-
fluenced the Church throughout its entire history. It is simply our
purpose to note how it affects us, and how the use of heredity as a
measure of expediency may be an outcome of it. Christ had de-
clared: “The Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works”
(John xiv, 10). And in accordance with that conception St. Paul
wrote: “I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless, I live, yet not I
but Christ liveth in me” (Galatians ii, 20).

In the same manner our self-centered man, the heredity enthu-
siast, might write: “I live, yet not I but an ancestor liveth in me.”
Similarly there is a sense in which any one could make the startling
statement: “I am my ancestors: my ancestors are myself.” Many
people proclaim that the only way in which we have immortality is
through our children, our children’s children, etc. In our children
we live far into the future. So, in us, our ancestors live into the
centuries beyond them. The union is so close that one life is but
the prolongation of another. There is a continuous life.

Second: the two attitudes, that of the Christian and that of the
self-centered man, are similar again in that they can both be traced
to the father-son idea.

Between the Christian and his God there is a spiritual tie and
also a fleshly one: for Christ was Son of Man as well as Son of
God. Between a man and his forefathers there is a spiritual bond
and also one of flesh and blood. The ideal Christian is in constant
connection with his Heavenly Father; and through heredity every
man is in constant connection with an earthly father, or with the
composite father of his own particular family.

Yet neither in the case of the Christian and his God nor in that
of the self-centered man and his ancestors can the writer feel that
union and oneness mean actual identification. God speaking through
the Christian does not make God identical with the Christian. To
use an instrument does not imply being that instrument. Likewise,
to continue the life of any given ancestor does not include depriving
him of his personal identity, or losing one’s own. That would be
annihilation of the individual. However our work is not primarily
to expose fallacies or sophisms, but to see how the idea of heredity
came to be chosen as the solution of a difficulty.

The two companion acts—that of the self-centered man and that
of the self-depreciating Christian—are analogous. One is enough
like the other for us to conclude that it may have been suggested
by the other. One is an imitation of the other, and takes its place. The ancestor-imago may be a substitute for the universal Vater-Imago. Now we have been taught that honor is due unto a father. As we have seen, the Christian’s duty is to give honor and glory to God the Heavenly Father. But the self-centered man does not feel thus inclined. Whatever glory there is floating about must go to himself, directly or indirectly. For the same reason, we make over our good deeds to our family on the pretext of running away from temptation, of being much concerned about having no faults and about keeping to the straight line of rectitude. What we are concerned about is our meed of praise.

The decision as to which has the greater influence on a single life, heredity or environment, can well be left to experts. Hymn-singing humility and self-conceit are expressions of environment—one might say, of the Sunday School. The teachings there have led directly to that false humility and that abnormal sense of responsibility of which we have been speaking.

How does the idea of responsibility come to be connected with heredity long before we are able to grasp a scientific presentation of the subject? From the Bible, surely. Very early in life we learn the Ten Commandments. In them stands before us the God of the Hebrews, the jealous God. The infantile can well believe in a jealous God. Jealousy is a feeling often experienced by the child. How terrible the Scripture sounds: “I the Lord am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep My commandments” (Exodus xx, 5; Deuteronomy vii, 9, 10; Exodus xxxiv, 7; Numbers xiv, 18). The mercy is conditioned upon love and obedience; and the necessity for obedience is not a pleasant thought to most children. It is too suggestive of inferiority and insufficiency. The very suspicion of Minderwertigkeit strengthens the impulse to disobedience. And how in regard to the punishment mentioned here? Knowing nothing whatever about the laws of heredity, the child reflects: “What! shall one person be punished for what another has done? That is not fair. That is wrong. But it comes so sometimes, at home and in school. Oh, dear! Then everybody must try very hard to be very, very good so nobody will be punished.”

The Old Testament and the New impress upon us the certainty of punishment for offences. The Bible is full of examples for our edification. Ahab and Jezebel; Ananias and Sapphira; and a host of covetous sinners cannot escape the consequences of sin. Think
of it! Instant death, even, may be the penalty. Thrills of fear follow the reading of these passages, for the child fears punishment. The Lord is indeed "the Lord that will by no means clear the guilty."

The New Testament assures us of the love of God for His children, and of forgiveness of sins; but it does not relieve of responsibility, and much is said concerning punishment. "Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord" (Ephesians vi, 8). "He that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done, and there is no respect of persons" (Colossians iii, 25). Apparently there is in evidence a never-failing system of reward and punishment—reward for good deeds and punishment for evil ones.

This makes it clear why the child and the infantile adult are so loath to part with the good which they have done. It is proof positive that they really have been very, very good. It relieves them of the dreadful fear of punishment. Moreover, they want to have something to show when the rewards are distributed; they want to hear the words: "Well done, good and faithful servant." The child is looking constantly for approval, for approbation; and the self-conceited person is always seeking his reward of merit, whether praise or something more substantial. In his mental life, the self-conceited person is thus shown to be still a child.

The interpretation of the Bible has made both saints and sinners tremble. If any one passage has often weighed like lead upon the hearts of old and young, it is the parable of the ten talents (Matthew xxv, 14-30; Luke xix, 11-27). We who have received so much, how strictly shall we be held accountable for what has been given us! (That is the feeling.) Here heredity comes to the front once more. Part of what we have received is through heredity. It is one source of both good and evil. If we have had good for our portion, we must increase it. No one must dare to tie up his pound in a napkin, or to hide his talent in the earth out of sight. If we have fallen heir to evil, then our responsibility is all the greater, to substitute good for evil.

We have referred to Minderwertigkeit. One way in which the child tries to overcome the Minderwertigkeitsgefühl is by playing at being "grown up." Each child imitates the speech and manners of his superiors—in the hope of thus becoming superior himself. He longs to shed his feeling of inferiority. At once he thinks himself bigger, grander, more important: he imagines himself to be what he is not. This kind of play, this instantaneous identification,
is an obvious effort at wish-fulfilment. The self-conceited person does a similar thing. He, too, identifies himself with an ideal of grandeur, namely, with the glorified ego. And because it is the ego, his performance provokes adverse comment; whereas the masquerade of the little ones simply excites good-natured laughter in the beholders. The ideal of the children, being outside of themselves, is acceptable. "Come, let's make believe!" they shout; and they know it is only play. After a while they grow tired and stop the game. Self-conceit, on the contrary, keeps to his assumed rôle. When his game begins then the infantile individual "makes believe" until he really believes that he has the great qualities and has done the great deeds which he wishes the world to see and to admire in him. In thought he has already become the perfect realization of his ambition. In imagination he has his "place in the sun." He is a consummate actor—so skilful that he has deceived himself. In respect to vanity he has not emerged from childhood—yet he is not aware of that fact.

Another way in which many a child seeks to avoid the Minderwertigkeitsgefühl is by boasting. The average child's alphabet consists of but one letter; it is "I." Throughout the day we hear "I, I, I." The Bible takes him in hand and teaches him the other letters from A to Z. This is an acquired alphabet. Does a child begin to boast of something which he has done? He is brought up with a round turn by the text: "For who maketh thee to differ from another, and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" (I Corinthians iv, 7). The self-conceited man is at heart a boaster. If he may not boast of himself, he will boast of his family, his friends; anybody and anything connected with himself. The censorship of public opinion compels him to do most of his boasting in a concealed form. But his conduct, his manner deceive no one; he is continually thinking "I, I, I," if he does not say it.

Now since he has so many points in common with the child, would we not be justified in asking if the same cause is behind his boasting that is behind that of the child? Would it surprise us to find in self-conceit an excessive reaction to Minderwertigkeitsgefühl? Also, might we expect such an excessive reaction to be in response to excessive feeling? In other words, could we rightly declare that self-conceited people must be among those who suffer most (and intensely) from feelings of Minderwertigkeit? The child wishes to be big; and so, in a different sense, does the self-conceited individual. May not the latter in truth be as weak as
the former? Just as the blasphemer is said to have deep in his heart a reverence for God, so may not weakness be back of self-conceit? May not the self-conceit be a bluff to conceal weakness, or else a supreme effort to overcome it? Could not Organminderwertigkeit incite to self-conceit? Certainly it is not difficult to imagine that physical defects and deficiencies might make a man nearly wild to call attention to his good points. The above are questions which we would like to hear discussed. We wonder if we might infer that the greater the Minderwertigkeitsgefühl, the greater the self-conceit, or if the converse might be true: the greater the self-conceit, the greater the Minderwertigkeitsgefühl. If reaction were always in proportion to feeling, we think the answer might be in the affirmative. It is possible, however, that Minderwertigkeitsgefühl may not be sufficiently intense to account for the superassertive character of self-conceit, and that its root goes deeper yet into the sub-substratum of sexual aggression.

But be the cause of self-conceit what it may, the Bible seeks to do away with the fault by the utter elimination of self. Does the self-centered man long for praise? Praise belongeth to the Creator, and not to the creature. What is man? He lives, moves and has his being—yes, but in God. The Sunday School scholar is admonished that instead of spending his days in boasting, he might better devote them to work; that he is here in this world to accomplish something. If he does not, he is a "wicked and slothful servant." There is no time to be wasted. He must make every minute count toward a definite end, and then, when all is said and done, he must call himself an "unprofitable servant," for he "hath done only his duty." Strive he never so hard, he must remain in the place of the humble; that is the crushing blow to self-conceit; that is the manner in which it has been, supposedly, eliminated, but, as a matter of fact, only repressed. So thoroughly has the latter been done that one result has escaped notice. It has happened that if a person was self-conceited, he had no chance of finding it out, as the fault was given no opportunity of showing itself undisguised. The rigid censorship established by the Bible teachings causes a repression so effective that the self-conceit can only come to light wearing other garments. Therefore the self-conceited person thinks himself without his serious defect. Since it can even mask as humility, the old-fashioned method of introspection is seldom equal to the task of stripping off that disguise, especially when the owner of the costume is so very well satisfied with himself. Right here is where psychoanalytic work is different. It eradicates a fault by forcing it to show itself
for what it is. Had our self-centered man been accused of self-conceit, he would have protested passionately that he had been misunderstood. He would have been quite shocked and horrified for the time being, and then he would have thrust the unwelcome knowledge back into the secret chamber of consciousness along with self-conceit.

