

Configurations in Play —Clinical Notes

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CONFIGURATIONS IN PLAY

—CLINICAL NOTES

BY ERIK HOMBURGER (NEW HAVEN, CONN.)

INTRODUCTION

Listening to an adult's description of his life, we find that a clear vista into his past is limited by horizons: one is the onset of puberty, with its nebulous "screen memories", another the onset of the so-called latency period through which, in retrospect, memories appear inaccurate and obscure, if at all. In our work with children we meet another horizon, the period of language development. "The material which the child furnishes us," says Anna Freud in her *Introduction to the Technic of Child Analysis*, "supplies us with many welcome confirmations of facts which up to the present moment we have only been able to maintain by reference to adult analysis. But . . . it does not lead us beyond the boundary where the child becomes capable of speech; in short, that time from whence on its thinking becomes analogous to ours."¹

Associations, fantasies, dreams, lead in the analysis of the adult mind to the land beyond the mountains; in child analysis these roads lose their reliability and have to be supplemented by others, especially the sequences which occur spontaneously in the child's play.

It seems to me, however, that when substituting play for other associative material we are inclined to apply to its observation and interpretation methods which do not quite do justice to its nature. We tend to neglect the characteristic which most clearly differentiates play from the world of psychological data communicated to us by means of language, namely, the manifestation of an experience in actual space, in

¹ Freud, Anna: *Introduction to the Technic of Child Analysis*. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 48, 1928. p. 43.

the dynamic relationship of shapes, sizes, distances—in what we may call *spatial configurations*.

In the following notes it is hoped to draw attention to this spatial aspect of play as the element which is of dominant importance in the specificity of "*Spiel-Arbeit*". These notes are based on observations made for the most part in the twilight of clinical experience, and must be supplemented by systematic work with normal or only slightly disturbed children. For although the adult who is not an artist must undergo the specific psychoanalytic procedure in order to reveal his unconscious in the play of ideas (a procedure which cannot easily be replaced for "scientific purposes" by less intimate and more systematic arrangements), the child in his play continuously and naturally "weaves fantasies around real objects".¹

I.

"HOUSES"

1.

An anxious and inhibited four-year-old boy, A, comes for observation. The worried mother has told us: (1) that he is afraid to climb stairs or to cross open spaces; (2) that as a baby he had eczema and that for eight months his arms were often tied in order to prevent his scratching; and (3) that until recently he continued to wet himself, with a climax at the time of a younger sister's arrival.

Let us see what he shows in the first minutes of play. Taking a toy house he places three bears close together in one corner. The father bear is lying in the bathtub, the mother

¹ Wälder, Robert: *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Play*. This QUARTERLY, II.

According to the current theories of play, either the past, "a pressure exerted by unfinished processes", leads the playing child's mind to the *mastery through repetition* of traumatic experiences: "adding an *active counterpart* to the *passive experience*" (Freud); or the present is in the lead insisting on the *discharge of surplus energy*, on the fulfilment of wishes here and now, or on *functional pleasure* (Bühler, in Wälder's formulation: "pleasure experienced in pure performance without regard to the success of activity"); finally, it may be the future and its tasks for which the child may be training himself in the trials, errors and victories of his play experimentation (Groos).

bear is washing at the sink, while the baby bear is drinking water. The emphasis on water reminds us of the boy's urinary difficulty. It also must mean something that the family is placed so close together, for he then arranges a group of animals outside the house equally close to one another. "Can you build a cage around these animals?" he asks me. Provided with blocks, he builds the "cage" shown in Figure 1 *beside*

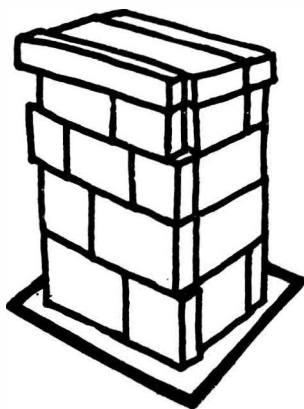


FIGURE 1

them—a house-form which on a normative scale of infantile house-building would belong to a much younger age. At five one knows that a house is "around something"; but A has forgotten the animals. He seems to use the blocks in order to express the *feeling of being caged*; he even places a small picture frame which he finds among the toys around the cage itself. Thus he is indicating in the *content* of his play what is libidinally the most important function of his body (urination) and in the *spatial arrangement* of the toys he expresses narrowness and the feeling of being caged, which we are inclined to trace to the early traumatic experience of being tied and to connect with his present fears of open spaces.

The boy then begins to ask persistently for many details about things in my room. When asked, "What is it you really want to know?", he quiets down quickly and in a dreamy way

turns a shallow bowl upside down and puts many marbles into the cavity of its hollow base. This he repeats several times, then takes one toy car after the other, turns it upside down and examines it.

Here, finally, we have behavior which belongs to the "putting-into" and "taking-out" type of play. By his persistent questions, and his silent examination of the toy cars, he seems to express an intellectual problem: "What is the nature of the underside of things?" This question arises because of the real conflict with the objective world which began when his mother gave birth to his sister, and represents the material most accessible for future psychoanalytic interpretation.

Beneath this level we see that two aspects of his "physical" experiences are expressed in his play. The one indicating strong interest in a pregenital (urethral) function will, during treatment, offer material for interpretation and will at the same time necessitate retraining. The earlier experience, the feeling of being caged, seems to be connected deeply with the impression which a seemingly hostile world has made on this child when it was still so young that its only method of defense was a general withdrawal. This must have so influenced his whole mode of existence as to create severe resistances to the analytical or educational approach.

The crux of this resistance is shown in the fact that for an abnormally long time A wanted to walk only in a walker. To be tied, once distasteful, proved in this instance to be a protection. We may assume that it is this double aspect of physical restriction, what it once did to his ego and how his ego is now using it which A expressed in his very first play constructions when he was brought to me, because of his fear of openness and height.

2.

In stating that A expressed some quality of his experience of body and environment in the form of a cage-house, we imply not only that alloplastic behavior may reproduce the

pattern of a traumatic impression and an autoplasmic change imposed by it, but also that in play a house-form in particular may represent the body as a whole. And indeed, we read of dreams that: "The only typical, that is to say, regularly occurring representation of the human form as a whole is that of a house, as was recognized by Scherner."¹ As is well known, the same representation of the body by the image of a house is found throughout the gamut of human imagination and expression, in poetic fantasy, in slang, wit and burlesque, and in primitive language.

It would not, therefore, be important to lay much stress on the fact that in play, as well, a house-form can mean the body were it not that it is simple to ask a child to build a house, which often reveals the child's specific conception of and feeling for his own body and certain other bodies. We seem to have here a direct approach through play to the traces of those early experiences which formed his body-ego.

This assumption led to interesting results when older children and even adults were given the task of constructing a house. Two extreme examples may suffice here.

A girl of twelve, B, had, at the age of five, developed a severe neurosis following the departure of her first nurse, who had been in the house from the time of the child's birth. The nurse had spoiled B; for example, by allowing her to suck her thumb behind her mother's back, and to eat freely between meals. During the mother's frequent absences, B and her nurse lived in a world of their own standards; the nurse shared the secret of the girl's first sex play with a little boy, while the girl was the first person to hear of it when the nurse became pregnant. B had just begun to puzzle about this fact when the parents discovered it and peremptorily discharged the nurse. Knowing nothing of the shared secrets, they were unaware that in so doing they were suddenly depriving the girl of a queer and asocial intimacy for which she was unable

¹ Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1922, p. 128.

to find a substitute, especially since the mother set out to break in the shortest possible time, all of the bad habits left from the nurse's era. The result was a severe neurosis. When I saw the child for the first time with no knowledge of the psychogenesis of her neurosis, I noted a protruding abdomen, and my first impression was, "She walks like a pregnant woman". The secrets she had shared with her nurse and their pathogenic importance became apparent only later, however, when she confided that sometimes she heard voices within herself. One voice repeated: "Don't say anything, don't say anything", while others in a foreign language seemed to object to this command. She could save herself from the anxiety and the voices only by going into the kitchen and staying with the cook, obviously the person best fitted to represent the former nurse.

B first built a house without doors with a kind of annex containing a little girl doll (Figure 2a). Then she changed the house and built form 2b with many significant objects placed in and around it. In a vertical position we can see that the house-form could represent not only her own unusual posture but also the unconscious determinants for it, especially her identification with the pregnant nurse. The following superficial parallels (and I assume that deeper investigation of



FIGURE 2a

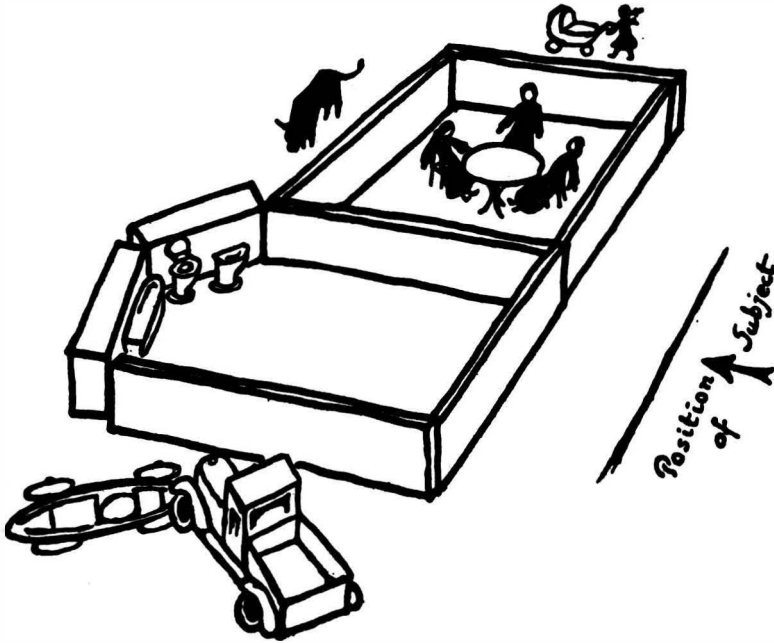


FIGURE 2b

similar cases would reveal these as typical spatial elaborations of infantile body feelings) may be drawn:

CONSTRUCTION	HOUSE	BODY
(1) A little girl with a baby carriage goes to the country (to the cow).	<i>Outside the House:</i> Where there is freedom.	<i>Head:</i> Where she thinks she would like to go away: to the nurse who gave her everything to eat.
(2) A family around a table.	<i>In the Dining Room:</i> Where the child has conflicts with the parents about eating. Where she is present when the parents (immigrants) talk about her in a foreign language.	<i>Inside the Body:</i> Where one feels conflicts. Where she hears foreign voices quarrel.
(3) A cow in the country.	<i>Outside the House.</i>	<i>In Front of the Chest:</i> Where women (nurses) have breasts which give milk.

CONSTRUCTION	HOUSE	BODY
(4) Bathroom furniture behind thick protruding walls.	<i>In the Bathroom</i> (thick walls): Where the secret is (the closed doors); the forbidden (nakedness, masturbation); the dangers (threats concerning masturbation); the bloody things (menstruation); the dirty (toilet activities).	<i>In the Protruded Abdomen</i> : Where the secret is (the baby and its origin); that which is forbidden (the baby); the dangers (the growing baby); dirt (faeces).
(5) A red racer and a truck in collision.	<i>Outside the House</i> : Where the dangerous but fascinating life is, from which the parents try to protect the child. The accident.	<i>Under the Abdomen</i> : Where it seems a girl can lose something, since boys have something there and girls do not. Where people say girls will bleed. Where men do something to women. Where babies come out, hurt women and sometimes kill them (the nurse died shortly after childbirth).

3.

The doorless house not only pictures the child's posture, and shows the unconscious idea of having incorporated the lost nurse, it seems also to indicate that part of her body which is firmly entrenched within the fortress of ego-feelings, as distinguished from what are only thoughts and fears concerning the body, felt as "outside": the expectation of breasts and the fear of menstruation, of which she had been warned.

As a further example justifying our looking at the house from different positions and our assumption that the walls reveal something of the builder's body-ego, the following is of interest: A young schizophrenic man, C, a patient in the Worcester State Hospital, built the house shown in Figure 3.

He said it was a screen house all around, except for the back part. This patient complains of having no feeling in the front of his body. Ever since he was the "victim" of a spinal injec-

tion, he claimed that he suffered from a certain electric feeling drawing down from his spine to the rectum, and from difficulties in urination. He walked in a feminine manner with protruding buttocks. One may recognize this posture in the house-form. C strengthened that part of his house which corresponded to the spine of his body by placing two blocks on top of one another, and he furthermore placed walls around

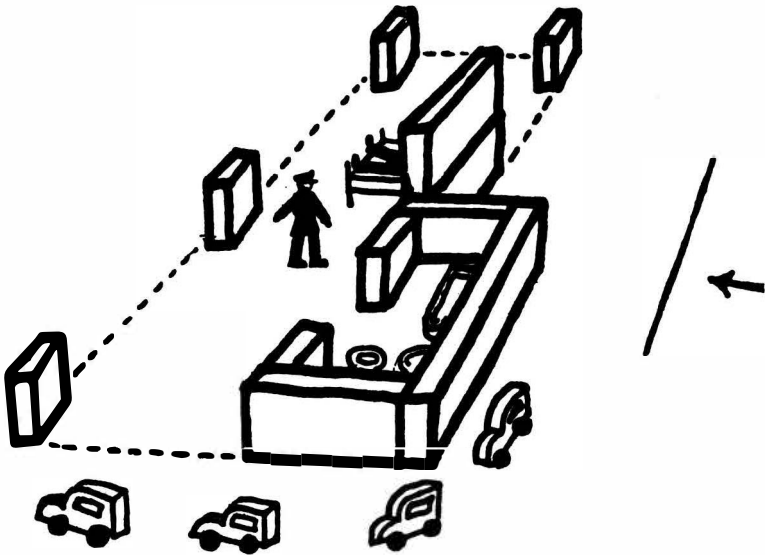


FIGURE 3

one room only (the bathroom) which in position corresponded to his buttocks. The cars are again put at the place corresponding to that of the urethro-genital region on the body and their arrangements suggested a symbolizing of the patient's urethral symptoms (he could urinate only "in bits").

In children without marked orality and adults without psychotic symptomatology, I have not found such detailed parallels between posture and house-forms as those of cases B and C. In laying out the plan of their houses, they stood over it in such a way that the house, as compared with a body, was "dorsal recumbent", and therefore might be said to represent more a baby's than an adult's body-ego. By rotating the diagrams, we

recognized in the same constructions the subject's posture which could be interpreted as expressing an identification with a mother image. It seems that the phenomenon of most striking similarity between house-forms and posture is based on the introjective and projective mechanisms of orality, which must be assumed to be active in the establishment of the body-ego in earliest childhood.

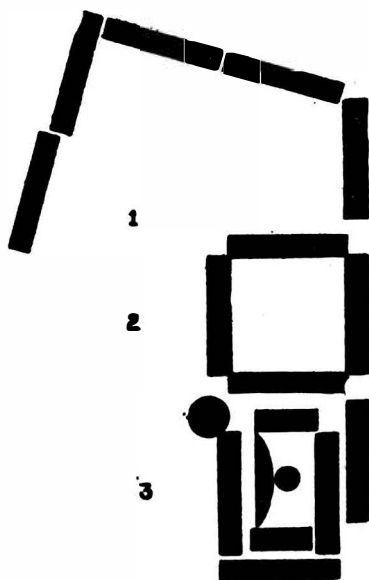


FIGURE 4

In attempting to find similar relationships between the growing organism and the typical block-building of normal children, one will have to be prepared for a much less striking and more sophisticated spatial language in which more emphasis is laid on structural principles than on similarity of shape. Interestingly enough, from Ruth Washburn's nonclinical material, only children with strongly emphasized orality produced parallels between body and house at all similar to B's and C's constructions. The house-form shown in Figure 4 was built by D, who was a fat, egoistic boy of five, a heavy eater. He explained that room 1 is the entrance, room 2 the living room. About room 3 he said: "This is where the water goes

through; it is not going through now, though." He added, "There is a drawbridge; when boats come you pull it up." D's eagerness to "take in" and his reluctance "to give away" is well illustrated by the large opening of the entrance and the complicated closing arrangements at the other end, where water and boats go through the house.

4.

Returning to analytical material from children, we select a house-form of a boy of eight, E, which, in its primitiveness

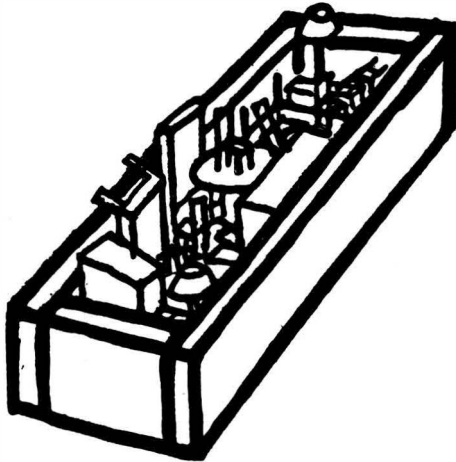


FIGURE 5

reminds us of A's construction. Upon my advice, E had been brought home from a special school where, diagnosed as defective, he had spent half his life. The problem was to find out whether with psychoanalytic help he could resume ordinary home and school life. When he came to his first hour, tense and hyperactive, he remained in my office just long enough to build a house with the blocks he found there (Figure 5). This house, primitive and without doors (like A's house), was filled chaotically with furniture. When, after a few minutes, he ran away shouting that he never would come back, he left behind him nothing but this doorless wall, dividing an outside from a chaotic inside.

I accepted this theme of a closed room and devoted the next few appointments to a short discussion of whether he had to stay and for how long, and whether or not the door of my room would remain open. On the second day he did not want to stay, although the door was not closed. He was immediately dismissed, sooner in fact than he really wanted to go. On the third day he stayed for a few minutes; on the fourth, he asked whether he could stay the whole hour; but when the door was closed, he was driven at once to manifestations of anxiety. He had to touch all the little buttons or protrusions in the room. I made the remark that it seemed as though he had to touch everything, and that he gave me somewhat the impression that for touching something (I did not know what) he expected to be put in jail. His blushing showed that he understood. Like most children who do not quite understand why they are detained with problem children, he had associated the sexual acts of some of them with his own sins and with "being a problem" in general. What he did not remember was that in his infancy, he, like A, had been tied when he rocked his bed (muscular masturbation with genital and anal elements).

The next day he asked questions, all of which began with, "Who has the power to . . ." and since I had heard from his mother that at home he was greatly worried because she wanted to get rid of a soiling cat, I told him that his mother had asked me about the cat and that I had told her she had no right to send the cat away. One should give cats and children a chance before one tries to get rid of them. He sat down and asked softly, "Why do I get so furious?"—and after a long silence, "Why do *boys* get so furious?" To every reader of Anna Freud's *Introduction to Child Analysis* it is obvious that this question shows a concern which is important for the therapeutic situation. While his defiant behavior at first had announced that he did not wish to be sent away or kept anywhere because of his violent aggression, his question showed insight, confidence and a readiness for conversation. I asked him why he thought boys were "furious". "Maybe because they are hunters . . .", he suggested.

Then we began to compare what boys wanted to be with what girls wanted to be, and to make out a written list containing on the one side the toys which boys liked: (streamline train, speedboat, gun, bow and arrow); and on the other those preferred by girls: (doll, doll's house, doll clothes, carriage, basket). The one group could be summed up under the symbol of an arrow and the other under that of a circle. I asked him whether this did not remind him of a certain detail in the difference between a boy's body and a girl's body. "That is why," he said thoughtfully, "I call my streamline train 'Johnny Jump-up'." So we talked about the psychobiological implications of having a penis, the fear of the impulses connected with its possession and the fear of the possibility of not having one. He seemed somewhat relieved.