Heretofore self-mastery has been won largely by the exercise of sheer will power, and has not been due to a sufficient knowledge of self. Because a fault was in repression and was not visible, it was delightful to think of it as destroyed. Although the trouble brewing in the subconscious probably turned life into a series of discomforting surprises, these were seldom referred to their true source, but far more likely to a false one. The present generation, as it comes into the light, will not make so many misconnections. Psychoanalysis is giving us greater knowledge of the ego. We are more anxious than the incorrigible boy seemed to be to have the blame for mischief placed in the right quarter. Better yet—we are trying to prevent the necessity for blame by a reeducation of the individual.
Into the vocabulary for the interpretation of human conduct have come certain significant phrases. Many of them had their origin in the study of abnormal psychology. The transference of the terminology—defence-mechanism, complex, repression—with the ideas, the attitude, the method of analysis from which the captions arose, marks the first great stride into the mysterious region of man's psychical nature. Scientists are slow to accept "psychoanalysis"; they scoff at the interpretation of dreams, and point out the weakness in the reasoning by analogy which characterizes Jung's development of the Oedipus-theory.

The very psychologist who scoffs does, however, employ in his analysis of conduct these phrases: defence-mechanism, conflict, repression. Education is giving slow credence to the contribution of the new method to the problem of child-training. Criminal science has begun to explain aborted citizens in these terms of repression. Holt, in The Freudian Wish, redefines ethics in psychoanalytical language. In social psychology, the importance of racial history in its development of the instincts of human beings is admitted, as well as the vast significance of the environment against which these instincts must project themselves.

There has as yet been no particular attempt to apply this science of the unconscious life of human beings to the problems involved in the development and present character of women. It may be of interest to suggest such an attempt. If, in the racial history of women, and in the present-day development of a female individual, there appear more causes for suppression than in the life of the male, more occasions on which the individual is incapable of clear and direct functioning toward its environment, then there may appear an explanation other than sex-differentiation for various qualities attributed to women, such as lack of creative ability.

For example, an examination of the effect upon women of the tabus existing in primitive tribes in regard to the period of puberty and the menstruation periods might reveal complexes peculiar to women. The ceremonies for boys at the age of puberty had as
their purpose always the initiating of the boy into the power of a grown man. Those for the girl at the same period were instigated through fear of the mysterious menstrual blood, and consisted in isolating her as an unclean thing, in imposing upon her restrictions which in some tribes amounted to torture. These customs are not confined to primitive tribes; the Old Testament has evidence of a similar attitude toward women, expressed in rigid laws instead of in tabus. Furthermore, the tabus persist among highly civilized peoples as superstitious beliefs. Here, then, is a definite element in her environment which the woman has been forced to meet, an element which has contained for her shame, self-abasement, isolation as a member of a lower sex. This unnecessary part of her environment has borne fruit in psychical disorders, in unreal adjustments, in repressions. The superstitions which still hang about menstruation must have their effect. If women are supposed to believe that they are subject to a period of "ill-health," that they are physically incapacitated twelve weeks out of each year, they react to the belief rather than to the real situation. A compilation of the advice of mothers of the past generation might go far to explain why anti-feminists have the effrontery to offer as an argument against any participation by women in affairs of state or business, their "periodic" weakness. An analysis of the nervous disorders which are familiar accompaniments of this period might easily disclose psychical suppressions which have resulted from the superimposed attitude toward the event. Adler, in his discussion of Minderwertigkeit with respect to children, explains that much of the total energy of all of us is spent in developing and using devices of concealment (Deckphenomena) of diseases and defects. If the good, strong, healthy components can not compensate the opposite, anxiety supervenes, conscious or unconscious, values lose their worth, and we tend to take refuge from reality in fancies. Social opinion, then, expressed in tabus, laws, or general opinions, labelling women as possessed of a permanent and inevitably recurring disease through the best years of their life, is sufficient to cause psychical derangement in some degree. This derangement would appear in an emphasis on certain characteristics, which might then be labelled "feminine," and in a lessened power of accomplishment.

If, in addition to this set of customs, there exist others operating in like fashion, the case is strengthened until the critic wonders that women have succeeded in attaining their present state. That these other customs exist, any study of racial history gives testimony.
From the time when women, caught in the net of a long period of caring for children and a desire for a safe place in which to rear those children, settled down to make a permanent home of a shelter, their history is that of submission, of growing physical weakness, of lessening importance in the eyes of the males except as a means for sex satisfaction. The men, as the tribes advanced in civilization, found increasingly difficult the adaptation of instinct to environment, an adaptation which went on unconsciously. How much greater has been the difficulty which met the women is told perhaps in the very qualities which are now used to show their inferiority to men, in their hysteria, their “nerves,” their weaker physical expression.

The position of woman during the later stages of European civilization has the same possibility for psychical complications. The position of master and slave, which originated in the primitive tribes, continues to exist, embellished in different fashions at different ages. The Lady appears, with ritualistic behavior inverted upon her, whether she is a Grecian lady, a lady of chivalry, a lady of the artificial eighteenth century, or a lady of the southern states in America. Civilization has increased in complexity, making the functions of the individual so difficult that a complete science rises to examine the results. And always with the progress of humanity, in addition to the inevitable turmoil which confronts individuals, there have existed definite, artificial, imposed codes of behavior for half of humanity.

The preceding paragraphs suggest meagerly the line of analysis which might be pursued for the racial history of women. Much of the material is familiar; the added significance which that material possesses when touched by a knowledge of the effect in such artificial limitations to the individual, in the psychic disorders, in the outcropping of various mechanisms from suppressed instincts, from unreal behavior, all this significance is perhaps a newer aspect of the material.

More important, however, than this possibility of historical interpretation is the immediate situation of women, viewed from the angle of these forming ideas. Can the psychology of the unconscious add anything to the understanding of the woman today, her possessions, her capacities? She does possess more freedom than she has ever held before. She is blocked in her attempts to acquire a freedom equal to that of the man by upholders of old mores, who argue that she “belongs in the home,” that she is affectionate rather
than intellectual, that her interests are personal rather than social, that she has not the creative ability of the male. Some basis of fact these protagonists of conventions seem to grasp. There are few Sapphos, no female Platos, Galileos, Darwins, Michel Angelos; in these later days, not a female Karl Marx, nor a female Rockefeller. But is this distressing lack inherent in sex-characteristics, or does it occur as an explicable result of causes which may be detected—and might be removed?

In the first place, the earliest years of the child’s life are now recognized as years of determining importance, whether Freud, Jung, Adler, or some more conservative psychologist is accepted as the ultimate explanation of the details of that importance. During these years the suppression and adaptation of instincts have their beginning. If, during these years, there are any suppressions peculiar to small girls, which are undemanded of their brothers, if there exists “Minderwertigkeit,” or a sense of inferiority, for girls in addition to that under which small boys suffer, then even at the beginning of existence, the struggle for women is more difficult than that of men. Adler suggests that very early in the ordinary family life the normal girl recognizes the inferior position of her sex. Her father is the person of importance, of power; she feels not only the child sense of inferiority to the older person, but the girl’s sense of subordination to the other sex. If she chooses the masculine ideal, just as her brother does, the greater distance between the ideal and the actual makes the psychical tension greater in her case than in her brother’s. Few are the families in which the girl does not wish, rebelliously or wistfully as her temperament allows, that she were a boy, that she could be a man! Not only is there this psychical tension, but there is frequently the necessity for immediate suppression of desires, because those desires—legitimate enough—lead toward things “little girls don’t do.” The tasks of the woman in the average household are not yet considered equal in importance to the tasks of the man. As the girl grows older, the sense of inferiority still encloses her, although her brother is escaping it with his added years. Adler attributes the excess of nervousness among women to this continuing “Minderwertigkeit.” In the hysteria cases appearing at city clinics, the women outnumber the men. A sober-minded writer, in the Journal of Abnormal Psychology, accuses women of using hysteria as a “marital weapon”! An investigation of hysteria, however, leads in practically every instance to a psychical disturbance, frequently remote in time. Minder-
wertigkeit can not be alleged as the cause of all this hysteria among women, nor of their nervousness; its presence as a contributing factor is suggested by Adler. The entire basis of Freud's repression-theory argues in the same direction.

Jung, in his Psychology of the Unconscious, insists upon the importance of independence in the development of the individual, an importance implied in Adler's theory of minderwertigkeit. "Man does not live very long in the infantile environment or in the bosom of his family without real danger to his mental health." Yet the authority of the father over his daughters has been accepted until the present era—is still enforced in more communities than the Pennsylvania Dutch. That authority is maintained until the time of transference to the husband. Witness the phrases which persist in the marriage ceremony of civilized people: Wilt thou obey him? Who giveth this woman to be married? The woman has simply changed the authority under which she remains inferior. Laws in regard to property, to children, to divorce, which held the woman in a position of incredible inferiority, and which have been altered slowly during the last quarter century, have worked some psychical ills which may be erased less easily even than the laws.

Amy Tanner, in the Pedagogical Seminary for June, 1915, sums up Adler's account of the development of the neurotic person as follows:

"The combination of the sense of inferiority with the aggressive impulse and the desire to be above leads to all the characteristics of the 'nervous' person—fanaticism for truth; excessive humility, modesty, or virtue in any form; unrealizable ambition; envy and jealousy of others, with various forms of depreciation of them; undue craving for love and affection from others and excessive demands upon those who love him, etc.

"When the neurotic is unable to attain his end in these ways, his path becomes more devious. He may make a cult of his weakness, exaggerate his helplessness, and develop childish or invalid traits, in order to be the focus of attention and care. . . . The impulsion always comes from the feeling of inferiority plus the will to power."

Adler is describing here the neurotic person, particularly the child. He makes no application of these conclusions to women. It is the more interesting, therefore, to consider, with this account at hand, the qualities attributed to women as sex-characteristics. Not so many years ago, to appear in good health was distinctly bad form
for a woman; she must faint without any provocation, she must play the rôle of clinging vine to the stalwart male oak. Her facility at that rôle may be seen in Adler’s “cult of her weakness.” The extreme of that custom has fortunately passed, but the cult of feminine weakness is still possessed of members. Here is a definite explanation for what evidences are offered that women are weaker than men—physically, mentally, any way you please. Other accusations against women will find a similar echo in Adler’s delineation of the society-produced neurotic.

If on the whole a more rigid scheme of behavior and belief is postulated for one half of humanity, then that half runs the danger of incurring additional repressions, of exhibiting a more striking failure to develop through “progressive integrations.” A situation which must be met, not by action which results from the desirable process of discrimination, but by some previously arranged method of behavior, will be likely to leave the individual harboring in the form of a repressed wish some variation of behavior. The question of the proper vocation for women may illustrate this point.

Only recently could it be called a question, so firmly was opinion settled in regard to the matter. A woman was made for the job of wife and mother. If she missed a chance at this job, she was to be pitied; life held nothing in compensation for her. The terms “old maid,” and “spinster,” with their connotation of disapproval and scorn, give evidence as to the status of unmarried women. That women possessed variability in their fitness or desire for this one vocation was not admitted. Here exist, then, two possibilities for psychical mechanisms; in the first place, minderwertigkeit, for men could be fathers and husbands, and anything else in the economic world; in the second place, repressions in those women who felt the urge toward wifelihood or motherhood less keenly, and who concealed that shameful quality, repressing their desires toward other fulfilsments of existence. The general thrusting of the “maternal instinct” upon all women, without regard for possible variations, is another instance of a rigid demand for behavior. There seems no proof that such an instinct is universal, any more than that the paternal instinct is of equal force in all men.

Holt, in The Freudian Wish, defines the activity of an individual as a “constant function of some feature of its environment”; for a well-developed individual, that activity must be a result of discrimination, of choice, of successful integration. If behavior is ordered by custom, by parental training, it is not the result of dis-
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criminal, and must involve suppression. As Holt says, “The soul that fails to develop through progressive integrations is strikingly repressed, inhibited, unfree. One is puzzled whether to describe the difficulty as nervous malady, mental inhibition, or moral perversity, a perplexing circumstance until one realizes that all these pertain to the same genus—suppression.”

The matter of the vocation of women, even with the added freedom of the present day, offers material for consideration. Although the woman may enter more fields, she is still subject to criticism for her choice, and to opposition in more than one quarter. Teaching has been accepted as a suitable stop-gap between the end of her education and the beginning of her real job, which is still marriage. The president of a large college for women stated at a public meeting this spring that teaching was the only occupation for which women were fit; the dean of another college for women made the same assertion, adding that “teaching allowed the girls to spend their long vacations with their families.” If all these teachers were to be psychoanalyzed, some effects of this social pressure might be discovered. The entire history of the struggle for equality of opportunity in education, in healthy work, must be written in psychical results as well as in social surveys.

It is interesting to observe some of the idiosyncrasies of the very modern woman who is intent upon setting herself free; they follow closely Adler’s theories of compensation. The sense of inferiority to the man tends to rouse the opposite impulse of aggressiveness, self-assertiveness, the will to be superior. This finds expression in the adoption of some of the incidental male perquisites—and may account for some of the delight in cigarettes, in cocktails, in short hair, in masculinized attire. On the other hand, it is easy to explain the activities of the anti-feminists in similar terms. In their case, the minderwertigkeit seeks its compensation in an idealizing of the very causes for the feeling. Instead of adopting and following certain masculine ideals, they seek the satisfaction of the child who gains approval through ready obedience. They exalt the attributes on which the social judgment of inferiority rests. They “make a cult of their weakness.”

This discussion has been merely a suggestion of the possibility in the psychology of the unconscious for the clearing away of much of the rubbish which clutters the problem of the nature and capacity of women. There can be little doubt that there has always existed for women a greater burden of rigid, superimposed rules of con-
duct than has existed for men. Holt's comment on the general situation is as follows:

"In the bewildering turmoil which we witness where the sentiments and aims of individuals, of nations, and of races conflict with one another, we find an inexhaustible variety of contradictory appearances. These give rise to innumerable shortsighted and contradictory opinions both in the individual and in the collective mind. And when these become crystallized in social convention, in the tenets and admonitions of the church, or in the legislative enactments of the state, they constitute a bar to the progress of discrimination, an official ban (like primitive tabu) making for suppression. . . . It is truth and the ever progressive discrimination of truth which alone conduce to moral conduct."

Not only to moral conduct does this progressive discrimination lead. Upon it depend creative production, the sublimation of instincts into forms of art, the lifting of individuals to the highest level of their development.

If, in this situation, there exist whole bodies of conventions, of tabus, of crystallized social opinions, relating only to women, relegating them to a position of inferiority, incarcerating them in rigid bonds of uniform activity, how can it be possible for women to achieve the integrated development which makes the mature, moral, productive individual?

We understand more clearly than ever before the difficulties in the way of proper development of human beings; the individual with strong impulses seeking satisfaction, plunged into the complex environment of the home and society, has, it is granted, no easy time to reach a desirable complete personality. It might be well, then, to examine the situation of half of humanity. Apparently women have, not only the struggle of all human beings, but the additional struggle of women. The qualities popularly supposed to be innate feminine traits may prove to be the result of this additional handicap. The lack of accomplishment which is cited as proof that women are inferior may be traced, not to an essential absence of creative ability, but to some part of this psychology of repression, of inferiority.

Finally, then, society needs citizens who have developed through conscious meeting of reality to free, unrepressed characters, able to function as discriminating moral beings. Until this weight of artificial restrictions is removed from women, leaving them unhandicapped in their efforts to adjust themselves to society, they
can not develop as freely as men. At present, and for all past ages, they have endured not only the human difficulties which all individuals must meet, but they have borne the additional suffering from sex tabus. Until those tabus are removed, the possibility of women's development can not be determined. A tabu can not be forcibly extracted; it vanishes with the entrance of knowledge. A turning of the science of psychical life toward the need of women may result in knowledge with this exorcising power.
ABSTRACTS

IMAGO

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4. The "Omnipotence of Thought" in Arthur Schnitzler. Theodor Reik.
5. The Unconscious and Dreams in Hebbel. J. Sadger.

1. The Motive of the Choosing of the Casket.—Freud contributes a study on the deeper motive which underlies the fateful choosing of the casket in The Merchant of Venice. The symbolism of dreams justifies the interpretation of the caskets as symbols of the woman herself. Comparison with the tragedy of King Lear as well as with the story of Paris as umpire between the three goddesses as given in a modern version, of that of Cinderella and of Psyche as related by Apuleius reveals the motive as a choice between three sisters, of whom the youngest is the desirable in beauty, virtue or what not, while, however, associated with death, which is symbolized through dumbness, silence, invisibility, of which nature even the leaden casket partakes. Folk tales and dreams testify to the employment of such a symbolism. Death, Freud shows, is identical with the goddess of death who in mythology came to be regarded as the group of sisters, the Fates. In the oldest Greek mythology Moira was the one personification of inexorable fate. Near her however were the Horae who from goddesses of the heavenly waters gradually came to preside over the seasons, three in number, and to represent the unchangeable laws of time and nature, while Moira was among this number the goddess in whose hands lay the fate of mankind by a transference of the nature myth to mankind. Phantasy activity seeking to deny and escape this inexorable power of death and destruc-
tion over man makes the goddess of death identical with the goddess of love and the object of his choice rather than the holder of his fate. This identification is the more natural since in more primitive thought the goddess of love retained something of her earlier character as goddess of the underworld and the great mother goddesses of the Orient were goddesses of life and fruitfulness as well as of death. Thus wish fulfilment triumphs, making man the agent and at the same time choosing the most beautiful, the most desirable. Even so the savor of death hangs about the choice in all of these legends here cited, and it follows notably in the tragedy of King Lear. He as an old man deals with his three daughters rather than the sisters of the original motive. This is a necessary transference in his character of old man, and reveals beside the more obvious moral interpretations of the drama a deeper psychical meaning. Not ready yet to renounce love he is, however, by the representation through opposites common to the unconscious, borne away by the goddess of death, compelled to renounce love and join himself with death. This is the meaning of the last scene with the dead body of Cordelia. The poet typifies also the three relationships of man to woman as his source of life, of joy and of destruction, likewise the three forms of the mother “imago” which life presents to him, the mother herself, the chosen loved one and mother earth who finally receives him.

2. Nakedness in Saga and Poem.—Rank’s interest lies not in the more obvious motive of nudity as revealed in artistic creations but in the revelation through this theme of the unconscious impulse which manifests itself in two aspects, the passive exhibitionistic tendency and the active looking tendency. His object is to trace this impulse through its psychological unfolding as manifested in saga and poem where it suffers the same transformations which are discovered in dreams and neurotic symptoms. The exhibitionistic tendency is the aspect to which this first paper is devoted. This is discovered as the instinctive basis for the expression of a certain type of poetic motives.

One of the main features revealed both in dream and saga is that to which Freud has called attention in The Interpretation of Dreams, namely the sensation of restraint by which a person is held immovable before a crowd of onlookers who seem to feel no disgust at his nude condition. The person’s own intense feeling of shame is interpreted as evidence of a repression of the original pleasure in exposure. This situation is repeated in Anderson’s tale of the Kaiser who goes abroad in an invisible garment, but is more fully developed in the Nausicaa episode from the Odyssey. This Rank develops at length, discovering a number of significant elements. The nakedness is transferred over to Odysseus, before whom Nausicaa stands transfixed. An investigation of her dream of the previous night, though rationally accounted for by the narrator, discloses that Nausicaa is occupied with the nakedness motive as related to her approaching wedding and preparation for it.
So also does the interpolation, which some critics have thought did not belong here, of the tale of Aphrodite and Ares held in the invisible net fashioned by Hephaestus, vividly portray the same theme. The Nausicaa episode, as well as the ending to the interpolated tale, makes use of a form of repression and distortion of the original motive very common in normal life, in neurotic symptoms and freely employed in poetry. This is the elaboration of sumptuous and elaborate clothing for covering and yet suggestive bedecking of the nude body. Maeterlinck has offset this likewise against the desire for exhibition of one's self and in all the poems examined it is interwoven with the other modes of expression of the exhibition desire.

A further reactionary development comes clearly to light in the repression of the original impulse through bodily disfigurement and loathsomeness, particularly in the theme of leprosy. The Nausicaa legend touches upon this in the defilement of Odysseus's body by the foam of the sea. It is found in the poem of Hartmann von Aue of the twelfth century of Gregory who is chained to the rock in his nakedness for being unwittingly guilty of the Oedipus transgression and from there is called to the papal chair. The same poet combines it in the legend of "Poor Henry" with the healing of the leper by gazing upon the nude form of a pure virgin. This latter motive finds itself again in the legends of the Middle Ages in which the wretched leper finds healing, and then manifests himself to be the transfigured Christ, through contact with the naked body of a compassionate human being. Thus the exhibitionistic tendency finds in naive fashion justification for self-exposure, a theme which is repeated in yet other legends. Rank calls attention through the example of Goethe's sister afflicted with urticaria especially on the occasion of a ball, and of whom her brother reports a strongly suppressed sexual nature, to the prevalence of skin disease, especially urticaria as an hysterical symptomatic substitute for the repressed exhibition tendency. Goethe reveals plainly both strong exhibitionistic and peeping tendencies in his writings, and Anderson was an extreme example of the elaborate decking out of the person as a reaction from a strong exhibitionism. Many fairy tales reveal the combined forms of the motive, spying upon nakedness, blindness as a punishment, restoration from blindness and the healing of the king's daughter from sickness, usually leprosy, and her marriage to the hero.