The next day the cat interfered again. Her regression as to toilet habits had, to say the least, been overdetermined: she was, as everybody at home now agreed, pregnant. But no one could tell just when the kittens would arrive. The question, *when* do the kittens *want* to come out and *when* will they be *allowed* to come out, became the patient's main interest in life. Unfortunately, his unlucky father and his even more unlucky analyst happened to tell him different periods for the duration of a cat's pregnancy. He wondered seriously if God himself was sure when the kittens should come out.

One day, having left the office for a moment, I returned to find E all rolled up in the cover on the couch. He remained there half an hour. Finally, he crawled out and sat beside me. I began to talk about the kittens kept in the cat, children kept in special schools, babies tied in their beds and stillborn babies kept in glass jars. (I knew that not long ago he had seen such an exhibit, and that someone had jokingly told him it was actually a stillborn brother of his.) He probably could not remember, so I added that when he was a baby his father had tied him to his bed because he had rocked so loudly during the night. He blushed and when he got up from the sofa I noticed that he had tied his hands and feet before rolling himself up in the cover.

The toy which he subsequently chose for his first concentrated play in my office was a bowl (Figure 6), a piece of which was broken off. (It will be mentioned here in connection with several cases.) He turned it around to "shoot" marbles into it. For a while we competed at this game, until another cloud came up over the horizon.



FIGURE 6

As to Figure 5, one can see now how many different phenomena it "meant", all of them similar only in the possession of strong walls, no doors and chaos within—attributes at one and the same time of his tension of mind and body; his experience of being tied in bed; his concept of the female body as a claustrum; his experience and expectation of being kept at a place far from his family; and last, but not least, my office. In beginning our relationship with the "spatial" discussion of this last mentioned "cage" (office), we succeeded in lining up all his cage-conceptions before an interpretation which included them all was given. The play with the marbles, then, was the first free, though not yet quite compulsive, expression of that phallic tendency which, in its unsublimated form, had given him the impulse "to do something to women"—and the fear of "being put in jail". Soon afterwards his intrusive tendencies began to possess him entirely in the sublimated form of "scientific" curiosity. Appealing for comradely help from his father, and equipped with an extensible telescope, he entered Mother Nature's secluded areas and investigated birds' nests and other secrets.

5.

In analyzing the full significance of a certain house-form in play, as in the evaluation of a well-known dream symbol, we

need the aid of biographical material. On the other hand, the form of the house itself and the play activity provoked by it, will sometimes tell at once where on the scale of object-relationships our small patient can be assumed to be; whether absorbed in narcissistic orality like B, C and D, or restricted by an early psychophysiological experience like A and E, or whether he has achieved a fearless, clear object-relationship, expressed in unrestricted functional play as in the case of F, which follows.

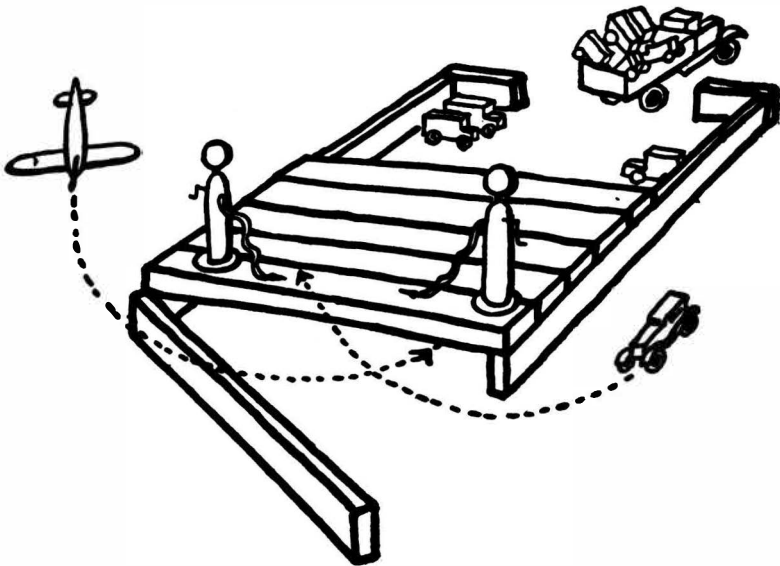


FIGURE 7

F, a boy of five, was not a patient—he was occasionally brought into the office to play for an hour (a pleasant procedure of regular, preventive observation). At the time of the visit to which I am referring, F talked at home in a rather unrepressed way about impulses towards his mother's body. She would, he hoped, let him put the next baby into her.

In my office he built a house (Figure 7), and played contentedly, without showing compulsion or anxiety, for a whole hour. Trucks drove into the backyard to unload dozens of little cars which were lined up. A little silver airplane and a red car were the favorites, and had individual rights: when the

airplane majestically neared the house, the front door was opened to permit it to glide right in. The red car sometimes jumped on to the roof, to be fed by one of the two gasoline tanks stationed there. His remarks at home and his interest in his parents' bodies (so usual for this inquisitive age) justifies the interpretation that F played with the house as his fantasies played around his mother's body. The little red car is fed by the two tanks just as F's sister drinks from the mother's breasts. The airplane enters the house from the front as his father's erect penis enters the mother's body. And his loading and unloading of trucks indicates that like most children he has concluded that there are innumerable babies in the mother's body and that they are born through the rectum, the orifice through which the contents of his own body pass.

One was reminded of Santayana's recent description: "A boy at the age of five has a twentieth century mind; he wants something with springs and stops to be controlled by his little master-ego, so that the immense foreign force may seem all his own, and may carry him sky-high. For such a child, or such an adventurous mechanic, a mere shape or material fetish, like a doll, will never do; his pets and toys must be living things, obedient, responsive forces to be coaxed and led, and to offer a constant challenge to a constant victory. His instinct is masculine, perhaps a premonition of woman: yet he is not thinking of woman. Indeed, his women may refuse to satisfy his instinct for domination, because they share it; machines can be more exactly and more prodigiously obedient."¹

II.

PSYCHOANALYSIS WITHOUT WORDS

(Abstract of a Case-history)

A little girl, G, two and one-half years old, had stopped looking and smiling at people and had ceased developing in her play. She had not learned to say a word or to communicate in any way with other children. Only occasionally, and then

¹ Santayana, George: *The Last Puritan*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, pp. 98-99.

in connection with some tense, compulsively repeated play, did her pretty face lose its monotonous and melancholy expression. At such moments her excited sounds were strangely guttural and were produced by noisy inhalations. No diagnosis meant much at this stage. The question was: Could one make contact with her at all? Could one reawaken her interest in this world?

Upon my first visit to her, one single fact induced me to make the trial. As she approached me slowly, coming down a stairway, she did not look at me directly but around me in concentric circles. She did not fail to see me, as had been supposed, but definitely avoided doing so.

My first subsequent observations revealed that her spells of excitement showed a mixture of pleasure and anxiety. I noticed this first during a spell which took place as she was banging a door, which in opening and closing touched a small chain that hung from an electric light. However, such "spells" could also occur when she was quiet. She would suddenly look out of the corners of her eyes at an extreme angle, focusing them far away, usually at the brightest point in the surroundings; then she would twist her hands almost convulsively and produce guttural sounds, half like crying, half laughing.

She seemed never to have made any of the usual pre-language sounds: nor had she ever licked things as other children do, nor bitten anything. She would urinate only once in twelve or twenty-four hours, and often had bowel movements only once in forty-eight hours. Her room was overclean and her nurse seemed not without anxiety in regard to these matters.

When I heard this, and saw her exhibit the same excitement while simply throwing a ball again and again between a piano stool and a piano, I concluded that she had experienced training as a trauma, which in turn had been connected somehow with unknown traumata of her earlier life. I first tried to approach this symptom by suggestive play. Disregarding her, since she avoided looking at me, I threw stones into some old "potties" for almost an hour. When I then left, and observed her from a place where she could not see me, she played

around these potties in concentric circles which grew narrower and narrower. Finally she dropped a stone in a potty, laughed heartily and loudly, and said clearly, "a-ba-ba-ba". During the succeeding days her toilet habits changed completely, whether as a result of this simple suggestion I do not know, but an immediate relief of general tension was obvious.

We then tried by mild suggestion to influence her playing and her playful movements in space. She had not only fortified her position against the outer world by not looking at people, not listening, not eating unfamiliar food, and by holding back urine and fæces, but she behaved on the whole as if something actually inhibited the movements of her body in space. Her legs and arms were tense and stiff, so much so that a neurological disturbance was suspected and she was examined, with no findings to indicate disease. Even when ample space was at her disposal, she seemed to imagine limits and boundaries where she stopped suddenly, as if confronted with a fence or an abyss. It was an imaginary noise at a certain distance upon which she then focused her attention with an expression half anxious, half delighted. I was interested to see at what limit freer play and freer physical movement would be stopped by a real anxiety or end in the manifest excitement described above. If she threw things, I would try to induce her to throw them further; I would take her hand to run with her, to jump down or to climb steps—always somewhat more quickly or extensively than she would dare to do alone.

While attempting to help her expand the limits of her expression, it became obvious that there was a correlation between the functions of focusing on objects, grasping objects, aiming at things, biting into things, forming sounds, having sufficiently large bowel movements, and touching her genitals. The manifestation of increasing aggressiveness in one of these functions was accompanied by similar improvements in the others; but when a certain limit was reached, anxiety inhibited all of them. A sudden large defæcation on the porch was followed by severe constipation and regression in all functions, and a "talking" spell of four hours one night, in which she

seemed to be able to talk all the languages of Babel, but unable to single out English from the confusion, had the same effect.

The first word she suddenly used—pronouncing it quite clearly—showed that it had been right to assume an early traumatic experience. While banging a door she looked far away into the sky and exclaimed (obviously imitating an anxious adult, quite in the fashion of a parrot), “Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear.” On another occasion, she said clearly several times, “My goodness”. A few days later I saw her pick out of a potty numerous stones and blocks which smelled of paint, and lick them. When I softly said, “Oh dear, oh dear”, she vigorously threw the potty away, as if remembering a prohibition.

On the other hand, nothing could excite her more than having a bright, shining pinwheel moved quickly toward her face. I cannot report here all of the details of her play, which finally pointed to the following elements as possible aspects of a traumatic situation in her past: looking through bars (like those of a crib?); a light moving quickly toward her face; a light seen at a certain angle; a light seen far away; traumatic interference with licking and with play somehow connected with defæcation. These corresponded to two of the definite fears she had occasionally manifested, i.e., of a light in the bathroom and of a traffic light blinking some hundred feet away from her window. She had also been terrified by the fringes of the covers on her parents’ beds, a fear which seemed unconnected with this, until the chains of the lights which fascinated or frightened her proved to play an important rôle.

I then visited the hospital where she had been born. The most critical period of her short life had been its first few weeks, during which her mother had been too ill to nurse her for more than two days. The baby developed an almost fatal diarrhœa. Not much was known about this period and her special hospital nurse had left the country.

Another nurse, helping me to study the lights in the hospital, suddenly said, “And then we have another lamp which we only use with babies who have severe diarrhœa.” She demonstrated the following procedure with its clear parallels

to the child's play behavior. The baby is laid on its side so that the lamp, which is put as near as possible to the baby's sore buttocks, can shine directly on them. The baby then must see the lamp from approximately the angle which this child's eyes always assume when she is preoccupied with her typical day-dream. The lamp has a holder which can be bent and the full light could then shine on the baby's face for a moment as the lamp is being adjusted. When this has been done, the lamp is covered so that it is, so to speak, in the bed. For the baby, then, the *light is where the pain is*.

The discovery of this traumatic event from the second week of her life helped us to meet a situation which arose when the child suddenly became frightened of a lamp in my office, stopped drinking milk at home and began, wherever she was, to play at being in bed. She would build a kind of cave out of the cover of my couch, crawl into it, and terrified but fascinated, would look towards the dangerous light. We began to play with lights. Since at that time she liked all things which could be spun around quickly, I would put a light underneath the cover, presumably where the hospital lamp had been, and would spin it around. She began to love lights, and when she smiled for the first time at the light that she had been afraid of, she said, "ma-ma-ma-ma". At the same time her motor coördination improved so much that when the lamp above her bed had to be unscrewed because she played with it too much she could rock her bed across the room in the dark to pull another lamp chain.

At this point in the treatment the mother remembered another important part of the child's earliest history. In the third month of the child's life, when she had left the girl to take a trip, she had given instructions that an electric heater be turned on while diapers were being changed. After her return she was told that all through this month, dynamite had been used to blast rocks in the vicinity and had terrified the whole neighborhood. The baby, being upset already by the nervousness of the adults, had been further terrified when one day the electric heater suddenly exploded beside her. Here

we have the connection between *the light where the pain is* and *the light where the noise is*. The flashing traffic light several hundred feet away, of which she consequently was afraid, apparently was a "condensation" of the exploding light near at hand and the terrifying noises at a distance.

After she had learned to play with lights without fear, we attempted to extend further the radius of her activities, and gave her hard toast in order to induce her to bite. She refused—and presently reacted with a show of fear on seeing a tassel hanging from the girdle of her mother's dress. At the same time, she began to bite into wooden objects. Having observed in her a similar fear of a lamp chain (usually, as I pointed out, the object of traumatic play) directly after she had first seen two little boys naked, I inquired whether, and how much, she could have seen of her father's and mother's bodies. Her fear spread to all objects which had tassels or fringes or were furry or hairy, when they were worn by a person. When offered her mother's belt to play with, she touched and finally took it between thumb and forefinger as if she were taking a living and detestable thing, and threw it away (with an expression much like that occasionally shown by women when they report a snake dream). When by playing with the fringe repeatedly, she had overcome her fear of it, she began staring down into the neck of her mother's nightgown, focusing her fascinated attention on her breasts. When we add to these observations the recollection of how she had formerly looked in a concentric circle around people, supposedly not seeing anybody at all, we may reconstruct one more of the traumatic impressions which were probably factors in arresting her development. We may assume that as a small child when seeing her parents undressing on a beach, she had experienced a biting impulse toward the mother's breasts and (a not uncommon displacement) the father's penis.¹ What this meant to her becomes clear when we remember the first two traumatic events we were able to uncover. The first had been the experience of intestinal and

¹ As to the developmental relationship of biting and focusing, see Chapter III, B.

anal pain in association with light during the frustrated sucking period. The second was the experience of noise (the blasting) and exclaiming women ("Oh dear," "My goodness") in connection with the electric heater during the onset of the biting period. (Other material suggested that the nurse had exclaimed in a similar way when she once found the child playing with fæces which she was about to put into her mouth.)

No doubt from the very outset this child had not been ready to master stimulations above a certain intensity. On the other hand, some meaning could be detected in her strange behavior and, under the influence of our play and of a simultaneous change of atmosphere in a now more enlightened environment, the child's vocalizations approached more nearly the babble of a normal child before it speaks. She began to play happily and untiringly with her parents and to enjoy the presence of other children. She had fewer fears, and she developed skills. This newly acquired relationship to the object world, though a precondition of any reorientation, was, of course, only a beginning.

III.

PREGENITALITY AND PLAY

A. Clinical Observations

1.

In her article, *Ein Fall von Essstörung*¹, Editha Sterba reports the case of a little girl who began to hold food in her mouth, after having been trained to release the fæces which for an annoyingly long period she had preferred to retain in her rectum. This food she would turn around and around until it formed a ball, whereupon she would spit it out, thus using or rather misusing, the mouth to execute an act which had been inhibited at the anus.

A zone of the body with a specific muscular and nervous structure, the typical function of which is to accept, examine and prepare an incoming object for delivery to the inside of

¹ Ztschr. f. psa. Pädagogik IX, 1935.

the body, is here used instead to hold for a while in a playful manner, and then return the object to the outside. This act resembles the anal act which it replaces only as a "gesture", but without any functional logic. Such an "unnatural" use of a substituted zone is one form of what is called *displacement*. In this case it implies a partial regression, since the mouth precedes the anus in the erogenous zones sequence, and offers the specific tactual pleasure sought after at an earlier period. It is hard to understand psycho-physiologically that a zone can replace another zone of different neurological quality and location, and serve dramatically to represent its function. Psychoanalysts have accepted the interrelationship of these interchangeable zone-phenomena as being libido economical. Physiologists and psychologists in general are for the most part not even aware of the phenomena as a problem.

What interests us most in this connection is the relationship to play of such displacements from one organ to another. Most children instead of displacing from one section of their own body to another, find objects in the toy world for their extra-bodily displacements. If, in a moment of deep concentration in play, the dynamics of which are yet to be described, a child is not disturbed from within or without, he may use a cavity in a toy as a representative of a cavity in his own body, thus externalizing the entire dynamic relationship between the zone and its object.

Between displacements within the body (habits, symptoms) and the free external displacement in play, we find various arresting combinations. A little boy, H, two-and-one-half years of age, who struggled rather belatedly against enuresis, began to take to bed with him little boxes, which he held closed with both hands. When a box would open during the night, sometimes apparently with his unconscious help, he would cry out in his sleep, or awaken and call for someone to help him close the box. Then he would sleep peacefully, though not necessarily dry. But he continued to experiment. During the day he looked around for suitable boxes—obviously driven by an urge to materialize an image of "closedness".

Finally he found what seemed to fit the image: it was a cardboard cylinder which had been the center of a roll of toilet paper, and two cardboard caps from milk bottles, which he put over the openings of the roll. (See Figure 8.) All through the

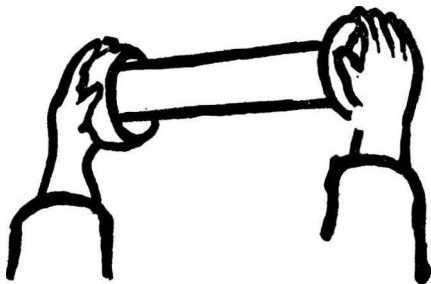


FIGURE 8

night he would try to hold this arrangement firmly together with both hands—as an animistic guardian of the retentive mode. But no sooner had his training achieved a relative success in closing his body during sleep, then he began, *before* going to sleep, to throw all available objects out of the window. When this was made impossible, he stole into other rooms and spilled the contents of boxes and bottles on the floor.

Clearly, the first act, namely, holding a closed box as a necessary condition for sleep, resembles a compulsive act originating in the child's fear of being overpowered by his weakness to retain or his wish to expel. Emptying objects, on the other hand, or throwing them out of the window is "delinquent" and the result of the fear of being overpowered by the claims of *society to which he surrenders the zone but not the impulse*. The impulse begins an independent existence.

To prevent the little boy from throwing things out of the window, it was opened from the top. Thereupon he was found riding on it, leaning out into the night. I do not think he would have fallen out; he wanted only to show himself "master of openings", as compensation for the surrender of the free use of his excretory openings to society. When, in consequence, his mother kept his window closed until he was asleep, he

insisted that the door should be ajar. At an earlier stage, the same boy, as he was learning to control his bowel movements had gone through a short period of excessive running away. Thus not only sections of one's body and toys, but also the body as a whole in its spatial relationship to the whole room or to the whole house may serve the displaced impulse in various degrees of compulsive, naughty, or playful acts.

I may refer again to the wooden bowl, which I mentioned in note 1 (see Figure 6). After a piece had been broken off, this bowl proved to be of manifold use to various children. They used it with deep concentration and with endless repetitions. As noted in Chapter I, A, curious and much restricted, turned it upside down to fill its hollow base and look at it; F, reassured about his phallic aggressiveness, used the opening, as thousands of boys at certain ages do, as a goal for his marbles; G, over-retentive, did not "retain" marbles in the bowl, but filled it again and again in order to spill them excitedly all over the floor. Similarly, a girl of three, who was fighting desperately against soiling herself, did not spill, but asked for the broken-off piece to close the bowl tightly, reminding us of the boy H with his animistic retention boxes. Thus we see the impulses appearing in play as the advance guard or rear guard of new sublimations.

It is conceivable that a form such as this bowl, as it is used by children of various age groups, could also prove of experimental value. We must keep in mind, however, that units of play behavior, like parts of dreams or single associations, seldom have independent meaning value. To know what a certain configuration in a child's play means, we should know the contemporaneous changes in his growth, his habits, his character and his concepts of others.

2.