3. Development of the Motive in Schnitzler.—Sachs applies to the works of Schnitzler the methods of psychoanalysis and discovers in the recurrence of the same motive, though perhaps in altered and distorted form, further illustration of the fact that the smallest or the greatest fact in the poet's creative work, as of all mental life, falls under the law of determination. "To create," Sachs says, "means only to assemble

together what has already been long present in the mind, and to attach it to new and suitable forms.” Again, “Free choice plays in general no part in composition and conscious choice a very small part.” He then proceeds to trace through the poet’s various works motives that recur again and again, sometimes seriously, sometimes in comedy, clearly and openly developed or more obscurely. Some things which appear in later works are probably contained in embryo in his earlier works, as in all psychical life, while the constant recurrence of certain episodes and motives leads to the conclusion that these must be dominating ones in the poet’s own mental life. They need not be conscious but lie waiting in the depths to appear when a suitable occasion arises, and doubtless even condition the appearing of the suitable occasion and the choice of opportunity.

Sachs reviews many of these often recurring motives repeated in various forms. In his literary characters the poet probably reveals self-criticism and his own plan of work. A frequent theme is the unsuccessful attempt on the part of a youth against the life of a hated yet admired tyrant. Following upon this is that of the great man whose life is threatened conferring forgiveness from his superior position in order to experiment with men and fate, and again there is the building up in the king of a superhuman, psychical figure, never appearing clearly in bodily form, who represents both the father and the successful rival lover. There is also a voluntary choosing of death on the part of the pardoned youth and further than this a most typical motive which seems always at the poet’s disposal, that of the intense enjoyment of life which the victim manifests at the very threshold of death, the Tristan motive of love and death with which also the sea is connected as symbol of death and eternity. The death motive runs through, more or less apparent in other forms, and the love motive also reveals special characteristics. One or another hero dies or is about to die by mistake because of a woman whom he has not known or to whom he has grown indifferent. The poison cup is a favorite means of death where the poison is secretly given in the sleeping draught either directly or indirectly by the loved ones, while the feigning of a natural death in order to spare the loved one the pain of remorse is another feature. Most remarkable is the poet’s insight into the existence of love and hate, which he represents in conflict after both have appeared together in consciousness where they still exist side by side, now one prevailing, now the other.

Sachs merely presents these recurring motives without offering the interpretations which they might suggest but closes with the significant sentence from Freud: “Self-betrayal oozes through a man’s every pore.”

4. The “Omnipotence of Thought” in Arthur Schnitzler.—Reik applies to various episodes in the writings of this poet the principle of dream interpretation which discovers in the apparently trivial incident
the way to the important latent content. That which is of the most significance has, because of the repression, suffered secondary elaboration, displacement and transposition, so that the affect no longer appears where it originally belonged. Dr. Reumann, one of Schnitzler's characters, displays this in a marked degree when he resigns from the care of a patient who was also a rival of his in love and, joining the affect secretly at work here to a later situation, inexplicably relinquishing his right to a long-hoped-for position because of the death of his rival to this post. The hidden motive in each case is the reaction to the death wish unconsciously entertained. This manifests the presence in him of a characteristic prominent in the compulsive neurotic but also of more or less force with many normal individuals, a belief in the "omnipotence of thought." Many instances of this are found all through the poet's work, anxiety whether one's secret wishes have caused the death of the unwelcome child, or other belief in the influence of egotistic wishes upon the course of events. Reik points out that an actual connection does exist, not a metaphysical one between thought and event, but an inner psychical one between unconscious desire and the individual's interest, pleasure or remorse in that which has come to pass. Every strong erotic attachment contains the ambivalent effects of love and hatred and thus make possible the twofold attitude toward events. This, moreover, is founded in the sexual root. A personal egotistic aim is allowed to take the place of the reproductive aim in sexual gratification and in its train follows the reaction of remorse and atonement for the result attributed to the selfish wish. The poet's characters then act as if their wish was the universal mandate. For them "the wish is father not only to the thought but to accomplished actuality."

In Schnitzler's "Marionetten" this receives especially overt treatment. A narration by one of the characters of a sudden death coincident with an equally sudden idea of death appearing to consciousness in a single word ends with the question: "Canst thou conceive of the secret power which lies in creative nature?" "Creative nature" reveals the common idea of the compulsive neurotic and of the poet, who indeed creates these puppets, the "Marionetten," controls their loves and then completely removes them, an acknowledged pleasure in playing with life and moving these unreal forms at his will. The narcissistic element contained in this was conscious to the poet and he makes it so to his characters also. The self-love of this stage of development explains much of the love life of these characters. Love for themselves comes first and leaves but a small amount for other love objects, while even this is withdrawn when they feel that a greater amount of libido is to be required of them. None of his lovers belong entirely to any one. The egotism of his artists is so great that they find a lasting love unendurable. Their love objects are often merely so much material for their work. Their desire for independence and irresponsibility leads them to cast off all claims of duty and go on.
Many incidents show the similarity to the compulsive neurotic "omnipotence of thought" where the unconscious, hostile wish is hidden under abstract thoughts, forebodings and relation of these to catastrophes that occur. The curse of death falls upon a rival in love or elsewhere where a hidden connection is traceable to secret hostile wishes on the part of the victim finally of the tragedy himself. There is also an attempt at a fatalistic rationalization as a way of escape from the remorse following the apparent outcome of the all-powerful wish. The taboo motive of primitive people appears also, as it does in the compulsive actions of the neurotic, in such incidents as that in which the youth refuses to lay aside his weapon lest harm might come through it to some imagined person, or that in which a youth brings destruction to his native land through a long series of events with a most remote origin. The underlying motive in the poetry and the symptom is the individual's own self-defense against forbidden ideas, which in Schnitzler's work, too, seem to be rooted in the problems of death and sexuality. This study shows him not merely a great artist but a master in the knowledge of the human soul.

5. The Unconscious and Dreams in Hebbel.—"No other poet," Sadger says, "has so well understood the unconscious and its relation to the art of poetry and the love life as Friedrich Hebbel." His diary chiefly testifies to this and from it Sadger quotes many illuminating passages. "Consciousness only brings to the birth, as the mother her child, which is formed by secret hands in her womb and which, although flesh of her flesh, asserts its free independence of her as soon as life begins." He was never weary of emphasizing the significance and the superiority of the unconscious. A few of the pregnant sentences cited by Sadger may be further quoted. "Most men are deceived in regard to themselves and others, for they hold reason to be the creating and guiding force, whereas it is only the restraining and correcting element." "Life is for most a flight from self." "The episode of the Sphinx returns day by day. The puzzle which thou canst not solve disturbs thee."

Hebbel clearly discerned the schism which the existence of the unconscious causes in the personality. He could observe also the origin of his thoughts and creations as they arose from their unconscious source and how the idea, united with the word secondarily developed from it, returned as it were to enrich the original source. He maintained a faith in premonitions, clairvoyance and spirits, but this too was based upon his recognition of the unconscious where existed that which was not known to the ordinary conscious world. The poet makes use of the material of this world. He may not, however, choose according to his own will but "obey the voice of folk and saga and build only out of those elements which they, who have long spied out from nature all that was actually visible, have rendered sacred . . . and create such phantasies as will pertain to some individual . . . whom he [the poet], in order to
give them [the phantasies] universal reality, brings into union with them in his poem.” “Feelings and phantasies . . . may not be worked over into concrete forms, ghostly and spiritistic appearances, for the world consciousness has outgrown these, while those feelings themselves are eternal.”

Hebbel likewise perceived the relation of delusional states to the unconscious. He speaks of “the inner light world” of the deluded patient, of a “comprehensible” basis for such a condition, and of the resistance or “law of opposition” that seems to be active. The unconscious was for him the breeding place of all great deeds as well as thoughts of genius and they owed to this the suddenness of their appearance and their unchangeableness and fixity. “One has the feeling with a great poet as if things were arising which had remained hidden in chaos.” “A force wonderful in itself, which for years hides itself deeply like a fountain withdrawn under the earth and which then, like this, suddenly and often at a most inopportune hour, breaks forth again.” He writes to a friend in 1863: “You want to think of a poet as a deity. Why so high in the clouds . . . where everything ceases? Will you not reach further if you descend to the beast and ascribe to the artist’s ability the stage between the instinct of the beast and the conscious life of man? There we are still in the sphere of experience and have the opportunity to mediate something real by turning to known quantities upon an unknown. . . . The artistic phantasy is indeed that organ which drains out the depths of the world which are inaccessible to the other faculties and my point of view puts in place of a false realism which takes the part for the whole a true realism which also embraces what does not lie upon the surface.” The writing of poetry was for Hebbel an opening up of himself, the only means of escape from the frightfulness of the unconscious, opportunity “to clothe in symbols the fear and longing of the heart.” “That Shakespeare created murderers was his salvation, that he himself need not become a murderer.” “I need some vehicle for so much that stirs within me, if all that has torn itself free from my innermost soul shall not turn back upon me and destroy me.”

Hebbel has also more than any other poet manifested an interest in dreams, regarding them as a key to metaphysical insight, showing an appreciation of their symbolism, significance and peculiarities which strikingly approaches the modern Freudian interpretation. Here, too, his diary affords knowledge of his insight. “All dreams are perhaps only memories.” “To sleep is for a man to creep back into himself.” “The human soul is a strange being and the central point of all its secrets is the dream. . . . Those dreams . . . which destroy the entire present . . . and drag mankind back into the prison of a long forgotten past.” He recognized the wish-fulfilling character of the dream. “The ancients wanted to prophesy from the dream what would happen to a man. That was a reversal! For rather may it be foretold what he will
do.” The secondary elaboration of the dream and the work of the censor were known to him, as he shows in the narration of the creation of a poem in his dream which seemed to him less and less satisfactory as he approached full consciousness and disappeared completely as he awoke. “My thought that the dream and poetry are identical is confirmed more and more” is one of the entries which reveal his appreciation of the close relationship of his art with the dream. Both, he believes, arise in the unconscious. “One can prepare himself as little for writing poetry as for dreaming.”