Let us look at an individual who showed pathological oscillation in the pregenital sphere, and let us place a specific bit of play in the center of our observational field.

At a certain period in his treatment, J, a boy of eight, un-

tiringly repeated the following play: A caterpillar tractor slowly approached the rear end of a truck, the door of which had been opened. A dog had been placed on the tractor's chain wheels in such a way that he was hurled into the truck at the moment the tractor bumped into it. (Figure 9.)

Symptom. In a very specific way, J had failed to respond to toilet training. Dry and clean when he wished to be, he had nevertheless continued to express resistance against his mother by frequent soiling (as much as three times a day), an act which became a perverted expression of his highly ambivalent feelings about the other sex. In school, when angered by certain girls by whom he would feel seduced, he would take their



FIGURE 9

berets to the toilet and defæcate into them. His masturbatory habit consisted in rubbing the lower part of his abdomen, which caused genital excitement at first, but ended in defæcation.

First treatment. The psychiatrist who first treated the boy was amazed to find that he offered "unconscious" material of a sexual and anal nature in a never ending stream. As the naïve preconception in some child guidance clinics would express it, the boy was a real "freudian" patient. But the psychiatrist was well aware of the fact that the patient did not really respond to the explanations for which he seemed to ask. This was probably due to the fact that in being voluble he did not communicate with the therapeutic agency in order to get cured, but cleverly "backed out" by regressing to a new kind of oral perversion in "talking about dirty things".

Second treatment. When the boy's masturbation increased,

it had been thought necessary to circumcise him, assuming that it was a slight phimosis which though stimulating him genitally, did not allow him to have a full erection and led his excitement into anal-erotic channels. Simultaneously, he was subjected to an encephalogram. Following this, the boy had stopped soiling entirely: but he also underwent a complete character change. He talked little, looked pale, and his intelligence seemed to regress—symptoms which are apt to be overlooked for some time because of the specific improvement in regard to a socially more annoying symptom. In this case, the closing up was nothing but a further regression, an outwardly more convenient, but in fact more dangerous retreat into orality (as was also shown by his excessive eating) and into a generalization of the retentive impulse. In consequence, his behavior soon gave rise to grave concern, and when he was first referred to me, I was doubtful as to the therapeutic reliability of his ego which seemed to be either no longer, or perhaps never to have been, secure.

Psychoanalytic treatment. The first barrier which psychoanalysis was forced to attack was the castration fear, which, after the circumcision, had suppressed his soiling without ridding him of the impulse. Expecting new physical deprivations, the boy would appear equipped with two pairs of eyeglasses on his nose, three knives on a chain hanging out of his trousers and a half dozen pencils sticking out of his vest pocket. Alternately he was a “bad guy” or a cross policeman. He would settle down to quiet play only for a few moments, during which he would choose little objects (houses, trees and people) no larger than two or three inches high, and make covers for them out of red plasticene. Suddenly he would get very pale and ask for permission to go to the bathroom. When consequently the circumcision was talked over and reassurances given for the more important remainder of his genitals, his play and co-operation became more steady.

His first drawing pictured a woman with some forms enlarged so as to represent large buttocks. In violent streaks he

covered her with brown paint. It was not, however, until his castration fear had been traced to earlier experiences, that he began to look better and to play with real contentment.

J had witnessed an automobile accident in which the chief damage was a flat tire. In describing this and similar incidents to me he almost fainted, as he had also done merely while enlarging and protecting the little toys with covers of plasticene. In view of his anxiety, I pressed this point. He felt equally sick when I asked him about certain sleeping arrangements. It appeared that he had seen (in crowded quarters) a man perform intercourse with a woman who sat on him, and he had observed that the man's penis looked shorter afterwards. His first impression had been that the woman, whose face seemed flushed, had defæcated into the man's umbilicus and had done some harm to his genitals. On second thought, however, he associated what he had seen with his observations on dogs, concluding that the man had, as it were, eliminated a part of his penis into the woman's rectum out of which she later would deliver, i.e., again eliminate, the baby. His castration fear was traced to this experience, and the enlightenment given that semen and not a part of the penis remained in the woman.

First play. His first concentrated skilful and sustained play was with the tractor and the truck. At that moment I made no interpretation of it to him, but to me it indicated that he wanted to make sure by experimenting with his toys that the pleasant idea of something being thrown into another body without hurting either the giver or the receiver was sensible and workable. At the same time, his eliminative as well as his intrusive impulses helped him in arranging the experiment. Finally he showed that his unresolved anal fixation (no doubt in coöperation with certain common "animalistic" tendencies and observations) did not allow him to conceive of intrusion in any other way than from behind. From his smearing of the woman's picture with brown paint to this game, he had advanced one step: it was not as before brown stuff or mud which was thrown into the truck, it was something living.

Technical consideration. Melanie Klein, in her arresting and disturbing book, *The Psychoanalysis of Children*, has given the significance of an independent, symbolical unit to the fact that in a child's play motor cars may represent human bodies doing something to one another. Whether or not this is unreservedly true in its exclusively sexual interpretation has become a matter of controversy. Probably the question cannot be given any stereotyped answer. Symbolism is dangerous because it distracts attention from the imponderables of interpretation. No doubt, any group of mechanical objects, such as radiators, elevators, toilet and water systems, motor cars, and so on, which are inanimate but make strange noises, have openings to incorporate, to retain and to eliminate, and finally are able to move rapidly and recklessly, constitute a world well suited to symbolize one of the early concepts which the child has of his body as he develops the agencies of self-observation and self-criticism. Encountering in himself a system of incalculable and truly "unspeakable" forces, the child seeks a counterpart for his inner experience in the un verbalized world of mechanisms and mute organisms. As projections of a being which is absorbed in the experiences of growth, differentiation, and objectivation, they are not as yet systematically described. Their psychological importance certainly goes beyond sexual symbolism in its narrower sense.

Likewise, play is much too basic a function in human and animal life to be regarded merely as an infantile substitute for the verbal manifestations of an adult. Therefore one cannot offer any stereotyped advice as to the form or time when interpretations of play are to be given to a child. This will depend entirely on the rôle of play at the specific age and in the specific stage of each child patient. In general, a child who is playing with concentration should be left undisturbed as long as his own anxiety allows him to develop his ideas—but no longer. On the other hand, some children becoming aware of our interest in play, use this to lead us astray and away from quite conscious realities which should be verbalized. We are not in possession of a theory embracing the dynamics of play

and verbalization for different ages in childhood. We do not want to make the child conscious of the fact that play as such means something, but only that his fears, his inability to play playfully, may mean something. In order to do this, it is almost never advisable to show to the child that any one element in his play "means" a certain factor in his life. It is enough after one has drawn one's own conclusions from the observation of play, to begin to talk with the child about the critical point in his life situation—in a language the sense of which is concrete to a child at a specific age. If one is on the right track, the child's behavior (through certain positive and negative attitudes not discussed here) will lead the way as far as it is safe. No stereotyped imagery should lure us beyond this point.

Return of the impulse. Outside the play hours, the eliminative impulse typically made its reappearance in J's life in macrocosmic¹ fashion and at the periphery of the life space: the whole house, the whole body, the whole world, was used for the representation of an impulse which did not yet dare to return to its zone of origin. In his sleep, he would start to throw the belongings of other people, and only theirs, out of the window. Then, in the daytime, he threw stones into neighbors' houses and mud against passing cars. Soon he deposited faeces, well wrapped, on the porch of a hated woman neighbor. When these acts were punished, he turned violently against himself. For days he would run away, coming back covered with dirt, oblivious of time and space. He still did not soil, but desperation and the need for elimination became so all powerful that he seemed to eliminate *himself* by wild walks without any goal, coming back so covered with mud that it was clear he must have undressed and rolled in it. Another time he rolled in poison ivy and became covered with the rash.

Resistance. When he noticed that, by a slowly narrowing network of interpretations, I wanted to put into words those of

¹ See part 3 of this note.

his impulses which he feared most, namely, elimination and intrusion in their relationship to his mother, he grew pale and resistive. The day I told him that I had the impression there was much to say about his training at home, he began a four-day period of faecal retention, stopped talking and playing, and stole excessively, hiding the objects. As all patients do, he felt rightly that verbalization means detachment and resignation: He did not dare to do the manifest, but he did not want to give up the latent.

Return of symptom. He did not live at home at this time. After many weeks, he received the first letter from his mother. Retiring to his room, he shrank physically and mentally, and soiled himself. For a while he did this regularly whenever his mother communicated with him.¹ It was then possible to interpret to him his ambivalent love for his mother, the problems of his bowel training, and his theories concerning his parents' bodies. It was here also that his first free flow of memories and associations appeared, allowing us to verbalize much that had been dangerous only because it had been amorphous. Interestingly enough, after the patient understood the whole significance of the eliminative problem in his life, the eliminative impulse, in returning to its zone did not flood, as it were, the other zones. Verbalization did not degenerate to "elimination of dirt" this time, as in the previous psychiatric treatment.

Sublimation. One day he suddenly expressed the wish to make a poem. If there ever was a child who, in his make-up and behavior, did not lead one to expect an æsthetic impulse, it was J.² Nevertheless, in a flood of words, produced during an excitement similar to that which had been noticeable when he had talked about dirt to the psychiatrist, he now began to dictate song after song about beautiful things. Then he proposed the idea, which he almost shrieked, of sending these poems to his mother. The act of producing and writing these

¹ In concluding a letter to his mother, J wrote instead of "Love, J", "Left, J."

² See, however, case P (Oriol) in Chapter IV.

poems, of putting them into envelopes and into the mailbox, fascinated him for weeks. He *gave* something to his mother and it was *beautiful!* The intense emotional interest in this new medium of expression and the general change in habits accompanying it, indicate that by means of this act of sending something beautiful to his mother, part of that libido which had participated in the acts of retaining faces from women and eliminating dirt to punish them had achieved sublimation. The impulse had found a higher level of expression: the zone submitted to training.

3.

In part 1 of this note, I gave an example of what different children may do with one toy; in part 2, an example of the therapeutic significance of one play-event in a child's life. I would like to add a word about a child's behavior with different play-media:

A child playing by himself may find amusement in the play world of his own body—his fingers, his toes, his voice, constituting the periphery of a world which is self-sufficient in the mutual enchantment of its parts. Let us call this most primitive form of play *autocosmic*. Gradually objects which are close at hand are included, and their laws taken into account.

If, at another stage, the child weaves fantasies around the reality of objects, he may construct a small toy world which is dominated by the laws of his own growing body and mind. Thus, he makes blocks "grow" by placing them on top of one another; and, with obvious pleasurable excitement in repetition he knocks them down, thus externalizing the trauma of his own falls. Later the blocks may serve as the building stones for a miniature world in which an ever increasing number of bodily, mental and social experiences are externalized and dramatized. This manifestation we may call *microcosmic play*.

We can term *macrocosmic* that form of play in which the child moves as in a kind of trance among life-sized objects, pretending that they are whatever background he needs for

his imagination. Thus he manifests his need for omnipotence in a material which all too often is rudely claimed by adults, because it has other, "grown-up" purposes.

These are a few of the more basic types of play which the child offers to us for comparison—each with its special kind of infantile fascination—developing one after the other as he grows and then shifting more or less freely from one to the other at certain stages.

Following an exceptional sequence of disappointments and frustrations, a girl of eight, K, a patient of Dr. Florence Clothier of Boston, made a veritable fortress of herself. Stubborn, stiff, uncommunicative, she would occasionally open all the orifices of her body, and annoy her environment by spitting, wetting, soiling, and passing flatus. One received the impression that these symptoms were not only animistic acts by which she eliminated hated intruders (her stepmother and her stepbrother), but also "shooting" with all available ammunition. While polymorphous in their zonal expression, these acts were clearly dominated by a combination of the eliminative and intrusive impulses. As the main object of the destructive part of this impulse, one could recognize the stepmother's body, in which the child suspected that more rival stepbrothers were growing. Naturally, this wild little girl was at the same time most anxious to find for herself a good mother's body in which to hide, to cry, and to sleep. Someone had told her that her own mother had died while giving birth to her; and one can imagine what conflicts arose when she first met the psychiatrist and saw that this potentially new and better mother was actually pregnant.

These biographic data are enough to explain the play which I am going to describe. Nevertheless, there is nothing essentially atypical in this play. This girl's constitution and experience simply made dominant the problem of intrusion which every child faces at least in one period of his life, namely, in the phallic period.

The phallic phase, last of the ambivalent stages, leads the

child into a maze of "claustrum" fantasies, in which some children—for a longer or shorter time—get hopelessly lost.¹ They want to touch, enter and know the secrets of all interiors but are frightened of dark rooms and dream of jails and tombs. As they flee the claustrum they would like to hide in mother's arms; fleeing their own disturbing impulses toward the mother's body they escape into wilful acts of displaced violence, only to be restricted and "jailed" again. The mother's body into which the baby wanted to retreat in order to find food, rest, sleep, and protection from the dangerous world, becomes in the phallic phase the dangerous world, the very object and symbol of aggressive conquest. Further obstructing this conquest are the father's rights (because of his strength) and the younger siblings' rights (because of their weakness); and thus the mother, a heaven and hell at the same time, becomes the center of a hopeless rivalry. Whether to go forward or backward, to be hero or baby,—that is the question. It is in this phase that the boy, knowing there is no way back, sets his face towards the future (where all those ideals are waiting for him, which we symbolize by superhuman mother figures); while to the girl, her own body's claustrum offers a vague promise and new dangers.

In his play, the boy at this stage prefers games of war and crime, and expresses most emphatically the intrusive mode; the girl, by contrast, in caring for dolls, in building a small house with a toy baby or a toy animal in it or in other protective configurations expresses the procreative-protective tendency which will remain the point of reference for whatever course she may take in her future.

Dr. Clothier's patient, in her play during a period of transition from eliminative-intrusive to female tendencies, showed many distorted manifestations of these problems:

In *cutting* her own hair and eyelashes, and threatening to cut her eyes and teeth, she approximated a return into the *autocosmic* sphere of play.

Microcosmic: (1) *Dramatic:* Five dolls, named after father,

¹ See case E.

stepmother, stepbrother, sister and herself are approached from behind by a *snake* who *eats* everybody except herself and her pet animal.

(2) *Pictorial*: Drawings with long rows of houses which are being approached, entered, and left by a *stealing* cat: The house more and more assumed the appearance of the human body, with the two sides of the walk leading to it representing the legs between which the door was entered by the cat. The girl noticed this resemblance herself and made the giggling remark, "Do you think that a house can stand on the walk?"

Macrocosmic: (1) For several days she built "houses". The entrance had two round portal forms represented by a dish on each side. The patient began going in and out of the house on all fours, always entering the house backwards. When inside, she picked up one of the dishes and pretended to drink from it; then she curled up in a foetal position. Crawling backwards over and over again, she said to the psychiatrist, "You watch and tell me so I won't hit the back of the house." The psychiatrist told her when to stop, but each time she gave a vicious lunge backwards, *breaking* through the wall.

(2) Where her macrocosmic play expanded beyond the sphere of toys, i.e., became naughty, she climbed on tables, desks and shelves, *invaded* drawers, and *tore* papers. Often only bursting in and out of the room was an act big enough to express her intrusive rage.

(3) At a decisive point in her treatment, the girl was especially fascinated by a rubber syringe with which she *squirted water* everywhere. "Now I'm a wild Indian, so look out!" On a certain day, during a period of a general change in attitude, the girl squirted on the floor a big circle with one line representing a radius ①; then she angrily made a puddle out of her design. The next day she repeated the same configuration, but added a small circle in the center of the big one: ②. On the third day, she again drew a larger circle and, without the connecting radius, a smaller circle in the center, saying, "This is a baby circle." ③ This time she did not destroy the figure, but said giggling, "There are no cats

here" (to enter the circle and steal the baby). The change of configurations in this play from phallic (syringe) to female-protective is obvious. Moreover the little girl created a symbol and in doing so seemed to have a moment of clarity and pacification.

(4) Around the same time she dictated the following story to a teacher. She said she had heard it somewhere. We add it as an association which in a *narrative* and quite humorous form seemed to express symbolically an acceptance of the difference between boys and girls:

The Pumpkin and the Cat: The farmer put the pumpkin in the barn, and the cat came, and the cat said to the pumpkin, "Do you want to stay here? Let's go away." And the pumpkin rolled and tumbled, and the cat walked and walked, until it began to rain. The cat lifted up his wet paw. A woodcutter came by. The pumpkin said, "Mister, will you please cut my top off, and scrape all the seeds out, so the cat can come in?" The woodcutter cut off the top of the pumpkin and scraped all the seeds out.

They went on tumbling and rolling until morning. They started off again, tumbling and rolling. Then pretty soon it was night. And it began to rain harder, and the cat lifted up his wet paw, and the pumpkin said, "You'd better get inside." "Yes, but we haven't got any two windows and a nose and a mouth." The pumpkin said, "You get out and I'll go to the carpenter." He went to the carpenter and said, "Mr. Carpenter, will you please cut two windows and a nose and mouth?"

The cat came in the pumpkin and the pumpkin and the cat laughed. Then they rolled and tumbled, until they came to a little house. They heard a boy whistling and then a girl came out of the house and said, "What do you wish you had most for Halloween?" The boy said: "I wish I had a nice round pumpkin", and the girl said, "I wish I had a nice little black cat."

Up rolled the pumpkin to the little boy, and the girl said, "Look what the fairy brought us, and I think it's a cat inside!"






And off jumped the cover, and out jumped the little black cat, and right into the little girl's arms.

And they lighted the pumpkin, and put it on the table, and put the kitty next to it, until the mother came home.

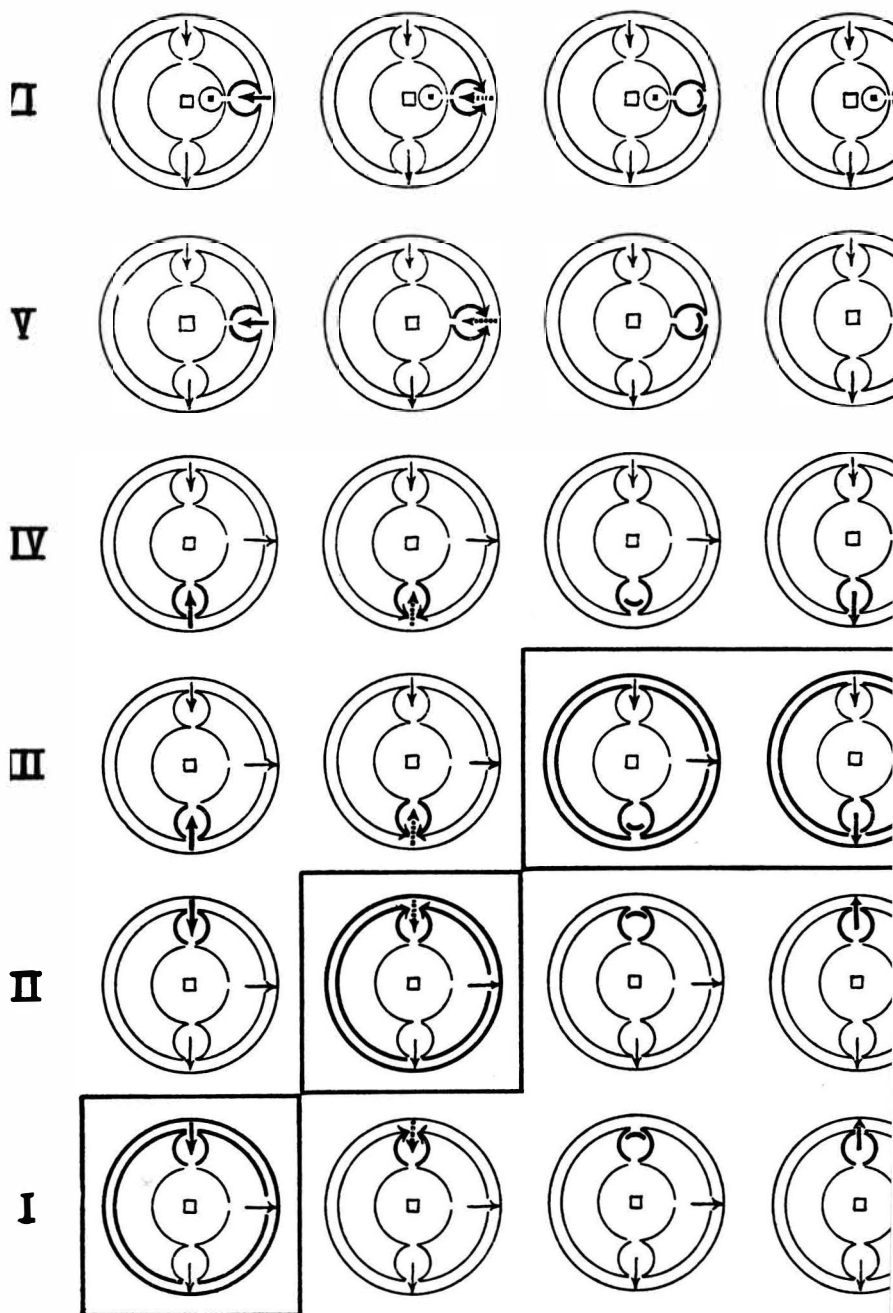
B. Zones, Impulses, Modes

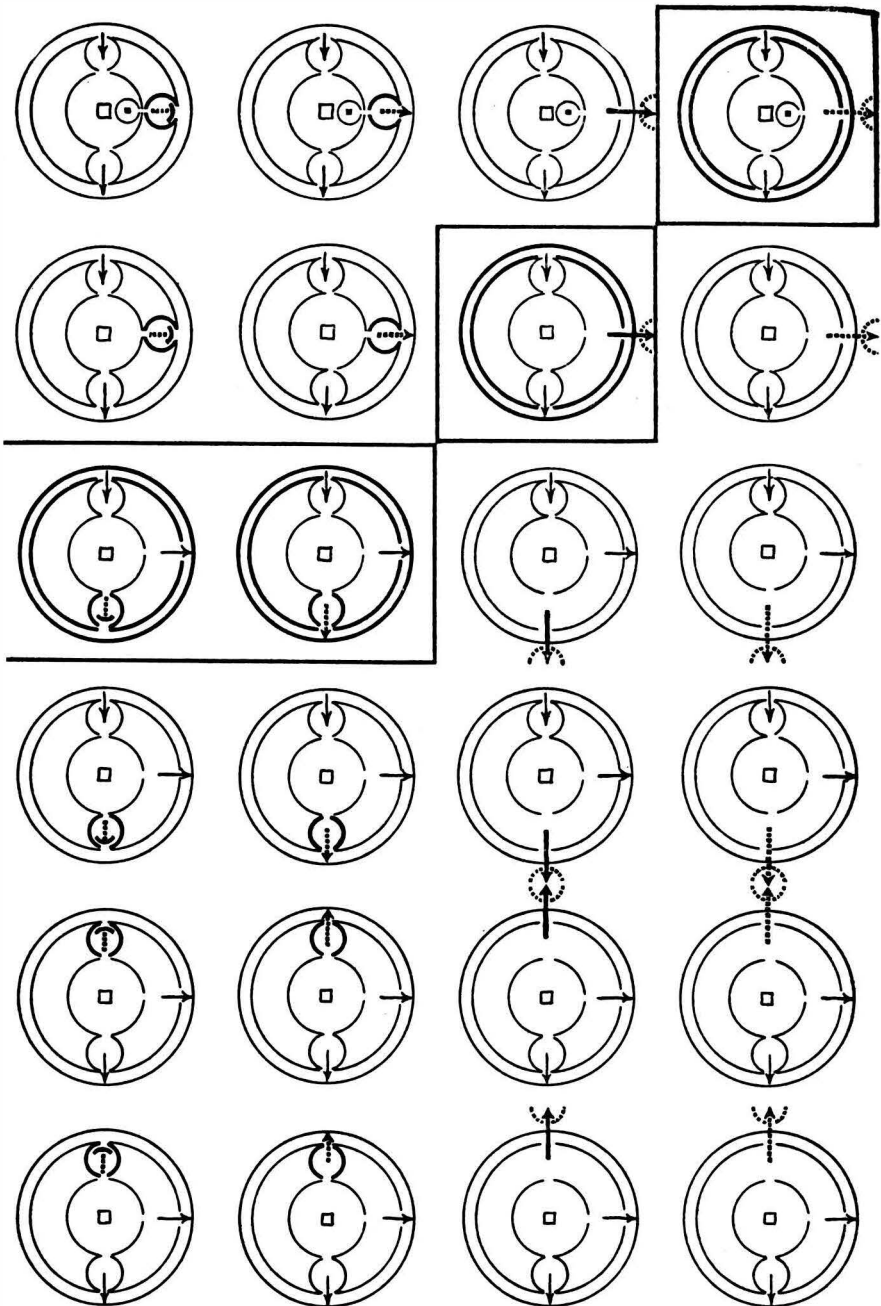
1.

It is not only in pathological cases that children's acts impress us as being unexpected and apparently incoherent. The observer of any child's life feels at moments that an essential factor is eluding him, as the loon in the lake eludes the hunter by sudden turns under the surface. Whether the child is playful, naughty or compulsive; whether his acts involve bodily functions or toys, persons or abstracts, only analytic comparison reveals that what so suddenly appears in one category is essentially related to that which disappeared in another. Sometimes it is the mere replacement in time which makes the analyst become aware of the inner connection of two acts; sometimes it is a quality of an emotion or a tendency of a drive common to both. Often, however, (and this is especially true for the period of pregenitality on which we focus our attention here) the only observational link between two acts is what we wish to describe as the organ-mode.¹

To clear the way for more systematic observations of the interrelationship between the intrabodily and extrabodily aspects of pregenitality, it seems best to reduce the displaced impulses to the simplest spatial terms, i.e., to signs which represent the dynamic principle of the body apertures in which the impulses are first centered. I propose that we accept the sign  as representing the incorporation of an object by means of *sucking*;  may represent the incorporation by means of *biting*;  the retaining of or closing up against an object;  expelling and  intruding.

¹ When the author first used the scheme to be presented on the following pages in order to explain certain play phenomena in a seminar in Boston, in 1934, he did not know of F. Alexander's "vector analysis". (See the publications of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute.) For the limited purpose of these notes, it seems better not to discuss Alexander's conclusions.





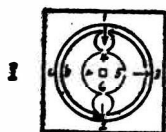
The organ-modes, then, are the common spatial modalities peculiar to the appearance of pregenital impulses throughout their range of manifestation: whether gratification is experienced in the elimination of waste product by a body aperture, by the spilling of a bottle's content, by throwing objects out of a window, or pushing a person out of one's physical sphere, we recognize the mode of elimination as the common descriptive characterization of all these acts, and conclude that we are confronted with interchangeable manifestations of what was originally the impulse of elimination.

Surveying the field of these manifestations, one finds that what Freud has described as pregenitality is the development through a succession of narcissistic organ cathexes of impulses which represent all the possible relationships of a body and an object. Pregenitality not only teaches all the patterns of emotional relationship, it also offers all the spatial modalities of experience. Led by pregenital impulses (or confused by them as the case may be) children experiment more or less playfully in space with all the possible relationships of one object to another one and of the body as a whole to space.

For didactic purposes, I have arranged the modes in a chart of pregenitality which (in a formulation without words) indicates the network of original interrelationships of zones and impulses. This chart has been helpful in observation and teaching when used as a short-cut, leading to but by no means avoiding the knowledge of the other components of pregenitality.

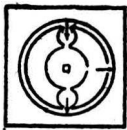
Nobody who works in the field of human behavior can be unaware of the dangers of or blind to the necessity for such tentative systematization.

The chart is composed of single diagrams which represent the human organism in the successive stages of emphasis on certain erogenic zones in pregenitality. I 1, for example, like all the other diagrams, consists of three concentric circles which represent three primitive aspects of the life of any organism: *a* the inner surface, *b* the outer surface, and *c* the sphere of outward behavior. The bodily impulses are represented in the diagram where





certain organs connect the outer world with the inner surface of the body, respectively, 1 the oral-facial, 2 anal-urethral, and 3 genital-urethral zones.¹

In each diagram one impulse is represented as being dominant by means of a heavier line: in I 1 it is the first ("sucking") mode in the oral system. Thus we indicate that we are concerned with that stage of development in which the libido is concentrated mainly in the oral system and serves normally to develop this impulse. Also the circle which represents the surface of the body is more heavily outlined, as is true for all corresponding circles in the diagrams which lie on the diagonal. This indicates that the principle of receptive incorporation legitimately dominates the whole "surface of the body" during the first oral stage. Skin and senses are ready to "drink in" all kinds of perceptual sensations as brought to them by the environment and to enjoy libidinally all kinds of touching, stroking, rocking sensations if they are only kept below the threshold at which motor response would be provoked. The heavy outlining of the outer circle indicates that at this stage social behavior also expresses expectant readiness to receive, as is obvious in the rhythm of waiting, crying, drinking, sleeping. Reactions to stimuli which require more than the holding on with mouth and hands to what has been offered by the environment remain diffuse and uncoordinated. All of this: degree of coördination, muscle and sense development, libido distribution and spontaneous behavior will have to be represented in a final formulation of the first bodily manifestation of our impulse.



II 2

In II 2, the dominating impulse is  The biting system (gums, jaws, neck, etc.) is in the possession of a relatively high amount of libido and of muscle energy which, at the same time, is manifest throughout the spheres of perception and action; the eyes learn to focus, the ears to locate, the hands

¹ A sixth mode,  digestive-assimilative "building-up" is vaguely put "inside the body." It will have to be replaced by whatever may in the future best represent the knowledge of the complicated relationships and connections (4, 5, 6) of the inner organs to the social organs, which will prove to be of some importance in regard to connection of body-ego and play structuralization.

to reach out, and the arms to hold. The coördination of the system necessary for reaching out to an object and the "plucking" of it for oral incorporation is established. Simultaneously, a change in the concept of the outer world probably occurs. This is represented by the dotted arrow, which indicates that the incoming object is conceived of in a somewhat different way than formerly. The object of libidinal interest and of psychobiological training is now the food. Later it will be faeces and then the genitals. Presumably each is first conceived of by the infant as belonging inherently to his own body and subject to his own will, during the first stages of the development of each zone (I 1, III 3, 4, V 6). It is only through a sum of psychobiological and cultural experiences that the child learns that these objects belong to the environment—an expulsion from the paradise of omnipotence which takes place in the transition from the first (I, III, V) to the second (II, IV, VI) part of each stage. If we say psychobiological and cultural influences, we mean for orality that the changing conditions of the gums and the irresistible biting impulse, no less than the changing character of the food and of its delivery, participate in this expulsion into a world where "in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread till thou return under the ground".

It is to be regretted that for the sake of orderly procedure we have to begin with the lower left corner of our chart which justly should be kept as vague as our knowledge of these stages of development is dark. But a principle of description to be used throughout the chart may be explained here: The normal succession of stages is represented in the diagrams on the diagonal. It is in these stages that impulse and zone find the full training of their function within the framework of growth and maturation. A deviation from the normal diagonal development can be horizontal, i.e., progressing to the impulse of the next stage before the whole organism has integrated the first stage; or, it can be vertical, i.e., insisting on the impulse of the first stage when the organism as a whole would be ready for the

training and integration of the dynamic principle of the next stage. Thus, a differentiation of zones and impulses is introduced which gives our chart its two dimensions: in the horizontal we have different impulses connected with one and the same zone—in the vertical we see one and the same impulse connected with different zones.

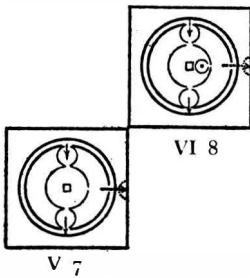
The stages, as well as their functional characteristics, are, of course, overlapping. The libido, during and after the stages of concentration shown in I 1 and II 2, becomes concentrated in the excretory system, can be pleasurably gratified by the retention and expulsion of the (now more solid) fæces, while, or perhaps just because, the general impulses dominating the rapidly developing sensory and muscular behavior are retaining and expelling. Unlike the previous stages, when incorporation at any cost seemed the rule of behavior, now strong, sometimes "unreasonable", discrimination takes place: sensations are in rapid succession accepted, rejected; objects are clung to stubbornly or thrown away violently; or persons are obstinately demanded or pushed away angrily—tendencies which under the influence of educational factors easily develop into temporary or lasting extremes of self-insistent behavior, maintaining a narcissistic paradise of self-assertive discriminations. The sad truth to be learned in the anal stage and added to the experience of oral phase (which was: "You shall not find pleasure in incorporation except under certain conditions") is: "In your body, your self, your mind, your room, you shall find pleasure in retaining or expelling only under certain conditions."

Thus, the diagonal of the chart indicates and draws up for formulation some normal stages of development, in which certain zones are normally libidinized, certain impulses normally generalized. Where the outer circles are not heavily outlined (in the non-diagonal remainder of the chart) those configurations of impulses can be found which at the particular stage become dominant and generalized only when an abnormal situation arises; though as integrated part tendencies all the

impulses are essential for all the zones of a living organism at all times. Wherever a specific case suggests it, the chart might be used to illustrate abnormal correlations by interchanging impulses and by outlining more heavily any untimely generalization of an impulse.

To use the example with which we started: Dr. Sterba's little patient having learned to exchange IV 5, 7 (anal retaining and releasing in accordance with the wishes of the environment) for III 3, 4 (insistence on her own jurisdiction in matters of elimination) managed to keep impulse 3 by partial regression to II 3 and 4 (oral retaining and expelling)—impulses which, of course, are normally developed during the oral phase (closing up against, spitting out of food) but become dominant later only through regression as in this case, or as a result of fixation and retardation—as for example in Case F, where a traumatic combination of constitutional and environmental circumstances had brought about a general “closing up” of body and mind.

In the case of J, we saw the pathological oscillation of the untrained impulses of an eight-year-old boy in the maze of channels which once and for all are established by the experiences of pregenitality: Trained to the toilet without, however, having allowed this training ever to dominate his psychobiological development and to add to his character the traits which are the outcome of having passed through this stage (as would be indicated by IV 5 and IV 6), he used defæcation as a means of expression of an asocial, omnipotent attitude (III 3–III 4). His fantasy of intruding by means of defæcating into an object belonging to an ambivalently loved person would be represented by III 7. When talking about dirty things to the psychiatrist, he expanded impulse 4 over to the oral sphere (II 4) only to refuse all communication (II 3) as soon as the treatment appeared to him to be a punishment. We saw how under treatment the impulse of elimination returned to its original zone and was sublimated. Case K prepared us for a consideration of the phallic phase.



The last two diagrams at the upper end of the diagonal are characterized by the dominance of the tendency to intrude. The general impulse to enter and to do something to another body or to another body's sphere of influence, although existing since earliest orality, is now emphasized and made into a social problem by the rapid development of sense-curiosity and motor-development and the phallic-clitoric erogeneity with its dangerous adherence to incestuous atavisms. Psychobiological emphasis and the forces of education work together at this stage to add another set of sad truths, again leaving it to the child's ego organization to make the best of it: "Not only the inner and outer surface of one's body and the zones connecting inside and outside are under foreign jurisdiction, but also those forces and organs which single out and seek fascinating objects in the environment in an ecstasy of action." "You may have the pleasure of touching and entering and finding out only under certain conditions."



Girls, as we know, have a shorter or longer period of phallic tendencies (with clitoral erogeneity and the fantasy of having or achieving a penis) corresponding to the general development of the intrusive impulse. The question of when and in what way this phase is passed through and overcome, has aroused much controversy in psychoanalysis. Here, too, direct observation of play might prove a *via regia*. It seems certain that the penis-wish is absorbed more or less completely by the wish for a baby. The girl, following her destiny, which is to libidinize, develop and train a second organ system of incorporation with her procreative organs as its center, can be said to undergo a partial regression to the generalized sensitivity and receptive behavior first manifested during the oral stages. Thus in the

last line of the chart we tentatively characterize female destiny by adding a procreative-protective impulse to the impulse of self-preservation "inside the body". Whenever the chart is used for a female subject or patient, this impulse should be outlined more heavily and generalized in order to give zones and impulses, as well as the surface of the body and the motor sphere, a new specifically female-procreative correlation.¹ It is this correlation which differentiates the female tendency to incorporate from sexual passivity in men.

The integration of all the vital impulses is essential and indispensable to physical, psychic and mental self-preservation and for social and sexual intercourse. Whatever one does, it is essential that one be able to accept, to keep, to digest and to eliminate; to give and to receive; to take and to be taken in fair ratio. We find that the under- or over-development of one impulse decisively changes the organization of all the others and creates a more or less pathological "type of personality". There are "suckers", "biters", "retainers", "expellers", and "intruders" in all fields of human life. One could say that without them there would not be so many various "fields" in life. And there are types of personality which suffer from impotence in one or more of these impulses. As the Arapesh says: "There are those whose ears are open and whose throats are open; those whose ears are open and whose throats are shut; those whose ears are shut and whose throats are open; and those whose ears and throats are both shut".²

The schematization of which we have been guilty might find an excuse in the fact that its aim is not only to help organize very simple infantile acts, but also the most primitive concepts the child has of his own organism, and the theories and expect-

¹ A later, mature level of this correlation, characterologically and pathologically not independent from this first pregenital level, may be seen in the circle of conception (more or less active incorporation) pregnancy and parturition (more or less retentive or eliminative) and lactation (in which the woman accomplishes more or less the long desired equivalent of intrusive generosity). Men find a fulfilment of this correlation in the sublimation of creative work.

² Mead, Margaret: *Sex and Temperament*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1935, p. 27.

tations he develops in projecting his concepts onto others. Here, as we know, the origin of some typical dreams and fears may be found, such as being swallowed or robbed (by "suckers" and "biters"), being jailed and bound (by "retainers"), driven away and banished (by "expellers"), stabbed and raped (by "intruders").

This, then, is the system of zones and impulses which form the organic basis for the normal or irregular appearance of configurations such as those described in connection with G's, J's and K's autocosmic, microcosmic and macrocosmic behavior. The impulses are developed and, as it were, trained at their zones of origin during the (overlapping) stages of child development characterized by the general tendency to *incorporation* (oral-respiratory, nutritional, sensory-tactual), *retentive-eliminative discrimination* (muscular, anal-urethral), and *intrusion* (motor, phallic-urethral). In the course of phylogenetic and ontogenetic development the organ-modes are estranged (because overdue or precocious) from their original zones and can be observed as seeking new manifestations: the organism offers a limited range of safe displacements in habits and minor symptoms; reality allows for certain systems of projections; society accepts the expression through action of a number of character traits. The world of play affords opportunity to experiment with organ-modes in extrabodily arrangements which are physiologically safe, socially permissible, physically workable and psychologically satisfying.

IV.

PLAY CONSTRUCTIONS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS*

Interest in the psychology of play ranges from the first playful movements of the baby to the various manifestations of the need for play in adults. Taking the most fascinating extremes of "play", that of the child on the one hand and the productions of the artist on the other, we find that in spite of the

* Report on a procedure conducted as a part of the Studies in Personality at the Harvard Psychological Clinic (Dr. Henry A. Murray).

testimony of language popular opinion tends to evaluate them as antithetical phenomena, finding no "sense" in children's play, while looking at the artist's play as a phenomenon burdened—and in modern times, overburdened—with conscious problems and meanings.

When the writer undertook to participate in the studies of the Harvard Psychological Clinic on the development and character-formation of a group of average young college men his interest in the psychology of play led him to place these subjects in a play situation in order to observe what their late adolescent imaginations would do with it.