Some of Hebbel’s own recorded dreams contain an obvious erotic symbolism, others show plainly the wish-fulfilling tendency and some are biographical. The strength of the father complex is manifest in remarkable fashion. The father is represented by Napoleon, who typifies the ruthless man of power and the fall from this power. One dream represents a confused scene in which the king Maximilian Joseph is buried while his son Ludwig assumes the crown, closes the tomb and gives the key to the dreamer with the words: “Do not let him out but also do not let me in.” Another dream repeated itself seven times in one week, “perhaps the most frightful week of my childhood” when it was awaited with an anxiety that crept also into his sleep. It replaced the father by God who swung the child ceaselessly on a rope between earth and heaven, from the danger of which the child could not escape. Its anxiety seems to lie in the death wish directed toward the father, who swung by such a rope when he worked at his trade as mason, and in the sexual pleasure symbolized by the swinging and shaking motion, which was probably homosexually directed toward the father, and which had its origin in scenes of childhood otherwise noted by the dreams.

No other poet, moreover, utilized and emphasized dreams in his poems and dramas as Hebbel did. Judith, one of his characters, says: “When one lies asleep, relaxed, no longer held in restraint by consciousness itself, then a feeling of the future suppresses all thoughts and pictures of the present and the things that shall happen glide like shadows through the soul, preparing, warning, comforting. Thus it happens that so rarely or never anything really surprises us, that for a long while before we so confidently hope for what is good and tremble involuntarily before every evil. I have often wondered whether one dreams even just before one’s death.” The hidden infantile wish is portrayed with keen insight in the relation of a dream by Agnes Bernauer to the duke, her husband, for whom she has exchanged a wretched life of early poverty and paternal harshness for the bounteous life with her generous duke. She describes the well-remembered appearance of the father in the dream, harsh as of old in his sordid poverty, and then adds “I was angry with him as I awoke, but now—I have at least seen him once more.”
1. Further Advice on the Technique of Psychoanalysis. III. Remarks on the Transference. — While the beginner in psychoanalysis may tremble at the difficulties in front of him, by far the hardest situation to handle is the transference (Übertragung). This is the situation where a female patient falls violently in love with the physician.

For the cultivated layman two issues are possible. One, less frequently possible, is for the love to lead to a legitimate union; the other, more likely result, is the ending of all relations. There is a third possibility thinkable, an illegitimate relation, but in reality this is impossible both for moral and professional reasons.

It is evident that the standpoint of the psychoanalyst must be different.

If we consider the second possibility, where patient and physician separate, obviously the treatment ceases. But the condition of the patient makes another analysis necessary. The patient falls in love with the second physician, then with a third, and so on. This fact, one of the foundations of the psychoanalytic theory, leads to two results, one for the analyst, the other for the patient.

For the physician it is a costly awakening, a good warning against the ever ready tendency to reciprocation of the transference (Gegenübertragung). He must understand, too, that the love of the patient awakened through the analytic situation is not a true love aroused by his personality, that he has no ground for being proud of his "conquest." For the patient, however, there is an alternative; either she must give up a psychoanalytic treatment, or she must regard falling in love with the analyst unavoidable.

Certain physicians who use the analytic method introduce the patient early to the phenomena of transference, even induce it for the benefit of the analysis. Such technique is a great mistake. One robs the phenomena of the character of spontaneity and also raises difficulties not easily surmounted.

1 See Vol. 1, pp. 1, 139, and 485.
If one looks more closely at the situation he sees the influence of complicated motives. One has to do with the amorousness as such, the other with the resistance. The resistance acts as an "agent provocateur" increasing the amorousness, in order that a more vigorous resistance may be invoked, ostensibly to keep order.

There is a class of women with elementary passions, who will tolerate no substitution, whose psyche cannot become interested in anything else. Such are hopeless for psychoanalysis.

One should emphasize the resistance aspect of the so-called "love." A genuine love would make the patient amenable, willing and eager to solve the problem of her case, if for no other reason than to help the beloved man. Such a one would choose to go the way of a complete cure in order to honor the physician—prepare a place in reality in which her affectionate feelings might have their proper place. Instead of that the patient is obstinate and disobedient; throws away all interest in the treatment; shows no respect for the deeply founded convictions of the physician. Resistance thus shows itself in the form of "love." When the physician refuses to play this sort of a game, the patient withdraws embittered, in a spirit of revenge.

But in the manifest "love" is there nothing real to be taken advantage of? For the analyst the ethical and professional motives are identical. He must remember that the patient is sick because of her fixation on her infantile form of love. His task is to help her to rise above the pleasure-pain principle of the unconscious and to live in reality.

The analyst has a three-fold battle to wage: (1) Against the power in himself tending to drag him down from the psychoanalytic level; (2) outside the analysis, against the opposition to the sexual significance of the symptoms and over-valuation of sex; (3) within the analysis, against the attempt of the patient to take him captive by her passionateness.

2. Some Remarks on the Theory of Resistance.—The resistance of the patient shows itself in all those obstructions which he puts forward as interfering with the recovery of his health, such as social and financial reasons, family conditions, etc.

Perhaps the most prominent resistance of the patient is his forgetfulness. We all know how the patient is told to tell everything and not to "censor" anything. Yet he does, and later says he forgot.

Patients in whom a quick and easy transference takes place often put up later a bitter and lengthy resistance the overcoming of which requires great effort. Patients who show a strong resistance in the beginning, however, have a much better prognosis.

There are more or less open expressions of the resistance in bursts of anger against the physician.

Resistance has many forms. Dr. Abraham tells of a patient whose resistance put on the mask of esthetic interest. He criticized the office, the things in it, and their arrangement. This criticism was broadened.
to take in the relatives and acquaintances of the physician. All this is well seen in primitive personal relations. Resistance is shown in the reverse form; high interest in physician, his belongings, relatives, etc. The physician is a substitute for the father and his wife becomes the mother. Sudden silence in an analysis sometimes means the concealing of unconscious evil wishes against the physician.

The author says that free treatment increases the resistance. The abstractor, however, takes issue with him here. Some of his most successful work has been done with free patients in a General Hospital.

Analogous to the “Gegenübertragung,” or return transference, is the “Gegenwiderstand,” or return resistance. It is very easy to meet a great resistance with further resistance. This is a matter for self-analysis.

In conclusion, there are three fundamental components to resistance, (1) narcissistic tendencies, (2) hostile feelings (due to homosexual repressions), and (3) anal eroticism.

Under the first component the author speaks of the “I-deal” and shows its relation to the father. Here the castration complex is important. The hostile attitude due to a repression of homosexual desires is very important, as the analyst has to be the object. In the anal-erotic situation the two fundamentals, greed and obstinacy, are most important.

The author has hardly said anything new, but has gathered together important elements under the concept resistance.

3. Psychogenic Anomalies of Voice Register.—Ferenczi gives an account of two cases: (1) A young man (twenty-four) accompanied by his mother came to be cured of impotence. He was seen to be a combination of neurosis and paranoia. He believed he had the magic power to make everybody, especially men, turn around and look at him whenever his gaze fell on them. His neurosis consisted in a feeling of anxiety on account of observing his magic power, especially when he observed inorganic things obeying his will. “For,” he said, “if the inorganic world obeys my will I could destroy the entire world.”

Analysis showed him to be in the narcissistic stage, mixed with homosexuality. The unconscious wish to please the whole world, especially men, repressed, showed itself on the one hand as a hysterical phobia, and on the other as a delusion of omnipotence.

The patient told of the homosexual rôle, as a maiden, he played in school. But he said “All these things I have long put aside.”

The patient has a very peculiar symptom. He had two voices—one high soprano, another normal baritone. There was absolutely nothing the matter with his larynx.

The analysis showed that he used his baritone voice when he was objective; when he tried to coquette or please Dr. Ferenczi, unconsciously, he used his soprano voice. This was not a true soprano but a falsetto. He could change these voices at will, but felt better using his falsetto.
(2) The other patient was also a young man (seventeen) who came with his mother because he had an unmanageable voice.

Right before his mother he told of the uncertainty of his potency. He could only succeed in coitus after fellatio.

This patient also had two voices; a somewhat high falsetto and a very deep bass.

This patient was homoerotically fixed. While he is not insensible to women, when he has wish phantasies, including them, he also has hypochondriacal ideas, but his homoerotic wishes are less troubled, or freer.

Analysis showed an unconscious incestuous fixation on the mother.

The similarity of symptoms in these two cases leads the author to differentiate a homoerotic neurosis which he calls “Zwangshomoerotik.”
VARIA

An Example of Versprechen.—I had hardly finished Freud's Psychopathology of Everyday Life, when I experienced the following mistake in speech.

My wife and I were walking out one afternoon when we passed a house in front of which stood a very fine magnolia tree. I stopped and exclaimed, "What a fine Mongolia tree." My wife laughingly corrected me, saying: "You mean, Magnolia tree." I recognized instantly my mistake. It occurred to me at once that here was an opportunity for me to attempt an analysis on the lines so clearly set forth in the remarkable book just referred to.

The interpretation of the "lapsus linguæ" is as follows, and as the explanation gave me such entire satisfaction, it is hardly possible that it can be incorrect.

I turned the word Mongolia over and over in my mind, trying to connect or associate it with some experience or impression, previously recorded. In so doing, the word separated into Mon and Golia and I was struck with the fact that Mon was the French word for my. Then I thought, my golia, which recalled an expression I had once seen in a pamphlet that ran, "My Golgotha I still have thee," used in reference to the Diplomatic Service. I thereupon recalled the fact that a few years before I had studied to prepare myself to be examined for that work and that I had then learned for the first time, among other things, that Urga was the capital of Mongolia. Here then, was a close association between Mongolia and Diplomatic Service. Now I failed to pass those examinations and was keenly disappointed and had fallen into a mental attitude of deprecating the diplomatic profession, in an attempt to deceive myself. I now compared the spelling of Mongolia with Magnolia and I realized that I had twisted two letters of Magnolia, gn, to ng in Mongolia. Ng is a common expression for no good. Diplomatic Service in my mind is no good. I have always been at heart a strong partisan of the Northern States of the Union, and must confess that I entertain at times somewhat unfriendly feelings for the South. I have always associated Magnolia trees with the Southern States. The speech blunder is at last clear. Magnolia symbolized the South, a thing un hospitably received by the unconscious and so Mongolia, standing for the unpleasant diplomatic experience, was the material drawn upon by the unconscious, to record its displeasure, as it were.

EUGENE C. POMEREOY

"Clinical Psychologists."—At a meeting of the New York Psychi-
atrial Society held December 6, 1916, a committee was appointed to inquire into the activities of psychologists and more particularly of those who have termed themselves "clinical psychologists" in relation to the diagnosis and treatment of abnormal conditions. This committee desires to make the following report.