Description of the Procedure

Each subject was brought into a room in which there was a table covered with small toys. He was told that the observer (who was unknown to him) was interested in ideas for movie plays, and wished him to use these toys to construct on a second table a *dramatic scene*. After answering a few typical questions (e.g., "Do I have to use all the toys?"), the observer left the room for fifteen minutes, but watched the behavior of the subject through a one-way mirror. In the following pages these first observations, made while the subject believed that he was unobserved, are referred to as the *Preparatory Period*. After fifteen minutes the observer reentered the room, wrote down the subject's explanations and sketched the scene (referred to as the *Dramatic Scene*).

Some of the toys were provided in large numbers, e.g., farmers, animals, furniture, automobiles, and blocks. To most of the subjects the principal toys suggested a family, consisting of father, mother, son, daughter, and a little girl. In addition, there was a maid and a policeman. It may be added that these toys were chosen without deliberate purpose according to what was available at the nearest toy store.

Results

Five out of 22 subjects ignored the instructions and on the observer's return greeted him in a friendly way with some such remark as, "Everything quiet! Just a nice, harmonious, coun-

try scene!" Of the remaining seventeen subjects, only 4 constructed dramatic scenes which were not automobile accidents, while 13 subjects put in the center either an automobile accident or an arrangement which prevented one. Nine times in these scenes the little girl was the object of danger or the victim of an accident, other female toys twice. In other parts of these same scenes 7 female toys died, fainted, were kidnapped or were bitten by a dog. In all, 18 female toys (the little girl 10 times) and no male figures were in danger or perished, a theme which can be called the typical fantasy of the average member of the group. On the other hand, in the construction of the subject who could be classified as the most masculine and socially best adapted member, a dog was the victim of an accident. The red racer with its not specifically named driver came to grief in the constructions of the two subjects who respectively came nearest to manifest homosexuality and to manifest psychosis.

Interpretation of Results

The examples to be given in this report will illustrate a few hypotheses which follow from the analysis of the results.

They suggest first that the five friendly subjects had not failed to understand the instructions but that they could not construct a dramatic scene, because they had to suppress their first (most probably unconscious) response which corresponded to some traumatic childhood event (or to a screen memory which embraced a number of traumatic childhood experiences).

On the other hand, in most of those scenes which dared to be dramatic, traumatic childhood memories appeared either in the Preparation Time or in the Dramatic Scene—in the form of some characteristic symbolic fantasy, usually of an accident in which the little girl, rarely one of the other female figures, was the victim.

The constructed scenes will, of course, be the central object of our analytic efforts. We use as associative material whatever the subject said or did just before or just after the construction

of his scene, which seemed to be related in content or form specifically to what he did or said in other interviews and experiments.¹ This specificity was taken as the basis for interpretation only after it had been established in conference with other observers.²

I.

M: Zeeno

1. *Preparatory Period.* The first toy that Zeeno touched was one of the twin beds. He set it at the extreme edge of

¹ The experimental or interview procedures of the Harvard Psychological Clinic mentioned in this report are:

1. *Conference.* (Dr. Henry A. Murray) The first session for the subject was the Conference. The subject sat down at a table with the 5 members of the Diagnostic Council. He was asked questions and given certain tests to perform in their presence.
2. *Autobiography.* (Dr. Henry A. Murray) The subject was asked to write for 2 hours about his early life and development. He was presented with an outline to guide him.
3. *Childhood Memories.* (H. Scudder Mekeel) The subject was given a questionnaire pertaining to family relations, and he was interviewed twice (each session one hour) and asked to give as many memories as possible of his childhood and adolescence.
4. *Sexual Development.* (Dr. William G. Barrett) The subject was asked to lie on a couch and say what came to his mind. Later, he was asked various questions about his sexual development.
5. *Hypnotic Test.* (Robert W. White) In two sessions, an attempt was made to hypnotize the subjects and a numerical score assigned representing his susceptibility to hypnosis. On a later day, a different interviewer encouraged him to discuss the test at length.
6. *Thematic Apperception Test.* (Christiana D. Morgan) The subject was shown a series of dramatic pictures. He was asked to make up a story for which each picture might be used as an illustration.
7. *Imaginal Productivity Test.* (David R. Wheeler) (a) Beta Ink Blot test. The subject was asked to tell what forms he could make out in the ink blots. (b) Similes test. The subject was asked to make up similes for certain words (presented to him in succession by the E). (c) Minister's Black Veil test. The subject was asked to spend an hour writing a story using as a theme the appearance of a minister in the pulpit with a black veil over his eyes. (Hawthorne).

² Unfortunately such a partial report as this one cannot convincingly demonstrate this specificity. The sceptical reader is referred to the Clinic's forthcoming publication which, in addition to further reports of procedures with the same subjects, contains detailed biographical studies. (The names used in this report are those used in the Clinic's material.)

the table beyond the edge of the sheet of paper. He did the same with the other twin bed on the opposite edge so that they were *as far away as possible from each other*. (Figure 10.) Next he placed a wall which separated a couch from the beds. Then the bathroom was constructed and separated; the kitchen followed but was given no wall; neither had the house as such any surrounding walls.

Next he took, as the first toy person, the maid. Here, Zeeno was doubtful for a time—put the toy back and in a nervous

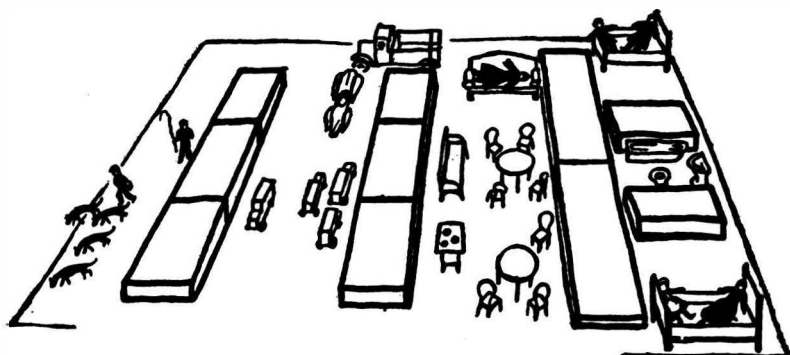


FIGURE 10

manner touched the region of his penis. He looked around the room with a worried expression, then shifted to a street scene. First he placed the cars (the red racer and the green truck) and then outlined the street (just as in the house scene he had first placed the furniture and then built the walls of the rooms). Now he seemed able suddenly to continue more rapidly, obviously lost in that concentration characteristic of undisturbed play. He placed other cars in more rapid succession, then put people quickly and decisively at certain places, keeping males separate from females, and the daughter from the rest of the family.

2. *The Dramatic Scene.* When the observer entered the room, Zeeno exclaimed, "There is not enough space in this house", and added quickly and anxiously, as if he did not believe himself, "Shall I tell you why the son and the father sleep in one bed? Because the mother, of course, has to be near

the kitchen, and the daughter sleeps in the dining room because the maid has to be near the kitchen, too. The green truck drives on the highway and the red racer has to stop suddenly. Here (pointing to the extreme left of the scene) is a fisherman. He is disturbed by a man with his four dogs who is looking for a lost lamb."

3. The manifest content of this use of the play material raises several analytic questions: Where is the dramatic scene which the subject was asked to construct? In the house everybody is asleep. Furthermore only those walls are built which separate people—not the outer walls which make a house and a home. The need to keep things separate is paramount: bed, wall, couch, wall; men, women, their positions only weakly rationalized. In the street a collision is prevented—a dubious dramatic element. Likewise the scene at the left at most only implies a drama, i.e., a lamb has been lost—an accident in the past, not a dramatic scene in the present. What is it that has to be separated and why? What do the subject's childhood memories suggest in regard to these ideas?

The biography calls our attention to the following event: "Zeeno used to sleep in the same room with a sister who died. . . . She died about three o'clock in the morning before the doctor arrived." He remembers "lying in bed not particularly concerned about this". Nevertheless the examiner to whom the subject tells this story reports that: "He has a little anxiety about this. He was silent for some time afterwards."

From dream interpretations we know that the dream often disguises the sleeper's deep inner participation in a scene by having him see himself as a "not particularly concerned" onlooker. The psychoanalyst of children can add to this well-confirmed interpretation the actual experience of having seen children accept a traumatic experience, especially the death of a relative, with complete calm, although every detail of a later neurosis may indicate the pathogenic importance of this same event. It is possible that a feeling of guilt may torment Zeeno in connection with this death, about which he denies any natural anxiety. Children who mourn in this "invisible" way

are often deeply concerned with the idea that some aggressive or sexual act or wish of their own might have been the cause of the death of the ambivalently loved person.

Several times during the various interviews Zeeno voiced thoughts of death. When, in the conference, he was asked of what he was most afraid, Zeeno answered, "That I am not going to live terribly long." To one of the ink blots he said, "I immediately think of a skeleton and ribs, and on each side above I see two faces looking at each other, guarding these ribs with an austere expression, like twins"—a detail which may be significant in considering the rôle which certain twins played in his life as can be read in his biography. He had shared the bedroom with his second sister after the first had died. At the very time of his sister's illness Zeeno remembers having had "mimic intercourse" with an older girl several times, either one of his sisters, or more probably one of their friends. Experiences with girls, however, and punishments connected with them, seem to have come into associative connection with his sister's death. It may have been some such anxiety which he was trying to overcome by the repeated self-assurance: "I know a lot of people older than myself who have actually asked me to advise them on certain (sexual) subjects. This always made me think that my advice was pretty good."

When he talked about his actual sexual experiences, Zeeno's language became especially queer and detached: "I never mingle in intimate relations." . . . "I have never desired to indulge with a virgin." . . . "I decided I might indulge in sexual congress." . . . "Having found a suitable person, I took part in coitus on various occasions." In such carefully chosen expressions we see an effort to separate the experience from its affect, a tendency which is obvious both in Zeeno's thinking and living—and in the formal elements of his play construction.

As for the search for the lost lamb, the part of the scene, which in spite of its inconspicuous position at the edge of the table, approached a dramatic content more nearly than any other part: I assume that it represented the unanswered question in the subject's mind, as to "what happened to the lamb",

the little sister. Other details of this scene which could confirm our interpretation reveal more about the actual family constellation of the subject's childhood than is permissible to quote.

4. *General remarks.* In selecting and comparing certain elements of the subject's memories and of his play, we point to the *probable* importance of a certain event in his life. As a psychic reality, we assume, the theme of that traumatic event still imposes both its content, and certain structural elements as well, on the subject's autoplasic and alloplastic behavior, i.e., it imposes certain configurations upon an arrangement of toys on a table.¹ In Zeeno's case we suggest the interpretation that in his life as well as in his play construction he has to separate certain elements because their connection arouses anxiety in him, and that these elements correspond to the details of his experiences with his sister. In this short account we are forced to neglect the fact that in the formulation of every psychic theme it is possible to interchange active and passive, subject and object, without having the theme lose either its importance or its inner truth; that is to say, we may assume that Zeeno is afraid to die young (like his sister) according to the primitive notion of "an eye for an eye", or that he, the younger, felt himself to have been seduced by his sister, or shared some kind of guilt with her and was afraid of having to die as she did.

Other interpretations may suggest themselves to the careful reader of the subject's biography. Our conclusion is that he was unable to construct a dramatic situation but revealed only at the very edge the traumatic situation in his memory which struggled for expression when, at our authoritative suggestion "to play", a safety valve was opened and quickly closed again.

N: Berry

1. *Preparatory Period.* Without any hesitation Berry builds the form shown in Figure 11a. Then he changes the form and constructs a scene (playing with, contemplating, and at first

¹ In Kurt Lewin's terms: A "structuralization of the life-space" represented in play, a material which is less "refractory" than actual life.

rejecting the maid as did more than half of the group): The father and mother discover the son with the maid in the kitchen (Figure 11b). But he does not like this scene. He builds another house, without doors, in which the kitchen is

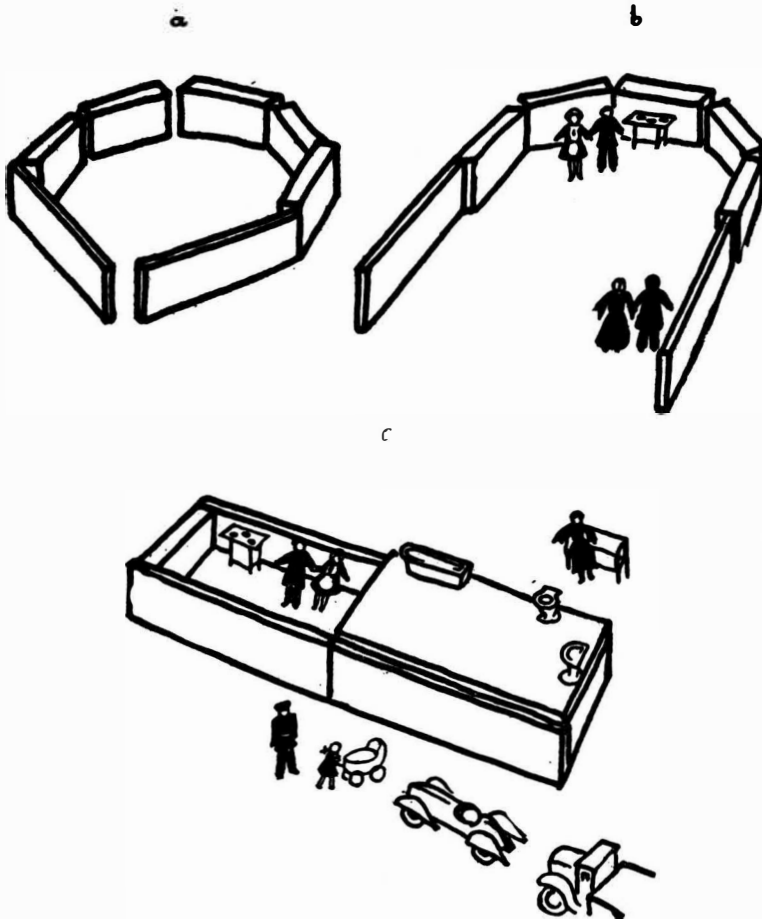


FIGURE 11

separated from the living room and the son and maid from the parents, who, in addition, are completely shut in by a ceiling—the only one to be found in these constructions.

2. *The Dramatic Scene.* (Figure 11c) He explains the scene more impersonally than the other subjects do. "The owner of

the house and his wife, a visitor in the kitchen." Behind the house in the garden sits "a member of the family", and on the street the policeman stops traffic in order to let the little girl pass safely.

3. *Comments.* Again where we vainly awaited a dramatic situation, we find only the indirect suggestion of drama which is implicit in the effort to avoid discovery and accident.

Among the subject's memories occurs the following scene: At the age of six—a garden behind the house, a little girl with whom he eats onions. He kisses the girl. One day the girl doesn't come back. She is not allowed to come any more. "Is this because of me?" he asks his mother. "I doubt it", is the answer. In this moment he says he learned what it meant to doubt—a statement which justifies our taking this scene seriously. An event recurring in his later childhood awoke in him this bitter feeling of doubt again and again, doubt of the justice of his parents. If he had a quarrel with his sister, the parents usually intervened in her favor.

Discovery, intervention, punishment appear in a rather decisive way in the material of the Clinic: For example, the subject relates that Hawthorne's vicar wears the black veil because he had discovered his brother with a woman. The vicar thus in wearing the veil punishes himself for what he has seen. In the autobiography we find the statement: "I had an exceptionally curious mind regarding sex matters and read a great variety of medical books from the age of ten to fifteen." This may throw light on a neurotic difficulty in reading. This inhibition however had a prior history, Berry having developed first an inhibition against play with girls or touching them at all, especially his sister. Later this inhibition extended to reading, in which his curiosity obviously had found refuge. Visions of the past, so he says, came between him and the reading matter; and it tormented him that there should be so little personal feeling in these visions—a subjective account of that separation of experience and affect which we found in Zeeno.

His first house-form (Figure 11a) suggests a diagrammatic cross-section of a female pelvis. Here he himself has formed

that which he perceives in the ink blot test: "Cross-section through a female body, as one sees it in medical books." Other blots remind him of embryos or portions of a miscarriage; others of ulcers and decomposed animals. Thus the house seems first to represent the (female) body, which contains what he wants to know. It then takes the form of a real house which contains the body which one wants to know about: hence, man, maid, and intervention. But Berry remembers that if one tries to enter and discover the secret, one is discovered oneself and separated from the object of one's curiosity. Therefore, it seems better to avoid discovery by separating all dangerous elements right at the beginning. Thus, in his play construction, parents are enclosed so that they are unable to discover the son (nor can he, we may add, see what they are doing). This avoidance again (as in Zeeno's case) has its parallel in a precaution on the street: the traffic is stopped in order to let the little girl pass safely. In this way a traumatic outcome is avoided, but at the same time a dramatic situation has become impossible.

Separated and alone, "a member of the family" sits behind the house in the special arrangement similar to Zeeno's "sister". She may well be the girl in the garden behind the house of his childhood, the girl whose disappearance caused or was caused by guilt. Certainly it must be significant that through all of these constructions wherever we are able to sense the persistence of concern for a person who disappeared during childhood, this person is represented by a toy which is placed outside of a closed house or room and always to the right of the subject. In one case, the "best boy" of the group, a dead rival-cousin, was even placed on another table where he "walked in safety". One cannot help comparing this with the custom of some primitive peoples who make a hole in their houses through which they push the corpses of their dead, only to close it again so that the dead cannot come back into the house. Neither Zeeno's nor Berry's house had doors and we find a house without doors in the constructions of the subjects in whose mind the idea of death and sex are closely linked: the

dark room whence we come (the womb, the inside of the female body) and the one where we go (the tomb, the beyond). Symbolically these are one idea in primitive thought and may become permanently associated by a traumatic experience occurring at that age and stage of childhood for which this association, in an abortive form, is typical (the phallic-sadistic stage of libido-organization).

Here we might make another suggestion. So far as the first house-form represented a cross-section through a female body it contained a secret with which Berry was much concerned, as is suggested by his history as well as his ink blot fantasies of embryos and miscarriages. In his childhood he had heard that before he was born his mother had given birth to a girl who died—a fact which had strengthened his sexual and medical curiosity and influenced his mental development.

O: Asper

Because of its extreme emphasis on separation a construction which showed the most psychotic elements is of special clinical interest.

1 and 2. *Preparatory Period and Dramatic Scene.* (Figure 12) Asper places six peasants near one another like soldiers. Then he stares at them for several minutes, looking very unhappy, almost as if paralyzed. Thereupon he arranges some cars: In the green truck he puts a policeman; smaller cars and a man are approaching with a dog. Again follows a long, paralyzed hesitation, as if a single movement would bring about a catastrophe. Suddenly he crashes the red racer into a block so that it overturns. Immediately after this the subject seems freer, as if a magic word had been spoken, and completes the scene quickly. He puts the little girl into a corner and surrounds her by animals. He surrounds the policeman's car with peasants and turns the peasant with the dog so that he "leaves the field" (as Kurt Lewin would put it).

3. *Comments.* When the observer enters the room the subject says, "The imagination does not have enough to work on.

Everything here is symbolical." About the little girl he adds: "She does not understand what it is all about. The animals are her pets." About the green truck: "An army truck. These men could easily be taken into the truck." (He puts them in.) . . . About the peasant: "He is immune to all of us, he lives in the woods, he is outside, he can't be touched."

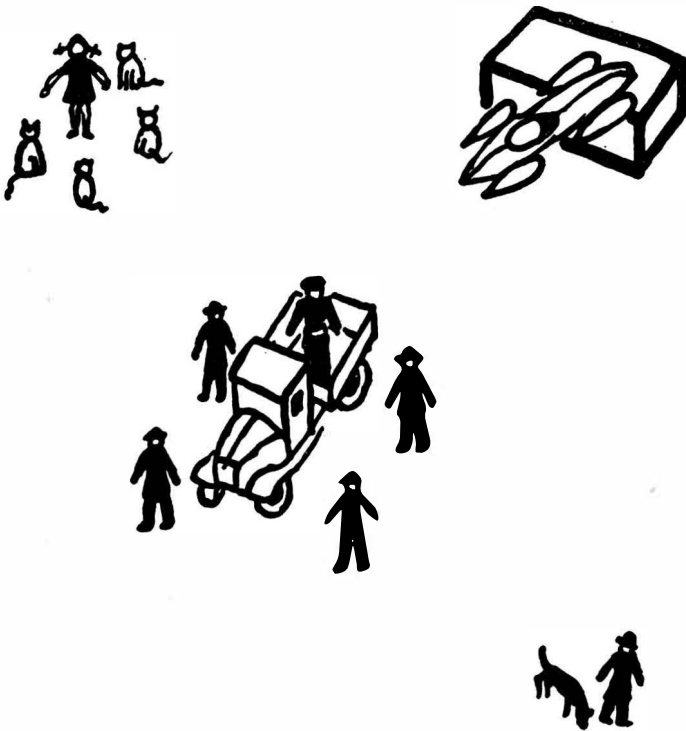


FIGURE 12

The subject in his nearness to mental disintegration (elsewhere he says that even the word "incongruous" becomes meaningless after a while) was the only subject who felt that his play construction was symbolic; while at the same time, paradoxically but significantly enough, he was the one who of the whole group felt most keenly that the dangers of playing were real. Nearer to "catastrophe" than any of the other subjects, he scarcely dared to move. He maintained a careful

organization of cars and soldiers, gradually placed the soldiers closer and closer to the policeman, and felt easier only after he had rendered the red racer innocuous. The peasant with his dog goes silently away: "He is outside, he can't be touched."

Much could be said about the psychotic characteristics of this play construction:¹ how the danger of symbolic expression in infantile material is feared as if it were a real danger, how the plot shrinks to a mere spatial arrangement whose function it is to make everything, "right in time, right in space, not too late, not too soon, just right", as one of the inmates of the Worcester State Hospital remarked when he showed me his construction.

It is because of this need to maintain psychic barriers to protect themselves from infantile chaos, that out of 40 normal, neurotic and psychotic adults and children the only person to protest against the test as "childish", was an inmate of the Worcester State Hospital. He had said that he could build an accident, but refrained from it. Instead, he merely placed the furniture, people, cars and animals in curved rows. At one point he started to put the little girl into a bed, but smiled thoughtfully and gave it up to arrange another long row of toys. Reminded by the observer that he wanted to build an accident, he said: "Well, well, well, a child might do that, if it cared to." Then for a moment he threw the cars around furiously, as if illustrating what a child would do. Thereupon he began setting the blocks two and two together, and said, "Some people forget their childhood, others go back to it." Then, as he built a solid square of block he said, "This could be the foundation for a house—or wharf. And this", putting two blocks together, "is a breakwater. It is supposed to turn waves backwards." After a thoughtful moment he began to whirl the breakwater around as if it were helpless against the waves, and said slowly, "Do you think—a wave—can flow—backwards?"

¹ See also Rosenzweig, Saul, and Shakow, David: *Play Technique in Schizophrenia and Other Psychoses, II. An Experimental Study of Schizophrenic Constructions with Play Materials*. Amer. J. of Orthopsychiat., VII, 1937. p. 36.

II

"Let nothing happen to the girls and let nothing happen anyway", seemed to be the slogan of the small group of cautious subjects represented by Zeeno and Berry, who by the separation of dangerous play elements demonstrated to us the compulsive character's technique of prevention. "Let something happen but let it happen to the girl" is the slogan of the majority, whose spokesman we shall describe next.

P: Oriol

1. *Preparatory Period.* After receiving his instructions the subject jokes. He takes the toy toilet between his fingers and smiles broadly at the observer. Left to himself he grows serious: Let's see. Little girl? No. Maid? No. Baby carriage? No. (Highly dissatisfied.) Suddenly, with sweeping movements, he makes three piles—people, cars, blocks. He then finds excited satisfaction in taking single objects out of the piles and constructing his scene.

In the center of his construction he first puts a policeman standing on a block with four cars pointing straight at him from four directions. If real, this scene could represent only a suicidal demonstration against the authority of the state. And, although in the final scene he had turned the cars so that they were not pointing at the policeman, his first remark when the observer entered the room continued the theme of revolt.

2. *The Dramatic Scene.* (Figure 13) "This is like the Place de la Concorde, where the riots were." Of the policeman, "He stands in his box higher than the other people" (suggesting probably something like the Napoleon column in the Place Vendôme). The little girl is run over—thus suffering the fate for which at first the policeman was destined—"because the maid chats with an old friend of her mother and does not watch the girl". The parents, by coincidence, arrive at this moment and are witnesses to their daughter's death.

On leaving, the subject again takes the toilet, laughs and says, "I suppose some people use this to express their ideas. I haven't come to that stage."

3. *Comments:* Though the subject jokes twice about the toy toilet, he assures us, without being asked, that he does not use this medium through which he supposes "some people" express their ideas. This, and his strange pleasure in piling the toys and in taking single pieces out of the piles, arouses a suspicion as to the psychic reality of a painful element in the subject's memories. At the age of eight (an unusually advanced age for the breaking through of aggression in this direction) Oriol was

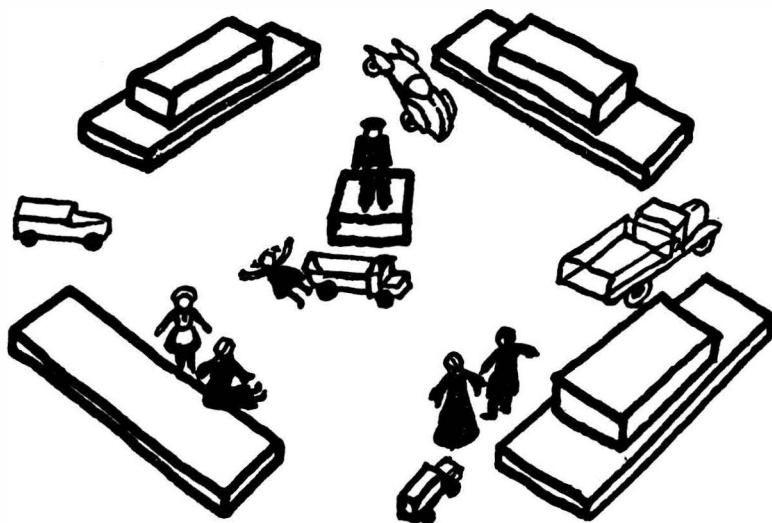


FIGURE 13

found *smearing faces*. This story is often repeated at home to family intimates, much to his discomfort, and is advanced by his family as a reason for wondering how he ever got into college.

In addition to the riot topic and the hints regarding the *anal riot* of his childhood, there are in his construction spatial arrangements which indicate what may be the main psychic and physiological quandary of his life, i.e., to retain or release. First he builds one street, then a square with four entrances, and finally points out explicitly that the square has many exits. We may add that no one who had heard the subject talk would fail to remark his speech, which often approaches an *oral riot*—

a flow of intellectually defiant words which he releases continuously. He is said to have learned to talk very late.

Oriol likes to play with the idea of running away from home; but he has decided to run away only intellectually. He keeps silent when with his father, but remains intellectually his own boss, and says so to whoever wants or does not want to listen. While his memories are full of humiliating experiences, his confessions express the wish to overcome humiliation through greatness, and to overcome unclean tendencies by producing beauty. "If I could remodel the world I would like to be the greatest writer." But, "I am afraid of life and afraid of death." Sure to be humiliated whenever he expresses his immature and unconsolidated impulses, he must choose masochistic wish fulfilments in order to gain satisfaction. He wants to be a poet—but he wants to be a martyr poet. "I want to expose myself and suffer." Here, even were it not suggested by other constructions as well, one would suspect that the girl in the accident represents the subject himself whose parents thus witness his suffering.

Of his construction, Oriol is right in saying, "I haven't come to the stage where I would use the toilet to express my ideas", for he obviously prefers a suicidal accident to a riot, after the faecal riot of his past (playing with faeces) is suggested to him by the stimulus situation of being asked to play. But in spite of his objection, he must repeat the event he wants to avoid in the formal elements of his construction (piling: playing).

4. *Second Construction.* A year later Oriol was asked to construct another dramatic scene. In evaluating such a repetition we must remember that the earlier construction had taken 20 minutes, had not been understood by the subject as "meaning" anything, and had not been mentioned to him by anybody afterwards. Again Oriol piles the blocks before he starts. This time his square is first round with one exit leading to the water. A truck coming from the direction of the water is headed straight for the policeman. There is a dog in front of the truck. "It will not be run over" the rebellious subject says, a

fact which we shall recall later when, in reviewing the construction of the well-educated and pious Mauve, a dog is run over. In changing the square, all form is abandoned, the blocks and furniture appear in piles. Again the memorial for a revolutionist takes the center and this time it is a communist worker. Quite independent of this scene, another part of the table is supposed to be the inside of a house. Here a little girl stands in front of a mirror "admiring herself and stubborn". "She is defiant. She does not like people. Later, she will go to the maid who cannot tell her to 'shut up!'" This parallel to the communistic orator on the memorial characterizes well the state of continuous, narcissistic, and oral revolt in which our subject lives.

When the observer reenters the room, Oriol has the red racer in his hand. After having given his other explanations, he adds it to the scene, remarking as if excusing himself, "This one does not mean anything." Then, in going out, he says: "I left the bathroom empty. I would be embarrassed—". Thus, he seems to follow the pattern of his first construction which he had left with the words, "I suppose some people use this (the toilet) to express their ideas. I haven't come to that stage." We have seen how far this last negation really was a double affirmation; we may assume the same about the protested unimportance of the red racer.

5. *Remarks.* Oriol's construction shows the confusion which can extend to the adolescent mind from childhood experiences in an almost tragi-comic way. Only with weak negations does he separate himself from the most embarrassing childhood situations. A need to expose himself must have been decisive in this construction.

Oriol did not talk when he was expected to; he still soiled when he was no longer expected to do so—and this "stubbornness" (which might well be based on a constitutional or early traumatic factor) still prevades everything he says and does with typical pregenital ambivalence. Not independent enough to do without love and protection, he still is not able to return

love because this would have meant in childhood the unconditional surrender of the jurisdiction over parts of his body and now would mean the final socialization of modes of behavior which are derived from those organic functions. Oriol does not soil, because he is neither child nor psychotic; nevertheless, elimination and retention in their characterological and mental aspects are his problem. What is presented here by Oriol in his chaotic way in regard to anal-sadistic characteristics, differs only quantitatively, not qualitatively, from the general problems facing our whole group of late adolescents. Did their genitality make itself independent of regressive association with the psychobiologically significant drives of childhood? We know that the absence of genital consolidation necessitates a continuous state of defense against the guerilla warfare of infantile impulses which still resist "don'ts" which have long since become senseless, infantile impulses, which promise non-existent paradises, and which urge the individual to subdue love objects or to surrender to them—in an oscillation between love and hate.

Since we may be criticized for the clinical predilections in our observation of a group of individuals who did not come as patients, it might be of special interest to compare with the illustration of Oriol's fixation on oral and anal-sadistic autoerotism, the construction of Mauve, who was perhaps the best organized personality in the group. His construction shows a typical attempt to overcome the pregenital ambivalence menacing the best organized young men in their relationships with the other sex. Between Oriol and Mauve lies the problem of the whole group: how, in a society, which with moral and economic means discourages unbroken psychosexual progress, can one adapt without sacrificing one's genital masculinity; how develop without rebellion; how wait without regression; how love without suspicion, fear and hate; in a word, how overcome ambivalence, the counterpart of obedience? This is the moral problem of adolescence which various cultures deal with in various ways.

of a woman; we are therefore interested to hear Mauve in another interview say: "Women are faithful, they are dogs. They have been dogs for so many centuries." In his outlook on life, as well as in his conception of himself, we see him separate himself from the "animal in us". "My standards are high and I intend to keep them." Woman and drives belong to another, an animalistic world which is separated from the young man's world of clear standards.

On the other hand, standards are derived from his education by his mother and other women. Many years younger than the father, the mother is deeply attached to the son and he accounts for their emotional relationship in the most explicit oedipus fantasy offered by any of the group.¹ Over-obedient to her wishes, he says, he "almost dedicated his life to the avoidance of drinking, smoking and swearing". And yet certain circumstances in his relationship to his mother seem to draw him deeply into ambivalence towards the weaker sex.

His mother is "handicapped by a disease which periodically disables her completely" and she always tried to keep the healthy, active boy close to home, of which he complains, though taking care of his mother in a most touching manner. If, in the "dog running on the street" we want to see a symbolic rebellion of the son against all the careful obedience which a physically weakened authority is imposing on him, we may understand that it is his drive, the "animal in us", which is punished by being run over. On the other hand—the dog represents the group of human beings to whom something happens: i.e., women.

If we confront this subject's outbreak with his remarks about women on the one side and his educational indebtedness to his mother and other women on the other, a conscious or unconscious duality of attitude towards women, quite common in our civilization, is represented: men easily identify women with the wishes which they stimulate. If they learn to have contempt for "lower" drives (and their pregenital components) they may also have contempt for women so far as they are the

¹ See the Clinic's publication.

objects of their wishes. As beings, however, held in high esteem ("mother, aunt, teacher") women are also identified with the strictest and most idealistic concepts of conscience. "Angels" or "dogs"—women awaken uncomfortable ambivalent feelings, feelings which spoil the perspective of sex life. A not unusual type of rather well adapted young men (whom Mauve seems to represent) learns to live and to care for a world of achievements which have "nothing to do with women"; it is characteristic of this type that in order to satisfy his conscious and potent genital wishes he goes "to Paris"—as Mauve says he plans to do. There, then, women are neither angels nor dogs; they are French. The girl who does not belong to one's own culture or class (in other constructions often the girl who does not belong to the family, namely, the maid) is the object of more conscious fantasies.

4. *General remarks.* We may ask however what the little girl, to whom the subjects pay so much damaging attention, might represent. It is hard to give the reader an impression of the uncanny regularity with which these young men whether normal, neurotic or psychotic examined the little girl and, as if they were following a ritualistic duty, seriously put her under the green or red car, or placed a policeman in the center of the scene to protect her. The majority of the subjects who failed to have this theme in their final scene at least considered it and rehearsed it during the preparatory period. A great number of problems must be evoked by this little girl and the crux of the problem must be symbolized by the accidents which happen to her.

Some of the possible explanations, all suggested by material which cannot be quoted here in full are:

a.) The little girl may represent a little girl of importance (i.e., a sister) in the subject's childhood. The uniform and typical handling of this toy suggests, however, that she represents rather a symbol than an historical individual.

b.) The little girl, as the youngest among the toys, might appear to be the representative of "the child", the most endangered and therefore the most protected human being in traffic.

Can we assume that in spite of the abundance of dramatic moments in life and literature, movies and newspapers, accidents resulting in the death of children are emotionally important enough to be the dramatic scene par excellence for the majority of twenty Harvard students? In that case, our psychoanalytic explanations are less valuable, though not entirely worthless since they show the unconscious meaning of this accident in its relationship to other unconscious concepts of "what happens to children".

c.) The emphasis may lie on *girl*. Since, according to common infantile theories, girls are made into girls, not born as such, some violence is assumed to exist in sexual matters. The accident, then, which belongs to the "complex" of related symbols dominating our construction, may represent the act of violence of which girls are the victims.

d.) Since, beside the little girl, the victims in these accidents are always and only female toys, the little girl may represent a *pars pro toto*, namely, the female world, in which case it might have been selected because it provokes the least conscious aggressive fantasies and allows the subject to feel himself consciously free of any participation in the committed violence. We shall presently come back to this point.

e.) The little girl may represent a *totum pro parte*. Freud, in the Interpretation of Dreams (p. 338), remarks that in dreams "children often signify the genitals since men and women are in the habit of referring to their *genital organs* as 'little man', 'little woman', 'little thing'. To play with or to beat a little child is often the dream's representation of *masturbation*." It is a big step from our first tentative explanation to this interpretation; but the reader will have to decide to make this step with us tentatively—or to leave the question open. Psychoanalytic method, waiting for the most part for associative material in order to interpret any product of the mind, uses only a few "established" symbols, uniform "translation" of which has proved to be necessary and suitable in long and exhaustive studies.

Two of these symbols with which we are concerned here are

put together by Freud in a title to the interpretation of a woman's dream which states bluntly: "The 'little one' as the genital organ. Being run over as a symbol of sexual intercourse." (*Op. cit.*, p. 342.) Dream interpretation thus suggests that what the subjects do with the little girl corresponds in their unconscious with ideas of autoerotic and alloerotic sexual acts, in which something happens to the partner's or the subject's own sexual organs. There is nothing in their strange behavior which a priori could devalue such a strange notion.

f.) We cannot avoid pointing to a sociological factor, namely, the sexual life typical for such a group of biologically mature individuals as our subjects. Their sexual activities are autoerotic, or else consist of a kind of mutual (heterosexual) autoeroticism, more or less sanctioned by society. The danger of this form of gratification is the conditioning of masculine impulses by the repetition of a situation with infantile characteristics. Whenever the mature drive is aroused, *the impulse of masculine intrusion* and certain related sadistic tendencies are mobilized with all the other impulses which participate in the pattern of complete sexual satisfaction. In mere sex play they fail to be satisfied and—as it were—to be disarmed. It is, I think, this frustrated intrusive component of masculinity, which, though continuously stimulated in our subjects, has not yet found its wholesome amalgamation with the other factors of heterosexual partnership, and which therefore in their secret fantasies appears in a certain *homicidal and suicidal* rudeness—which, we may add here, has an important sociological counterpart in certain adolescent and cruel forms of public sensationalism not dissimilar in content to our constructions.

g.) Female subjects who constructed scenes with the same toys showed as a common factor the criminal man (father). The five college girls among them (the same age as our subjects) constructed the following scenes:

R: A father who was a deserter in war and lives in shameful exile, picks up on the street a little girl who has been run over by a truck. She is his daughter.

S: A selfish father, who had neglected his wife and children for years, comes home and finds everything destroyed and everybody killed by a flood.

T: A father, supposedly away in an insane asylum, comes home to murder his family.

U: A landowner strangles his wife. His servant's daughter, to whom he had made advances, testifies against him at the trial.

V: Robbers steal a table out of a house in the middle of the night.

It would be interesting if further studies would substantiate that to the main theme of our male subjects ("Something happens or is prevented from happening to a girl"), there corresponds a female one: "A man is (or is prevented from being) criminally aggressive." The fact that—with a few exceptions—both sexes place a member of the opposite sex in the center of the construction, points clearly to a sexual component in scenes which on the conscious level refer to danger and death.

W: Krumb

1. *Preparatory Period and Dramatic Scene.* Krumb considers for a while the problem of whether to use one or two tables. He decides on one. With two blocks he builds a wall, puts the red racer at an angle of 45° toward it and then makes a small opening in it. Then he puts the father into the house so that the red racer, if driven, would run through the hole in the house and hit the father in the back. (Figure 15.) After this his doubts disappear. He obviously gets a funny idea and, laughing, puts the son and the maid together into a bed. The scene is completed quickly as seen in Figure 15. The father finds the son in bed with the maid and forbids intercourse. "Nothing homosexual is going on in the other room", adds the subject. The little girl is caught between two cars and the red racer speeding dangerously around the corner means one more danger for her. He seems not quite sure about which is the front and which the back of the racer, so that in reality it would, if "speeding dangerously" hit door and father.

2. *Comments:* This subject, the only one to put a boy and girl in a bed together, is a manifest homosexual—a fact which without any help from the rich but disorganized and complicated material of his life history, makes it possible for us to understand the meaning of the almost topological description of his inner conflicts in his scene; the living between two alternatives, both dangerous.