We have been greatly impressed by the earnestness and success with which psychologists are endeavoring to make their science serviceable in dealing with the practical affairs of everyday life. We wish to record our belief in the wide usefulness of the application of psychological knowledge and of the findings of certain psychological tests in such fields as the modification of educational methods with reference to individual differences, the vocational problems presented in various special industrial operations, the development of scientific methods in advertising, salesmanship and other means of business appeal and in the investigation of such special problems as the relation of environmental factors to the quality and quantity of the output of the individual. We feel that the results to be attained in these fields justify the belief that the widening of the scope and application of psychological knowledge will make psychology one of the most useful of the social sciences instead of a narrow field for study and research with but little actual contact with the practical problem of life.

We have observed with much distrust, however, the growing tendency of some psychologists, most often, unfortunately, those with the least amount of scientific training, to deal with the problem of diagnosis, social management and institutional disposal of persons suffering from abnormal mental conditions. We recognize the great value of mental tests in determining many questions which arise in dealing with such patients, but we have observed that most of such work which is being done by psychologists and particularly by persons whose training in psychology is confined entirely to learning how to apply a few sets of these tests, is carried on in schools, courts, correctional institutions and so-called "psychological clinics," quite independently of medically trained workers who are competent to deal with questions involving the whole mental and physical life of the individual.

We believe that the scientific value of work done under such conditions is much less than when carried on in close cooperation with that of physicians and that serious disadvantages to patients suffering from mental disorders and to the community are likely to result and, in many instances which have come to our attention, have resulted. This is especially true when the mental condition of the patients examined involves questions of diagnosis, loss of liberty or educational issues more serious than redistribution of pupils or rearrangement of courses of study. In spite of these facts two states have enacted laws permitting judges to commit mentally defective persons to institutions upon the so-called expert testimony of "clinical psychologists" regarding the
abnormal mental conditions from which patients are alleged to suffer. We believe that the examination upon which a sick person is involuntarily committed to permanent institutional custody is one of the most serious responsibilities assumed by physicians and that in no cases whatever should it be entrusted to persons without training enabling them to take into consideration all the medical factors involved. The same is true of mental examinations of juvenile delinquents and criminals whose whole careers depend, in many cases, upon the determination of their condition.

We desire to make the following specific recommendations:

1. We recommend that the New York Psychiatrical Society affirm the general principle that the sick, whether in mind or body, should be cared for only by those with medical training who are authorized by the state to assume the responsibility of diagnosis and treatment.

2. We recommend that the Society express its disapproval and urge upon thoughtful psychologists and the medical profession in general an expression of disapproval of the application of psychology to responsible clinical work except when made by or under the direct supervision of physicians qualified to deal with abnormal mental conditions.

3. We recommend that the Society disapprove of psychologists (or of those who claim to be psychologists as a result of their ability to apply any set of psychological tests) undertaking to pass judgment upon the mental condition of sick, defective or otherwise abnormal persons when such findings involve questions of diagnosis, or affect the future care and career of such persons.

Charles L. Dana, Chairman.
Adolf Meyer,
Thomas W. Salmon.

Baby Phantasies.—As an interesting confirmation of the observations Jung made upon his little patient Anna, which he reports in the article “Ueber Konflikte der kindlichen Seele” in the Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen, Volume 2, page 33, I quote the following excerpt from “The Girl,” an autobiography by Katharine Keith in the June number of the Atlantic Monthly, page 722:

“I decided that Aunt Ethel’s baby must be grandpa. The stork brought him just after grandpa went away. Grandmother told me that grandpa was not always rich. He worked very hard when he was young, and so he would not have to be hungry when he came back. I made Olga walk with me beside the baby’s carriage, because I wanted to see if he looked like grandpa. Once auntie brought him to the house, and they left me alone for a few minutes, playing beside him on the floor.

‘Oh, grandpa, quickly!’ I said. ‘Talk to me now; they have all gone away.’

The baby stared and slowly blew a bubble on his lips. I held his
shoulders so tightly that he finally began to cry. Then Aunt Ethel came back and took him home.”

We have here another bit of evidence which proves that children do busy themselves with the problem of life and death. I doubt whether they think of it in abstract terms; on the other hand it would surprise anyone if a child did not think about such concrete matters as the arrival of a new individual or the disappearance of one familiar to its environment. Both are matters which the average adult instinctively seeks to conceal from the child, so that it is no wonder that the latter attempts to bring these two mysterious secrets under one heading.

Leonard Blumgart

Repression.—As an illustration of an attempt at repression in a child, which, unsuccessful for that which it attempts to repress, it therefore transfers to a different concept which it succeeds in repressing, I cite the following:

A little boy four and a half years old, a first born, was told of an expected new arrival in the family. He saw the preparations that the mother made, and was allowed to listen to the conversations concerning the newcomer. It was impressed upon him that he was expected to love it, and that he attempted to do so is shown by the following conversation: “Now, Bobby, would you rather have a new little brother or a rabbit?” “I would like to have a rabbit and a new little brother.” (Please note the order in which the child states his wants.)

A few days later, on being asked to count, which up to that time he had been successful in doing up to twenty, his parents and governess were astonished and irritated by the fact that he always forgot the number four. All attempts to make him remember it were of no avail. He would count one, two, three, and then either stop and say “I don’t know the next number,” or else skip four and go on to five.

The process of this amnesia for the number four is explicable by referring it to the child’s environment. In his mind, one symbolized the mother, two, the father, three, himself, and four, the new brother. In the conflict between his natural childish jealousy of the coming baby, and his desire to obey his parents and love it, the love is seemingly victorious but the hate manifests itself by being transferred to that which is a symbol of the little rival, and is therefore dropped out of the child’s conscious mind.

This amnesia was completely relieved by the parents paying a little more attention to the youngster, and by assuring him that their love for him had not diminished and would not diminish by reason of the expected new baby.

Leonard Blumgart
The Psycho-Analyst

With piercing questioning, relentlessly,
He hunts the startled fugitives of the soul.
Dim ghosts arise and flee their coverts. Droll
Whimseys with goggle-eyes derisively
Jig. Desires, dreams, premonitions, he
Summons from the shifty deep. He will have the whole
Of you—nothing else! His demands cajole
The last faint craziness of mad phantasy.

Tumult is this, and crowding! The swirling will
Takes cognizance of strangeness. Now a dream
Come shy from infancy!—importunate desires
Beating upon youth!—thwarted ambitions, fires,
Hopes, sicknesses, despairs!—The soul will spill
Strange images. Life is a tortuous stream.

Florence Kiper Frank

"I have never touched a character precisely from the life but some counterpart of that character has incredulously asked me: 'Now really, did I ever really, see one like it?'

"All of the Pecksniff family upon earth are quite agreed, I believe, that Mr. Pecksniff is an exaggeration, and that no such character ever existed."—C. Dickens, Preface to Martin Chuzzlewit.
BOOK REVIEWS

Contributions to Psycho-Analysis. By Dr. S. Ferenczi (Budapest). Authorized Translation by Dr. Ernest Jones. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. Price $3.00 net.

This work consists of a collection of papers written by Dr. Ferenczi, and which have appeared from time to time in various European periodicals. In its present form, collected and translated by Dr. Jones, it is one of the most brilliant contributions to psychoanalysis available in English. Dr. Ferenczi is one of the best known of Professor Freud's pupils, and one of the most brilliant writers. The English-speaking psychoanalysts owe Dr. Jones sincere thanks for having made so many of his essays available in English. Almost each one of the essays contains original suggestions. Those which are of special merit are the chapters on "Introjection and Transference," "On Obscene Words," on "Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality," and on "The Ontogenesis of the Interest in Money," although all of the chapters are very well worth reading and full of valuable suggestions for the analyst.

The History and Practice of Psychoanalysis. By Paul Bjerre, M.D. Authorized Translation by Elizabeth N. Barrow. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. Price $3.00 net.

This little work of Bjerre's is most refreshing. It is a presentation of psychoanalysis from the point of view of the author backed up by wide and varied experience. His hitching up of Kant with the psychoanalytic movement may not be particularly convincing, but it is at least interesting, as is also his consideration of the part played by Feuchtersleben, and more particularly by Wetterstrand. In the consideration of the contributions of Wetterstrand, Bjerre takes occasion to discuss the matter of hypnosis, and gives it a very much more important position in psychotherapy than is usual in these days. Perhaps it were well to consider the author's attitude in this matter and not be too sure that the value of hypnosis has been entirely superseded.

Bjerre is perfectly free to disagree with Freud in a number of things, but his disagreement is plainly stated and supported by reasons, and free from the type of dialectics which one is accustomed to see in the literature of the anti-psychoanalysts. In fact the reviewer can recall no other critique of Freud in English which is written in such a judicial attitude of mind, free from affect overloading, and which therefore demands the
respect and consideration this of Bjerre's does. If for no other reason the book is well worth reading.

**White.**

**Mental Adjustments.** By Frederic Lyman Wells. Published by D. Appleton and Company, New York. Price $2.50 net.

Wells has given us a book with respect to which it is quite difficult to form a single opinion. It covers a very large field, is filled with all sorts of information, has innumerable illustrations, and here and there sparkles with the brilliancy of the author in some specially apt phrase. From time to time as one is reading, however, one is apt to regret a little the rather frequent humorous situations which are utilized as examples, and to feel that an introduction of the telephone number of the Garden of Eden into a serious discussion is apt to detract from the real merit of the questions at issue.

With regard to the general treatment of dissociation the reviewer gets the impression that the author has not had very much first-hand experience with that theory in the days when it was more to the fore, and that he does not quite give it an adequate valuation. In the chapters on dissociation, too, the view that the unconscious is equivalent to that which is not in the field of awareness seems to be implied in the discussion. In fact throughout the book, with the exception of occasional sentences, this seems to be the implication, and yet, from the present psychoanalytic standpoint at least, such a use of the word unconscious seems hardly warranted, unless of course the author may so choose to use it and states his choice definitely. It is a way of using the word which might easily grow out of a study of the dissociation literature. Then, again, when he speaks of awareness as helping to make an adjustment it would seem that the author is committing the quite usual error in matters psychological of getting the cart before the horse, because after all awareness itself can only be a function of the individual-environment relation, and as such indicates something of the nature of that relation, and cannot properly be considered in any way primarily as a cause.

The author's treatment of various experimental studies and mental testings is especially satisfying as here he has large personal experiences and opportunity to check up results. The general result of his review of mental testing seems in the mind of the reviewer to be the quite inadequate result which such methods are calculated in their present state of development to attain. The discussion shows very well that the laboratory test dehumanizes, so to speak, the problem, and therefore can offer very little upon which to base a judgment or a prognosis of what the individual's behavior is going to be in a given situation. The author is hopeful for the future of these tests; so are all of us.

The chapter on balancing factors is, in some parts at least, perhaps
the best in the book. Particularly happy is his geological metaphor of the pirating or decapitation of, for example, erotic and dynamic trends. His discussion also in this chapter of certain of the family influences as reflected in the child during its early years is very helpful, very simply put, and gives very concrete illustrations of the psychoanalytic theories with regard to the problems of the family romance which can be easily understood by the lay reader.

And finally his summing up of the whole question of mental adjustments in a sentence "Happiness is the conscious phase of mental adaptation" is a most excellent way to condense the whole matter of adaptation into a single sentence.

The book as a whole is very well worth while. It is a little difficult to say just what sort of an audience he may be addressing. Some parts of the book are really rather technical and difficult, others on the other hand are quite lucid and easily appreciable by the reader of average intelligence. It is full, however, of all sorts of points of view, dynamic and pragmatic, which in this day and age one is glad to see incorporated in book form. The reviewer cannot close without wondering again how the name of the series in which this book occurs, namely, The Conduct of Mind Series, ever originated, and what after all it may mean.

WHITE.


This monumental work of Dr. Hall's is the final form and outward evidence of twenty years of research and study, and embodies the present attitude of this scholar with reference to the meaning of Jesus for our present-day civilization, and the interpretation of his life and of Christianity from the standpoint of psychology, the evolution of the human soul, rather than from the standpoint of historicity as its evidence may be found documented in moldy treaties and forgotten archives.


In the first chapters, particularly the first three, there is a very pains-taking and thorough review of Jesus and he has appeared in the literature and art of the world. Every great picture is commented upon, every compelling work that has dealt with him is reviewed, and many minor productions are referred to as showing the trends of the particular time with regard to him. Particularly, of course, in the discussion of
his character, are such views as those of Nietzsche carefully considered and the more recent views of Robertson, Smith and Drews who are the great critics of the historical evidence of his existence. Already in these chapters, which in outline might appear to be a mere resume of Jesus' life and character from all available sources, we see the author attempting to cast the material in the mold of genetic psychology so that, for example (page 33), "The Jesus of history is crassly real. The Jesus of genetic psychology is the most precious and real thing ever made out of mind-stuff." To be more explicit, in the consideration of Jesus' boyhood the author appreciates from the standpoint of child psychology the character of some of the things recorded. His curse, for example, is said to have killed a boy who had destroyed his mud dams and pools, and Hall comments (page 54): "Every child has had the death wish." Jesus is said to have made mud sparrows and said to them "Fly," and they did so, and Hall says (page 54): "What child has not wanted to have his toy animals live?" It is recorded of Jesus that when he was sent to school the master struck him with a rod, whereupon Jesus reproached his teacher with ignorance, gave the letters and explained their hidden powers and gave the meanings of the angles until the teacher was thunder-struck at his wonderful knowledge. And Hall says (page 55): "What schoolboy would not delight to 'get back at' his teacher, scold and denounce him, confound him by a sudden outburst of wisdom, and make him suffer if he tried to inflict punishment?" In taking up the views as to Jesus' character the author simply and courageously goes straight to the point and neglects nothing, not even Nietzsche's vituperative denunciation in which he calls Christianity "the one great curse, the one great intrinsic depravity."

Later on in the work, in discussing the parables, he goes with great thoroughness into all the different views which have been held regarding each one, and does the same thing again in the following chapter on the miracles. This chapter on the miracles is in many respects one of the most stimulating in the book, because it brings so clearly to the front the author's position and the superiority of that position over all of the squirmings of orthodox theologians in the past as exemplified in the tremendous efforts which they have made to bring the miracles under any adequate scheme for comprehension. It is almost pathetic to read the account of the efforts with which the exegetes have attempted the explanation of such a miracle, for example, as the raising of Lazarus. To quote some of them: The rationalistic school reminds us that the only evidence of decomposition was Martha's opinion, and that probably Martha was mistaken; others think that Lazarus was perhaps in a comatose state of lethargy from which he was awakened at the opening of the tomb; again, that Jesus keenly perceived some movement of the corpse that others did not notice before commanding him to appear; whereas one interpreter has gone even to the point of excision of difficult pas-
sages as interpolations, and therefore leaving a story easier to understand. And so the story goes with reference to each one of the miracles. How petty it all seems beside the statement of the author with regard to them (page 595): "Despite their historic falsity they have a high significance for piety and also for psychology, for they are made, warp and woof, out of soul-stuff and are thus in a sense both more valid and valuable than if they had been actually performed. What seemed their negation thus really rescues them to higher purposes, and from this standpoint they are invested with a new and hitherto undreamed-of truth." And then touching the whole subject of miracles in general the really wonderfully worded statement in the Introduction (page xii) as follows: "As to miracles genetic psychology can have no quarrel with those who cling to them as literally veridical, for this is a necessary stage. They are the baby talk of religious faith, not a disease but an infantile stadium of true belief. The truth of the ideal miracle is unsailable, but it is symbolic. Negation of them by crude rationalism is not progress but regression. All discussion of whether the nature of miracles of the New Testament were literally performed or not represents a low plane of crass religious materialism. They are not even genuine myths but allegories of higher spiritual truths, precious because so charged with challenging meanings. They are surds injected into lower plexi of thought in order to disrupt them and make place for the higher insights and larger constellations of intellect and feeling needful to explain and resolve them, and which with normal psychic development should come to take their place. To accept them ever so crassly implies, however, more richness of the psychic soil than to sweep them away by callow denials. Their moral or inner significance may be felt far down below consciousness and may give orientation and predispose the soul to docility, so that to feel ever so blindly their value involves a potency that, if it is ever activated, will make them blossom into solution. The mental attitude toward them in our psychological age is thus a test of psychogenetic insight and perspective. The psychology of faith which miracles tend to keep alive is to-day revealing it in a new sense as indeed the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen. Thus they save us from the fatal sense of finality and keep the soul young, curious, and growing, because they perpetually demand ever higher explanations, a challenge which the above chapter seeks, however feebly, to respond to."

It is a delight to find, in a book devoted to the life of Jesus, where one might expect to discover only discussions in the realm of the higher criticism, matters of literary authenticity, interpretation, etc., that the author is not only versed in all these things, and not only eminently competent to present the subject from the psychological point of view, which is the object of the book, but brings to this final scheme of interpretation a wealth of knowledge in every department of learning, in-
cluding the natural sciences, medicine, and the most recent development in psychology and therapeutics which so especially interest readers of this review—psychoanalysis. Hall sees the soul of the race as we are accustomed to look, in the Mendelian sense, upon the germ plasm, and sees the developments which issue in individuals and in nations as variations impressed upon the soma. In this sense it is that the child is father of the man (page 325), "since childhood is the more generalized type from which maturity involves decay;" and so he sees in Jesus (page 325) "the consummate apotheosis and the world's type of adolescence." Therefore in the death of Jesus and in his resurrection there is the great symbolism of rebirth, which can only issue out of death, when sacrifice shall have sounded the source of the stream of life. (Page 733) "Thus in raising Jesus from the dead Mansoul raised both God and itself, and entered a new world as a new creature."

Thus we come to an entirely new attitude toward the whole problem of Christianity and the problem of Jesus. (Page 156) "The problems of Christianity are at bottom psychological more than historical," and (page 212) "The root of the whole question whether Jesus was a myth or a man is a vital psychological and pedagogical one, which is rarely treated in the literature; viz., what real difference does it make from a pragmatic or any other point of view for us at this distance?" (Page 215) "Non-historicity, however, is not unreality. What if Jesus entered history only as his logical predecessor, Yahveh, did, just as really but no more so? If there were prehistoric Christs why, as Anderson well asks, should they derogate from the importance of the Christ of the Gospels, any more than it is a disparagement of Yahveh that Moses got his very name from a Kenite tribe at Sinai? Indeed, the whole question of Jesus' historicity is a little like the problem of Kant's Ding-an-sich or of metaphysical or epistemological realism. From the schoolmen, and indeed from the dawn of philosophy to our own day, the problem of substance or being has been thought vital for theory; but it makes little difference for the practical conduct of life or for the pursuit of science whether one deems noumena or phenomena ultimate, and there are analogies between this and the problem of the ancient historicity of Jesus. Suppose we made the weird and fantastic assumption that an authentic portrait of Jesus were discovered, and even that we could have, if we desired, his entire public career and every incident in it reproduced in a series of moving pictures and his words restored by some phonographic process. Would devout Christians really wish this? Would they not fear disillusion? Would such a thing be a real desideratum? Would not the objective gain in certainty be more than offset by a loss of the inner ideal communion with his spirit? Too realistic Passion Plays are thought to be irreverent and materializing, however worshipfully presented. Renan called the Jesus-story "category of the ideal." Would the Christ formed within, the eternal formula of re-
generation and moral progress, not lose something of his power by being reduced to an accurately located and dated time and place in history? . . .

"One thing is certain, viz., that these studies open far vaster fields than mere textual criticism or theology, whether liberal or conserva-
tive, Palestinian antiquities or former characterizations of Jesus or Church history ever dreamed of. They upset smug professional com-
placency and open a wider historic horizon, showing us that to grasp the full meaning of our religion we must know far more about the work of the folk-soul and go far deeper into the psyche of the individual. These laymen have propounded new and vital problems of which they have been able to answer only a few. If they abate some of the old forms of conviction, they increase the unformulated feeling that there is far greater worth and a wealth of deeper meaning in the New Testa-
ment than the older scholarship has suspected."

And yet, for pragmatic purposes, from the standpoint of the test of usefulness, Hall is finally convinced of the value of the concept of Jesus as a historic character. (Page 219) "No one ever saw an ion, atom, or id, yet they are basal and integral for science, and so is his-
toricty for both Christianity and its ethics."

But enough. This book is a wealth of information about the sub-
ject it treats. In its references to the literature it is exhaustive, in its suggestiveness for inquiry along all sorts of lines it is stimulating, and finally it has picked up in a wonderful way the divers paths of man's soul strivings and pointed them all towards a common goal in a way which is inspiring.

**WHITE.**

**THE TOMB OF SENEBTISI AT LISHT.** By Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedi-

This publication opens up in a special way a long buried fragment of human history. In the first place, written as it is for comparative study in archeological work, it presents in great detail the work of the expedition of our Metropolitan Museum of Art. The exact site of this particular exploration, its methods and findings are presented with so much care, yet so simply, that even the general student finds himself initiated into the technique and the fascination of this underground work.