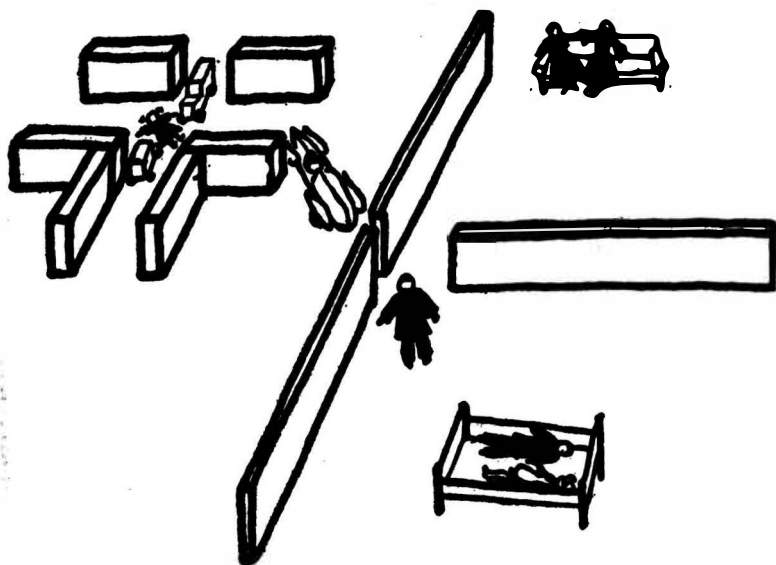


FIGURE 15

"Last year I had affairs with about three women and some fifteen men. Now it is only with men that I can find happiness. Being homosexual makes it possible for me to repress sexual impulses (?). I wish I could repress my feelings of guilt also."

It seems that Krumb tries to appease his growing feeling of guilt by the following arrangement: the father, between two rooms with a couple of the same sex in one and a couple of heterosexual lovers in the other, turns to the latter and forbids what they are doing. Thus the father himself decides against heterosexuality. The subject assures us that "nothing homosexual" happens in the other room, without our asking. In fact, he did not even know whether or not we were informed

of his sexual predilections. Neither did he know that he had given himself away in his very first move: the arrangement of the racer, the door and the father. Knowing how often a house symbolizes a body and a car the genitals, this first construction represented the form and mode of a homosexual act: intercourse per anum. (See Oriol's second construction.) His indecision, then, as to which direction the car is going (whether crashing into the father or into the already mutilated girl) represents the alternative to the homosexual choice: to be the aggressive or the passive, the sadistic or the masochistic, partner. Here again is a choice, in which guilt doubtless drives him into the masochistic part, as many of his remarks in other interviews indicate, i.e., "The moving picture, 'Death Takes a Holiday', made me in love with death."

We have to leave it to the reports on their biographies to emphasize the complicated psychological aspects of the struggle of conscience in the individual subjects. If we could report more examples it would be worthwhile to define and to compare the different ways in which a conflict of conscience appears in the preparatory period, with the outcome as represented in the final scene. In the succession of toys which the subjects take and refuse at the beginning, one notices a peculiar alternation of symbols of repressed (maid, etc.) and repressing forces (policeman, etc.). The street seems always to offer a welcome opportunity for shifting the problem to the impersonal. The subjects show all varieties of guilt-feelings from the anxiety of losing love and protection (i.e., in building harmonious scenes with the mother at the table and the maid at the stove—entirely forgetful of the instructions) to the fear of catastrophe (policeman regulating traffic and preventing accidents as the only "dramatic" element), to various forms of self-punishment. It is as if these subjects, in the slow tortuous process of civilized maturation, had to find a painfully individual substitute for that sacrifice of a tooth or other symbol, which "cruel" primitives in their puberty rites inflict uniformly and once and for all on the boys of their community.

Second Construction. One year after this construction (it

might be well to state here again that not one word of interpretation was given to the subjects) Krumb was again asked to construct a scene. He immediately asked: "May *two* things happen?", thus taking up again the dualism of the first construction. He builds first two houses, then one house with two parts, two rooms in each part. Again males and females are separated. The father, he says, has a homosexual crush on a severely wounded soldier and is in the bathroom—while in the street the red racer is wrecked by the green truck. "I have a feeling," the subject remarks, "that I have repeated my last construction. I struggled for three minutes to overcome the feeling that I did the same thing. Then I did—and found that I had expressed homosexuality this time, which it seems I could avoid last time." Finally, Krumb gives a confirmation of our first assumption, which no doubt to many readers seemed hazardous, namely, that the small hole in the house of the first construction symbolized the homosexually attacked rectum; the house of the second construction, again, and at the same place, has a small hole. Krumb remarks about it: "The house is badly built, *bad odors* come out of here."

III.

X: Vulner

This is the construction of the only subject to whom the suggestion "dramatic scene" implied a scene on a stage.

During the *Preparatory Period* Vulner is very hesitant. He takes the son first, then the father, but puts them back and seems to think seriously. He accidentally drops the son, plays with the policeman, in serious thought, head dropped forward. Should he take the cow? No. Then he takes the son again and acts quickly.

The *Dramatic Scene* represents the corner of a room. The mother is sitting in a chair, the father stands in front of her. In a doorway stand son and daughter.

"The head minister is handing in his resignation. The day before he had talked with the queen about the question of the

crown prince's marriage to a commoner. He had decided against it. In the meantime he has learned that it is his daughter whom the prince wishes to marry." Asked what the outcome will be, the subject replies, as if he were finishing a fairy tale told to a child, "He will probably marry her."

Analytic Remark: The most interesting aspect of this "really dramatic" construction is that there is very little to say about it. The scene possibly contains some hints in regard to the subject's family situation; he has one sister, no brother. But essentially the scene is a dramatic cliché and does not suggest any detail of the subject's biography, except that his mother is a writer and that, as a boy he had often participated in dramatic plays.

IV. (Final Remarks)

Having asked our subjects for a dramatic scene, we find a product of traumatic tension; instead of tragedy we find accident.

Dramatic and traumatic moments have one psychological element in common. Both are events which transgress the boundaries of the human ego, the first in widening it beyond individuation, the second in nearly extinguishing it. In other words, in a truly dramatic moment the individual is confronted with a choice which may make him the heroic or tragic master of human fate in its eternal aspects; he is allowed one chance to overcome the bondage of gravity and repetition. The traumatic moment destroys individuation, chance and choice, and makes the individual the helpless victim of repetition compulsion.

To be sure, in offering the little toys for a dramatic task we probably asked our subjects to take a too difficult step from the ridiculous to the sublime. In offering play material we ourselves have provoked the spirit of infantile conflict, since play "presupposes a psychic substance which is not quite structuralized yet".¹ The specific conflicts appearing in the constructions

¹ Robert Wälde *op. cit.*

indicate that the subjects when confronted with toys, continued where they had left off in their childhood play with the attempt to overcome traumatic experience by active repetition in play.

In describing these results we naturally do not characterize individuals in their conscious and rational individuation. The psychoanalytic microscope first focuses on neurotic material in its specific psychosexual characteristics. It shows us the inner frontier where the rational human mind—whether in the state of infancy, savagery or civilization—is constantly faced by the wilderness of the irrational.

The set-up of this particular study is not of any general value and is not recommended as a psychological experiment. But the results of this accidental undertaking may be of some interest in regard to the psychology and the psychopathology of play (important for the treatment of patients who cannot or do not want to speak): we can observe directly the structuralization of a given space in accordance with the qualities of a traumatic configuration, which imposes on the subjects' autoplasmic and alloplastic behavior spatial elements of a past event or of the way in which the subject has armed himself against the (irrational) danger of its recurrence.

Further deciphering of play hieroglyphs—especially in the legitimate sphere of childhood—may offer valuable keys for the understanding of the prelinguistic and alinguistic strata of the human mind.

Don Quixote and Don Quixotism

Helene Deutsch

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DON QUIXOTE AND DON QUIXOTISM

BY HELENE DEUTSCH (BOSTON)

If I were to treat the epos of Don Quixote as if it were the clinical history of a mental patient, I should preface it with the following anamnesis. Alonzo Quixano, a petty noble of the Spanish province of La Mancha, became enamored, late in life, of Aldonza Lorenzo, a peasant girl of Toboso. In this love relationship our good man showed himself no great hero. In the twelve years during which his heart was filled to overflowing with love's longing, Alonzo ventured scarcely four times to gaze upon the face of his beloved, and on each of these occasions appeared so overcome with apprehension and embarrassment that any sort of active courtship on his part was quite out of the question. All the more did his fantasy become inflamed and mirror before him the most valiant and forthright proofs of his masculinity as a substitute for his obviously severe disturbance of potency.

Alonzo's scanty life history nevertheless reveals that his very choice of love object might explain a good many of his difficulties. The good maid of Toboso was a country Brünnhilde, of whom the chronicle narrates that she had "a voice loud enough for three, and in hurling the iron bar she was the equal of the strongest fellow in the place".

Our hero, on the other hand, was no Siegfried. His libidinal make-up is revealed by this brief extract from his past history: a passive-feminine individual, impotent probably all his life, in whom the pre-climacterium¹ obviously stimulated sexual desire but at the same time gave rise to a fresh access of passive feminine strivings. Alonzo displays in his love episode the typical behavior of a boy in early adolescence. In his later

Read before the Thirteenth International Psychoanalytic Congress, held at Lucerne, August 28, 1934. The present essay is an excerpt from a comprehensive study of Don Quixote.

¹ Don Quixote was fifty years of age at the time.

disorder so much of the material stems directly from puberty, so often is the great earnestness of his actions a replica of boy-hood games, that despite the violent gusts of regression which sweep his emotional life, it is puberty, never wholly transcended and still an active force, that represents the *Leitmotif* of his existence.

Disillusioned, mortified, humiliated, Alonzo withdraws from life in a riot of inferiority feelings, and gradually, in the course of days and nights undoubtedly fraught with anxiety and depression, his real personality vanishes. In fantasy, that activity which causes reality to disappear, there is born in place of the mortal Alonzo the immortal Don Quixote.

All the threads which once linked Alonzo with the material world are severed. Aldonza is abandoned, but as analogue to her actual semblance there comes into being the resplendent Princess Dulcinea del Toboso, the most perfect creature in the world. It is to be supposed that through the preceding twelve years of ill-starred love, the overvaluation and idealization of the loved one had been slowly increasing at the expense of our hero's own ego. Dulcinea thus becomes part of the great edifice of narcissistic compensation in which Don Quixote's immortality has its being.

With the relinquishing of the *real* object there takes place a repression of all instinctual drives. "Have you ever seen knights errant eating?"—so runs the question, the negative reply to which symbolizes the entire ascetic habitus of Don Quixote. Nothing that is "human, all too human" is allowed to touch him. Love for and fidelity to Dulcinea stand guard over sexuality and make possible its complete repression. Even the most primitive anal needs are subjected to this asceticism—definite evidence of which is discoverable in a number of tragicomic situations.

All cathexes, from the most primitive instinctual drives to the energies which bring the ego into contact with reality, are withdrawn and become agglomerated within the ego into a single narcissistic force. It would seem that the first step therein was an overcompensation for the severe frustration of

his love life, and that the phase of severe introversion served to minimize, through fantasy, the various deprivations which the external world on the one hand, and his inhibited masculinity on the other, had imposed upon him. His narcissistic needs could obviously not be satisfied by any merely rowdy activity, nor by his quite considerable intelligence. For gradually his fantasy forsakes the real world of objects, and the excessive accumulation of undisposable narcissistic libido throws him back far into his infantile past. The severely humiliated and deflated ego succumbs in favor of a newly arisen ego-ideal, and does this so completely that the tension between ego and ego-ideal which is necessary to self-criticism disappears. It now is possible for Don Quixote to enjoy the untrammelled possession of all the powers and attributes which his ego-ideal demands of him.

There is no doubt that in connection with this impoverishment of the ego in the interest of the ego-ideal, reality testing likewise undergoes impairment. For clearly the critical faculty which originates in the tension between ego and ego-ideal has a particularly important share in the process which we call reality testing. Only the socialized ego-ideal, that which seeks in the world of reality for possibilities of identification and measures itself in accordance with the standards of the external world, will be able to contribute its share to reality testing. An ego-ideal which owes its existence to the withdrawal of object-libido to such an extent as in Don Quixote is beyond any adaptation to reality.

Scarcely any other epic in history has understood with such magnificent intuition, or depicted as has Cervantes in his Don Quixote, the tragedy of the narcissistically conditioned "world catastrophe".¹

¹ Cf. Freud: *Psycho-Analytic Notes upon an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides)*. Coll. Papers, III. What in the case of Cervantes the intuition of the poet had created, in the case of Freud the genius of the scientific observer had discovered. The delusions of the paranoiac Schreber and the immortal, creatively conceived fantasies of Don Quixote spring from the same origins in the unconscious. Epos and delusional system alike build upon the ruins of the world of reality which has been abandoned, a more satisfying world of fantasy and delusion.

With the loss of the object world, Don Quixote retreats through identification into the age of chivalry, an age not only past and gone but devaluated by counterfeit idealization. We understand that behind the historical past there is concealed an individual one.

When Don Quixote returns to reality from his lengthy journey through the realms of fantasy, this reality has already undergone a process of reconstruction. It is now identical with the world with which Don Quixote has become acquainted through the medium of books. In his renewal of his boyhood the fifty-year-old has lost himself so completely in the events and experiences of the age of chivalry that for him this has become the present-day world. He has made the brave heroes of that time his ideal which he substitutes for his earlier ego.

In consequence of the dissolution of the world of reality, Don Quixote finds no longer open the path of retreat from his fanciful playing at knight-errantry, or from the entire imaginary world of magic which ordinarily the boy abandons in favor of reality. Instead, our hero in his madness betakes himself into the depths of a still longer forgotten past, into the practice of the magic whereby the young child, like the savage, is himself able to cast a spell over the things of the material world and himself believes in this enchantment. Does not Don Quixote's lunacy remind one of the infant in his play, to whom the horsie which he has made himself out of paper seems perhaps more real than the real one? Is not Don Quixote's faith in his ego-ideal perhaps comparable to the megalomaniac self-importance of the child?

With what intuitive genius the creator of Don Quixote has recognized the genesis of this delusional structure is apparent from the following situations:

Twice in the course of his madness Don Quixote renounces his delusional system. One of these occasions is when Sancho Panza, with deliberate braggadocio, promises to produce Dulcinea for him in actual fact. In his expectation of the fantasied loved one there awaken lively feelings towards her who once

was Aldonza. What narcissistic magic has accomplished is removed from under this spell by the power of object-love. The longing for the real object breaks through his madness, and with eyes from which illusion has been stripped, Don Quixote gazes on the spot in the woods where he was to have experienced Dulcinea's enchantment and wishes for the presence of the real Aldonza. What he actually saw, however, was only a strange and ugly wench whom Sancho Panza had foisted upon him.

On a second occasion it is actually experiencing the proximity of death that shatters the delusion of narcissistic immortality.

Don Quixote, in his narcissistic arrogance, esteemed himself immortal, and in this delusion had the courage of the young child who defies danger because it has no meaning for him. The realization of approaching death, the reconciliation with the inevitable, effects the return of Don Quixote to reality, so that his death becomes one of the most moving scenes in literature.

There remains little space at my disposal to consider Don Quixote's inseparable shadow, Sancho Panza.

The tragic Don Quixote is fully comprehensible only in the light of the comic Sancho Panza. If Don Quixote lives in the purified ego-idealism of his madness, Sancho Panza forms a bridge to reality as a split-off part of Don Quixote, a fraction adapted to reality, and instinct-accepting rather than instinct-denying. The arid asceticism of Don Quixote would have long since driven him to the point of death, indeed, had not the assertion of robust motherly instinct on the part of Sancho Panza accompanied his path. In clinical terminology Sancho Panza is a case of "induced insanity". Sancho Panza's rôle as the embodiment of Don Quixote's instinct and reality acceptance consists, in fact, in his identification with Don Quixote's madness, thus endowing it with some reality value. He it is who takes care of Don Quixote's bodily needs. Through his own gluttony he forces Don Quixote to oral gratification of a reality sort, and through his ludicrous interest in anal functions

he betrays his solicitude about the excretory activities of his master. Above all, however, he creates a bridge with reality by *believing* in Don Quixote's delusions, even though this belief—thus further emphasizing Sancho Panza's adaptation to reality—is confined to such parts only of these delusions as promise to bring him, Sancho Panza, some actual advantage. Of all the doublets which literature and plastic art have used to represent antitheses in man that together form a unity, this of the ascetic Don Quixote and the primitively instinct-ridden Sancho Panza is perhaps the most plastic.

Had Don Quixote, moreover, been able to impose his ego-ideal upon a sufficiently large number of Sancho Panzas, he would have become, instead of a fool, a hero and a leader. For this, however, it would have been necessary for him to find room—alongside his exalted ascetic ideal—for instinctual gratification also, especially for the instincts of aggression. That he was unable to do this distinguishes the Don Quixote of the epos from those of political history of all epochs.

Of considerable significance is the æsthetic-affective impression with which the world responds to Cervantes' immortal epos. The "Donquixotesques"—to borrow a word from Unamuno—see in Don Quixote the wondrous prototype of a hero striving for the fulfilment of his ideal. They attribute to him the greatness and the truth which is so sadly lacking from the crude world of reality. This reality, under which they themselves suffer, seems to them shadow-like and grey, in comparison with the ego-ideal which they harbor within them. For them, that which is ludicrous and in the nature of caricature in Don Quixote does not reside in him but in the crude world of reality which is incapable of sensing higher things, idealities, except in the form of windmills, illusions and fantasms.¹ The demand which these idealists make upon

¹ Cf. Freud: *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 376, footnote: "Originally Don Quixote is a purely comic character, a big child whose fancies from his books on knighthood have gone to his head. It is known that at first the poet wanted to show only that phase of his character, and that the creation gradually outgrew the author's original intentions. But after the poet endowed this ludicrous person with the profoundest wisdom and noblest

reality—that it shall adjust itself to their narcissistic ego-ideal, instead, *vice-versa*, of subordinating the latter to the demands of reality—this is the eternal quixotism of the human spirit. It is in poets, artists, and in fanatics that it is particularly well developed.

For those adjusted to reality, however, the pleasure derived from the æsthetic enjoyment of this epos lies in an altogether different direction. Their reaction is of the same order as the opinion of those critics who believe they see in Don Quixote the final disposition, by means of ridicule, of a past which has in any case lost its value. Historically considered, what is here meant is a historical past which has been desecrated by caricature; analytically regarded, however, it is a matter of the past in the psychic development of the individual. Are not, indeed, the idealistic demands which the ego imposes on itself in eternal conflict with instinct-asserting tendencies and with the necessity for adaptation to reality? Those who are adjusted to reality and accept rather than deny their instincts, enjoy a pleasing triumph in seeing the ascetic ego-ideal robbed of value by its caricature. This devaluation, however, refers equally to the infantile past in which the child believed himself the possessor of every perfection, and to the past in which the later ego-ideal was formed on the pattern of the most perfect of all beings, the father. Is not this the world of the child, in which he believes in a god-like father, revealed as delusive as soon as the child discovers in the struggle with his own sexual drives the sexuality of the father, and therewith gives up his idealization of him? In this interpretation Don Quixote is an anachronistic caricature of the father, the father of the non-sexual period of the child, during which the father, asserting his own instincts, enforces asceticism upon the child.

Every disillusionment with and depreciation of the father flows, as we know, into the great stream of castration wishes which are directed against him. And so it is not surprising

aims and made him the symbolic representation of an idealism, a man who believed in the realization of his aims, who took duties seriously and promises literally, he ceased to be a comic personality." (Translated by A. A. Brill.)

that even the outward semblance of Don Quixote should be like a symbol in a dream, in which the lean and lanky figure represents the castrated phallus.

But even in Don Quixote's antithesis, Sancho Panza, I see the ridiculous castrated father figure, a father of that later period in which the paternal demands upon the son are no longer of an ideal nature but require of him a practical adaptation to reality. In boyhood, characterized as it is by idealism, the father is usually endowed with the features of the plethoric, fat, harmless, impotent Philistine.