More than this, however, is the intensively vital human interest which accrues about such a study. Such seems to have been the spirit of the explorers, as of these authors who present this report. They are moved not only to an attempt at interpretation of the data discovered but an appreciation of these as representative of a life that strove and
hoped and sought to express itself no less in its preparations for death than in the symbols which apparently surrounded its earthly existence.

The purpose of the authors to present this monograph dealing with the complete, unified description of at least one discovered tomb offers an unusual opportunity to read such a chapter as a whole. The numerous detailed drawings or illustrative plates supplement the written words with a clearness, an accuracy and a reality which add much to the value of the work.

The discussion of the site of the tomb and the position of the burial chamber itself suggests the revelation to be discovered within of the material supports and emblems with which human nature both fortifies itself and seeks to express its unutterable strivings. Moreover these are still so close to the affective life, which so greatly moves man still to-day, that it is profitable to peer into this buried tomb where this universal language is written. Senebtisi was only a lesser person probably in court society. Therefore like others of her rank her tomb was crowded close within the precincts and under the shelter of the greater royal tomb and its surrounding cemetery. Face to face with death this sense of dependence on the father king or his lesser representative becomes a most influential factor in the choice of a burial site. The spirit of childlike dependence was no less operative in Senebtisi's time than it is in the unconscious at least to-day. It breathes itself in the east-side inscription of her canopic box "They give adoration (\textit{? wss-sn}) to the honored Senebtisi: 'I bring thee to thy father.'" "\ldots Duamutef to the honored Sit-Hapi: I bring thee to thy father." Lack of space prevented an orthodox location for the whole tomb but the sharp veering of the burial chamber to the right secured for the mummy not only the necessary northern direction for the head but brought it closer under the protection of the richer neighbor.

Many suggestive fancies crowd upon the reader at all familiar with the workings of the mind through its symbolic values. They offer fascinating speculations as to the actual reason that certain things should have been distinctly utilized as tomb furnishings for the benefit of the dead. The authors have explained many of these things in the light of comparative study but an even deeper significance grounds itself in a knowledge of universal symbolism. Can it be therefore that the coffin was indeed of sycamore wood not alone because that was an easily available material, but that there was a repetition of the same idea which led the Egyptians to represent Osiris at his festival in the branches of the sycamore tree, as in the womb of his mother Nut? Enfoldment within the mother's complete protection tugs through just such symbolism to drag the impulse back to the grave as to the original womb. For Senebtisi was not without the protection of the mother goddesses as well as the father representatives. The four corners of her canopic box were inscribed with protecting formulæ addressed to Nephthys, Selkis, Neith and Isis.
One may question also whether it was merely the common identification of women as well as men with Osiris after death which necessitated the placing within a female tomb the ceremonial staves, "as the weapons of a man and the sceptres of a god for the new life that lay before them." Certainly the very full discussion of the use of the whip, as peculiarly the emblem of reproductive power, would encourage one to see also in the other articles of tomb furniture something more. They all may perhaps chiefly convey such an idea of a concrete symbolism of life and immortality in the tomb of either sex, as the whip plainly represents.

This discussion of the whip is of peculiar interest in revealing its widely extended use as such a symbol and a magic implement for stimulating and aiding the reproductive power. It shows moreover the preservation in unmistakable records of such symbolic value side by side with the decadence of the symbol to the most materialistic use and the false interpretations following upon this. This strengthens one's conviction of the reality to be attached to the symbols found still at work in the unconscious, when the limited conscious world can see in them nothing but the most ordinary and utilitarian of objects.

Out of such a contrast all these articles of tomb furniture and adornment of the mummy take on a special significance. They bear abundant testimony to the fact that the numbers in the arrangement of decorations, inscriptions, protective articles and what not, were not without their definite meaning and value to the deceased. The variety and distribution of color was doubtless equally expressive, also the form and arrangement of the coffins and canopic box and jars, as well as the particular position of the mummy within its coffin.

These objects were none of them meaningless in the belief of those who prepared the tomb of Senebtisi. They had their significance in the life she lived and the hope in which she died. They are therefore profitable for study and investigation by those who would know more of the forms of expression which the human psyche has chosen, and in which its unconscious striving still speaks in its effort after life and immortality. Much may be learned, a closer sympathetic acquaintance with the universal human psyche may be obtained, from this fascinating glimpse into one of its unearthed records. It will furthermore not be in vain to make a personal examination of the material of this monograph, where it is now preserved within the Museum collections.

L. Brink.


This should be a very welcome work to the English reading psychoanalysts. It is a work by Professor Freud applying the principles of
psychoanalytic interpretation to the analysis and understanding of a
great man by an investigation and interpretation of the historical facts
which can be collected regarding him, together with a study of his
artistic productions.

Leonardo is one of the great men, not only of the Italian Renaissance,
but one of the great men in the history of the world. While his name is
usually connected only with his paintings, he was a broad-minded inves-
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The remarkable skill with which Professor Freud is able to recon-
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It is perhaps still more wonderful to realize how the boy, Leonardo,
handicapped in his infancy in the most serious way, still grew into the
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fascinating study of the mechanisms by which this result was brought
about and as such is valuable both as a study in character and as an
application of psychoanalytic principles.

A Chemical Sign of Life. By Shiro Tashiro. Published by The Uni-

This work deals with the old question of the difference between the
living and the non-living, and endeavors to define a specific test which
will invariably show whether a particular substance belongs to one or
the other class. The most recent effort to solve this problem is that of
the English physiologist Waller, who bases his distinction upon what he
terms the "blaze current." For example, if a single induction shock is
sent through a living pea by a current which has a galvanometer in
circuit, there will be shown, following the shock, a remarkable outburst
of electromotor force which Waller has called the blaze current. This
he thinks is a universal phenomenon of life, except that he has not been
able always to find it, particularly in certain sea algae, although here he
thinks that it probably exists but does not show because the salts of the
sea water close the current through the tissue rather than through the
galvanometer.

The author believes that he has found a more universal and depend-
able sign of life in the always existing chemical change which is going
on and which is liberating as a result carbon dioxide. The effort to
detect carbon dioxide as a sign of living things has been tried before,
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minute particles. The author has elaborated an instrument which he
calls a "biometer" which is sufficiently delicate to detect one ten
millinths of a gram of carbon dioxide. The method used is to note the deposit of barium carbonate in a film of half saturated barium hydroxide solution. The minute particles of the precipitate of carbonate can be detected by a lens.

Carbon dioxide may be found by the biometer in all living matter. It is found, for example, being given off from a nerve fiber at rest, its amount being increased upon stimulation. It is interesting, too, to see that the nerve fiber has the highest rate of metabolism of the tissues measured by the quantity of carbon dioxide respired. Carbon dioxide as a sign of life then may be said to be a sign of the fundamental property of protoplasm, namely, irritability. The author thinks it a more fundamental sign than the electrical one of Waller, unless oxidation itself be considered fundamentally an electrical process.


This little volume is the sixth of the very excellent science series being published by The University of Chicago Press, which aims to take up specific aspects of scientific problems and discuss them in a way not too technical for the average reader.

The Biology of Twins is a careful study more particularly of the embryological characteristics of the multiple births of the nine-banded armadillo. This animal gives birth, almost without exception, to four young as the result of each pregnancy, and as they exist in large numbers are readily available for study. The principles of twinning which are worked out can be given wide application to all mammals. The principal differentiation of twins is as to whether they are fraternal, that is, dizygotic, or duplicate, that is, monozygotic. Human twins may belong to either class, and a study of the armadillo shows that the previous standard for determination, namely, whether there be one or two chorions, is fallacious, inasmuch as twins from two separate eggs may be so crowded in the uterus that the chorions fuse and make it appear that they are of monozygotic origin.

There is an exceedingly interesting chapter on variation and heredity and the application of the Mendelian law to the study of the number and the doubling of the scutes in the nine bands. This particular chapter winds up with a discussion of some of the principles of bilaterality, particularly with reference to mirror-image types, this latter illustrated by finger prints of the friction-skin patterns.

The reason why the skin pattern should show mirror-image bilaterality and there should be no corresponding bilaterality with reference to the internal organs is because the ectoderm is dominant and it is in the ectoderm that the twinning fission begins.
Of matters which are of special psychoanalytic interest I note the following: That it was impossible to carry on a series of experiments on the armadillo in captivity because in the few cases where offspring were born in captivity the mothers ate them. Further, there is the exceedingly interesting fact noted by the author that the literary types of twins, as he calls them "literary twins," in which a brother and sister are identical, does not and cannot exist. The closest degree of similarity which would make two persons practically identical in appearance must be dependent upon monozygotic origin and all monozygotic twins are of the same sex. Therefore this is an exceedingly interesting case of wish-fulfillment with quite evident psychoanalytic implications.

White.


This work by one of Freud's followers is an attempt to pick up from the rapidly growing psychoanalytic literature the connecting thread that runs through, and present the story of psychoanalysis in a consistent and coherent story. To that end the author has chapters upon the unconscious, the dream, the neuroses, etc.

It is very fortunate that in this first attempt to present the Freudian theories in a single work the task should have fallen to one so well equipped to do it. Hitschmann not only knows his psychoanalysis but he is able to present it in a readable, easily understandable way. The translation by Payne transfers all of its good qualities from the original into English. The book is to be highly recommended for beginners in psychoanalysis.

White.


This is the first book dealing with the subject of psychoanalysis in an admittedly and unequivocally popular way. There have been in the last year many books on the various aspects of psychoanalysis, theoretical and applied, but this is the first attempt to put the principles into such shape as would make them readily accessible to the average lay reader. As such we welcome it.

The putting of the psychoanalytic principles in a way to get them over to the average reader is a problem composed of two well-defined parts. In the first place they must be sufficiently clearly stated and free from technical methods of expression so that they can be understood,
and in the second place they must deal with the subject in such a manner as not to create such strong resistances as will cause the reader to discard the whole business. Mr. Lay has succeeded in both these respects exceptionally well.

In these days when there is so much popular literature with psychological leanings it is a matter for particular congratulation that psychoanalysis should begin to have its say in this movement. So much is written that is really very poor, and so much good is mixed up with so much that is worthless that it is highly desirable that the well worked out fundamental principles of psychoanalysis should be presented in a way that enables the reader to sort the grain from the chaff, and so make his reading by that much the more profitable.

White.

NOTICE.—All business communications should be addressed to The Psychoanalytic Review, 3617 Tenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

All manuscripts should be sent to Dr. William A. White, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.
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