But does not this father have at his side the mother—the mother who is ever receptive to those ideals alone whereby, identifying herself uncritically with him, she holds firmly to a belief in his greatness, yet who at the same time, thanks to her maternal instinct, never loses sight of crude, practical reality? The strongly emphasized oral character of Sancho Panza, the fat, greedy, nurturing principle in the epos, the faithful fellow who in touchingly maternal manner takes care of Don Quixote's excretory functions, seems to me to be likewise a tenderly humorous ridiculing of the mother.

Suum cuique: to the Don Quixotesques, Don Quixote's idealistic struggle against a world consisting of windmills; to the realist, the depreciatory triumph of caricature; and to both a bit of pleasurable mastery of the infantile past! It is this that is the immortality of Don Quixote.

Translated by HENRY ALDEN BUNKER

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RESOLUTION OF A TRAFFIC PHOBIA IN CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN A FATHER AND SON

BY LAWRENCE S. KUBIE (NEW YORK)

A boy of six, an only child, moved with his parents from a small village to a suburban community near a large city. Coincidentally the child's nurse had to leave. These two changes initiated a troubled period in the child's life, marked by restless sleep, dawdling, rebellious outbursts of temper, and especially by acute anxiety about the traffic which gathered around the station each evening as the suburban wives assembled to meet their homecoming husbands. This anxiety was so intense that often the child could not be induced to drive to the station with his mother, although he would go on solitary drives with either parent over less frequented roads. On these occasions too, after a certain length of time he would exhibit some anxiety and eagerness to get close to his home again.

His uneasiness included trips from the suburb to the city. This uneasiness was most manifest when he was with his father, to whom he openly complained about the traffic, admitting his fear of it. Occasionally he specifically said that he did not want to go to town and that he was fearful of the tall buildings, in which at the same time he had an intense interest.

While observing these mild symptoms with some slight concern, the parents also noted that the child had focused some of his anxiety on his penis. On one occasion he had been observed kneeling beside the bathroom scales, resting his penis on the platform and endeavoring to weigh it. On another, he had been demonstrating all of his old and familiar possessions to an uncle who for the first time was visiting him in his new home. "This," he said, "is my clay, and this is my ball, and this is my engine," etc., going through a long list as though to convince them both that everything he prized had been brought to his new home with him. Then suddenly he

concluded his stock-taking by dropping his pyjama trousers and exhibiting his penis, saying, "And this is me".

Conversations with his father in which these threads of anxiety were resolved, began one evening after an afternoon with his mother who had taken him to a museum which was filled with machinery of all kinds. He had greatly enjoyed starting and stopping the machines by means of the switches provided for this purpose. With great enthusiasm the youngster told his father about them. Then somehow he drifted to the topic of operations and anæsthetics. The father began to explain about anæsthetics, and the youngster reminded him that when a friend's baby had been born "they" had given her ether "so that she wouldn't feel the baby coming out of her". Next the youngster spoke of his electric train. He asked when it had been given to him, and was told that it had been when his tonsils were taken out (at the age of four years and two months). The youngster emphatically denied this, and said he believed it to have been given him when "the little white ring was taken off my penis" (at the age of four years and eight months). In this the youngster was mistaken, since he had in fact received his train at the time of his tonsillectomy, but he insisted emphatically on his own version. Then he asked again, as he had many months before, why "the little white ring" had been taken off. His father offered the boy his usual reassurance about the circumcision, a topic, incidentally, to which the youngster had not referred for more than a year. The father reiterated that it had been done to make him bigger and larger and to make his penis better and larger. In previous conversations the child had often asked if his penis would become larger than his father's, a question to which his father had always replied in the affirmative. On this occasion the youngster asked further whether the little hole in his penis would become larger when he grew up, and if the hole in his father's penis was larger. The reply to both questions was yes. Then the lad said that he was going to grow up to be taller than his father, and that all children "grow to be two feet taller than their daddies". Again he was told that he would grow to

be taller than his father, but that it would be more likely to be a few inches than two feet. He was in addition told that he would surely be taller than his father when he grew up, because he was already taller than his father had been at his age.

After a few minutes of silent contemplation of these matters the youngster said *he wished that they lived in the adjoining large city itself*. This was the first indication of lessening of the anxiety about the city and the traffic. He immediately followed this remark with the wish that Santa Claus could be his father. The conversation had taken place shortly before Christmas, and the figure of Santa Claus is obvious as the wish-fulfilling father who is always away except once a year to bring gifts. His father asked him why. "Because Santa Claus has only one son." Father: "But I have only one son." Boy: "But Santa Claus wishes he had more than one son." The father said that he too might like to have another son some day and might perhaps have another son. He said this gently, but the youngster half turned away and hid his face, or curved his arms over his face, repeating something about Santa Claus which could not be heard.

From this developed a new topic. The boy said he wished that it might never be Saturday nor Sunday, and when asked why, explained that then his father would never be at home. He explained further that he wished his father were not home so much because then "it's more peaceful", and because his father spanked him. This referred to a rare incident of mild physical punishment several weeks earlier. Several times he repeated the statement, "It's more peaceful". Then he said he wished that his father would go away for three days, and explained that in that case he could live alone with Mummy. His words were now coming freely. He said that he got "lonely", that if his father went away for three *nights* (changing this from three *days*) then his Mummy could sleep in his room. At this point he suddenly sat up in his bed, patted it lovingly, and said, "I wish Mummy would sleep with me in this bed".

Two days later in a conversation with his father he reverted

to the same topic, a direct continuation of the former conversation. Now he had modified his arrangements, and said that he wished his father would go away for eight days, and then come back, apparently to stay permanently. After this, he said with exuberance—and with none of the distress, the choked voice or the tear-filled eyes which had marked the earlier conversation about Santa Claus,—that he loved the big city and that he loved all the traffic.

The following night the father gave the boy explicit reassurance. He said, "Do you still want me to go away for eight days?" The boy said, "I've been thinking about that, and I've decided not to." The father asked "Why?", and he replied, "It probably wouldn't be so good". The father then asked if the child thought that it had made him angry, and reassured the boy that it had not. He said that all little boys wished their fathers to go away so that their mothers could sleep with them; moreover he himself had wished the same thing, and he understood that that was what he wanted, but he was not angry. He told him, however, that mothers did not sleep with their children, but with their husbands; and that when he grew up he would have a wife who would sleep with him. The youngster was sceptical about this. He argued that his bed was too small, and repeated his doubts after his father had assured him that he could have a bigger bed, or even two beds.

Two nights later, obviously in fine fettle, he was driven happily to the station to meet his father. The bustle of traffic in which formerly he had fumed and fretted and raged, aroused no signs of the old anxiety. The boy called his father's attention to this, and announced again that he *liked the traffic*. The phobia did not reappear, and the general evidences of tension and anxiety were gone.

Two months later, his life serene again, he took occasion to reprimand his mother for lying across the foot of his bed, explaining that that was reserved for his father.

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PSYCHOANALYSIS, TOPOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

BY J. F. BROWN (LAWRENCE, KANSAS)

Introduction

The academic psychologist who has really studied psychoanalytical theory (and he is a very rare individual), is apt to be overwhelmed by the systematic complexity of the theory and by the importance of the problems with which psychoanalysts are concerned. Be he Titchenerian Structuralist, Behaviorist, or Gestalt-theorist he must in honesty admit that his own particular school neither answers nor even poses questions of such wide systematic implication nor of such vital interest. If he is a teacher he must be further impressed with the fact that psychoanalysis is concerned with just those problems which his students expect him to answer and for which he has no answer, at least from the standpoint of his own theoretical persuasion. Psychoanalytical theory deals with *psychological* problems, it deals with *nearly all* psychological problems, and the problems basic to it are *vital*.

The academic psychologist, however, has some advantages which many psychoanalysts lack. He has been trained in the logic of science and in the experimental method. As a logician and an experimentalist, he feels, and rightly so, that many aspects of psychoanalytical theory are in need of conceptual clarification and of a somewhat more rigorous type of proof. He has been trained to accept as scientific those statements concerning experience to which competent observers give universal assent. And although he does not consider himself competent to gather the data which psychoanalysts use in making their theories, he does consider himself competent to criticize the manner in which these theories are built. He further

From the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Kansas and the Menninger Clinic. Presented at the Chicago Psychoanalytic Society, November 21, 1936.

considers himself right in demanding from psychoanalysis that type of experimental criticism which is essential to the healthy growth of any science.¹ To put the present status of both psychoanalysis and academic psychology briefly, the psychoanalyst is equipped with an extensive knowledge of the most vital psychological facts, but he is not equipped to deal with these in critical experiments. Most academic psychologists continue to use the experimental method on facts which are all too often banal or simply *curiosæ*.

The outcome of this state of affairs is most unfortunate. The psychoanalysts are inclined to consider the academic psychologists curious fellows in no way concerned with those real problems which they as psychotherapists have to meet. The psychologists, on the other hand, are inclined to look on the psychoanalysts as "mystics" or "cultists". Nothing is gained by either side and the resulting disdain and suspicion are mutual.

I propose in this paper to raise the problem of the co-operation between *freudian* psychoanalysis and *topological* psychology² in establishing a science of experimental psychopathology. The paper will fall in two main parts. In the first I shall outline very briefly the historical development of both sciences, giving my reasons for believing the time is now ripe for such coöperation. In the second I shall compare and contrast the systematic positions of both. I shall end by giving a few references to papers by experimental psychologists, which I believe may have some interest for the psychoanalyst. I shall take for granted a knowledge of psychoanalysis and make reference only to topological psychology. The reader is to be warned that topological psychology as such may not be presented in any detail in a brief paper; the interested student of

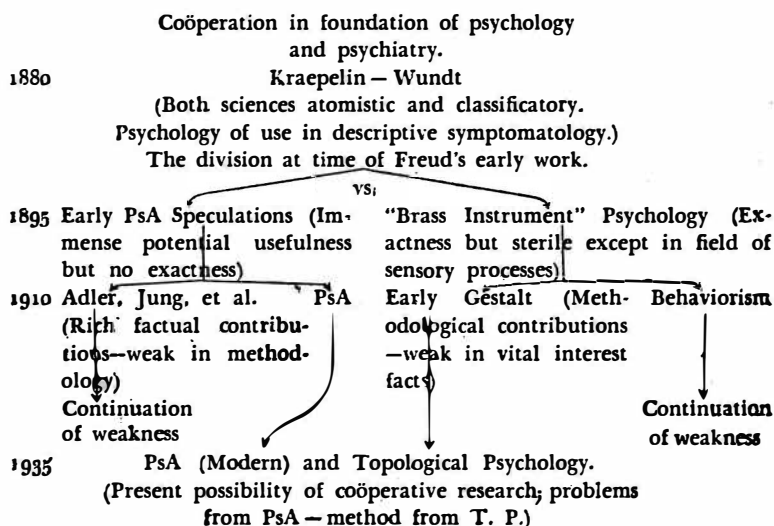
¹ In this he is backed by Freud. Cf. *New Introductory Lectures*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1933. Cf. also my previous remarks, *Freud and the Scientific Method*, Phil. of Sci., 1: 323-337, 1934.

² For the psychologist, all too frequently Adler, Jung, Rank, Stekel, *et al.*, are "about the same as Freud", and for the psychoanalysts all academic psychologies are "birds of one feather". Hence I emphasize *freudian* and *topological*.

psychoanalysis must look elsewhere for a systematic account.¹

Historical Interrelationships

It is my opinion that experimental psychology should be to psychopathology as experimental physiology is to pathology. It is my further opinion that some day it will become this, and that even today much coöperative research between the two is



TABLE

possible. Today's situation is best to be understood after a very brief reminder of the immediate past history of the two sciences. We shall see that at a lower systematic level both sciences were able to coöperate, but that for a while psycho-analytical psychiatry became dynamic, while academic psy- chology remained static. Today, however, at least certain strivings in academic psychology must be recognized as dy-

¹ Lewin, Kurt: *Principles of Topological Psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. Brown, J. F.: *Psychology and the Social Order*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

namic. This leads to the possibility of coöperative research. This is shown schematically in the table on the preceding page.

At the time of the official foundation of psychiatry and psychology as sciences (around 1870) there was very close coöperation between the two. Wundt, who may be called the father of psychology, worked with Kraepelin in close professional and personal coöperation. Both of the sciences were, however, atomistic, static, purely descriptive and chiefly concerned with classification. Kraepelin concerned himself almost exclusively with problems of nosology; Wundt with describing the structural attributes of the sensations, perceptions, acting, feelings and emotions. It was hence natural that academic psychology should help in the nomenclature of descriptive diagnosis and symptomatology. The older texts give a great deal of evidence for this statement. From Wundt's time until about 1910 academic psychology as a whole stayed in this rut of atomistic-mechanism and descriptive classification. So did psychiatry as a whole, but psychoanalysis was being founded by Freud during this time.

The early papers of Freud started a dynamic approach to the problems of psychology for the first time. Although certain academic psychologists, perhaps most notably in this country G. Stanley Hall, immediately saw the great significance of Freud's speculations, the vast majority, without being equipped really to understand them, stayed by the "brass instruments" and damned Freud with faint praise or praised him with faint damns. During this whole period there was a rift between the academic psychologists and the psychoanalysts so deep that no coöperation was possible. The freudian psychology grew in clinically founded factual material upon which speculations of a very broad sort were built. But these speculations were not and could not be subjected to experimental criticism. Academic psychology continued exact but sterile. The academician knew how to test whether or not a fact was true, but he had no vital facts to test. The psychoanalyst was gathering a lot of vital material but was not equipped to put it to the test.

From around 1910, there were developments in academic

psychology which paralleled the previous growth of dynamic theory in psychoanalysis. Academic psychology gave up a little of the pseudo-exactness which characterized the "Brass Instrument Period" in order to pose problems of more vital significance. The psychoanalytical movement became dominated by Freud, whose genius is certainly, in the best sense, scientific. Thus while the academic psychologist began to interest himself in more vital problems, the psychoanalyst began to interest himself in the more precise and scientific formulations of his problems. While Freud in his more recent work has more and more tended to adopt a type of theory which might be experimentally verified, the recent work of his previous lieutenants like Adler, and particularly Jung, tend to allow a meaningless type of speculation an even larger rôle. For this reason we shall not consider them further.

The revolt around 1912 of both Behaviorism and Gestalt psychology attests the growing impatience of certain academic psychologists with the structuralism of Wundt and Titchener. Behaviorism as a revolt was chiefly methodological and tended to move away from proper psychological problems. Its insistence on physiological explanatory mechanisms and its refusal to deal with states of consciousness as such, make it almost impossible as a systematic approach to the experimental investigation of problems arising in psychoanalysis. Gestalt psychology was both a methodological and a conceptual revolt. Methodologically, Gestalt psychology insists on the scientific sterility of the introspective analysis of states of consciousness alone, as does Behaviorism. Its conceptual orientation, however, is very different from that of Behaviorism and very close to that of psychoanalysis. This will be pointed out in the next section. Topological psychology has developed out of Gestalt psychology. It attempts to give the theoretical foundation of Gestalt psychology that precision which accompanies mathematical thinking alone. In topology we have a branch of geometry which investigates the non-metrical and non-directional aspects of positional relationships. It is particularly concerned with the relationship between wholes and parts and

between the communications possible between various regions. Both psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology stress the wholeness of the personality as a dynamic system and both are concerned with the interrelations between parts.¹

At the present time, as I see it there is created a real opportunity for the development of an experimental psychopathology. In this endeavor my feeling is that the problems should come primarily from psychoanalysis, the methods from topological psychology.

Points of Agreement and Difference Between the Two Theories

Topological psychology has developed independently or taken over from psychoanalysis certain basic methodological postulates which give the two systems much in common. A listing of these should make clear the possibility of coöperative research.

1. Critical philosophy is able to reduce all the various schools and *isms* of modern biological thought to two basic philosophies of biology.² These may be called the *organismic* and the *atomistic-mechanistic*. The organismic philosophy of biology stresses the wholeness of the organism and the priority of wholes over parts. Organismic thinking looks on the individual as a self-regulating energy system, the restructuralizations of which are economical in nature. It should be obvious that psychoanalysis adheres to this philosophy of biology, which is also basic to topological psychology. Opposed to this is atomistic-mechanism which stresses the priority of parts and

¹ Thus the connections between Ucs, Cs, and Pcs, and between ego, super-ego, and id may be expressed as topological relationships. Concerning the relationships of Behaviorism, Gestalt psychology, and topological psychology, see Koffka, K.: *Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935; Lewin K.: *Principles of Topological Psychology*, *op. cit.*, and Brown, J. F.: *Psychology and the Social Order*, *op. cit.* For a brief non-technical introduction to topological problems see Franklin, P.: *What is Topology?*, *Phil. of Sci.*, 2, 1935, 39-47. For a statement about topological psychology and psychoanalysis see Lewin, K.: *Psychoanalysis and Topological Psychology*. (To appear in the *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, July, 1937.)

² Woodger, J. H.: *Biological Principles*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. Von Bertalanffy, L.: *Theoretische Biologie*, Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1932.

looks on the organism as a machine. Atomistic-mechanism is, of course, basic to Behaviorism.

2. The psychoanalyst has long stressed the fact that there is the most intimate connection between psychological mechanisms and the social anthropological culture in which the individual finds himself. Indeed the implications of the freudian theory for anthropology are second only to those for medicine. The application of topological principles to social psychology also stresses this point. The social anthropological, economical, and political characteristics of the environment must all be characterized in determining the structure of the social field.¹ Behaviorism, on the other hand, has been inclined to study the organism in isolation from its culture.

3. There is a close general agreement between the two theories with regard to the structure of the personality and to the nature of personality genesis. The multiple-structured self of the psychoanalyst, with its division into Cs, Ucs, Pcs, and ego, superego, and id, is closely paralleled by the regions in the person structure as described by Lewin.² Furthermore both schools agree that this differentiation comes out of more unitary primitive wholes, the id of the analyst and the undifferentiated child person of the topologist. Both schools see this differentiation as arising in the process of growth, where the organism in an environment of varying structure meets barriers to basic instincts or vectors.

4. Methodological studies have indicated that the most fruitful method of scientific advancement is the hypothetico-deductive or constructive method. This method allows the use of theoretical constructs like the libido, the ego and the unconscious of the freudians, and the vector, person, and reality dimension of life-space of the topologist. Behavior alone is observed, but this behavior is coördinated with theory in order to integrate the various facts and to point to implications for further research. The whole growth of psychoanalysis is one in which facts were integrated into theories, which in turn

¹ Cf. Brown, J. F.: *Psychology and the Social Order*, *op. cit.*

² Lewin, K.: *Principles of Topological Psychology*, *op. cit.*

were adapted to new facts. A similar process of growth has occurred in topological psychology. The purely inductive method which attempts a statistical accumulation of facts without theoretical coördination has been recently abandoned even by some of the behaviorists.¹

5. Both psychoanalysis and topological psychology believe in psychic determinism, and in the uniformity and continuity of psychological nature. Basic laws are sought which must account for both normal and abnormal behavior. All psychic phenomena, including symptoms, have a cause, a meaning or significance, and an economical function with regard to the psychobiology of the whole organism.

Despite such close agreement on such basic postulates there are *differences* between the two schools. These differences are luckily of a nature, however, that they might be decided either clinically or experimentally. They may again be listed:

1. It is in the nature of the theoretical constructions of the two types of psychology that the chief difference lies. The constructs of psychoanalysis have arisen in a rather haphazard manner in the course of the clinical practice of a few medical men of unquestioned genius. The psychoanalytic method has been so very fruitful in uncovering the most important and sometimes amazing correlations in the psychodynamics of the individual that the clinicians have had little opportunity to criticize these concepts methodologically. The topologists, on the other hand, have attempted the most stringent, where possible even mathematical definition of their concepts. Every behavioral event is to be ordered to theory, which is so constructed that experimental verification is possible. Where the concepts of psychoanalysis are seldom precisely enough defined to allow the critical experiment, those of topological psychol-

¹ Hull, C. L.: *The Conflicting Psychologies of Learning—A Way Out*, Psychol. Rev., 42: 491-516, 1935. Tolman, E. C.: *Operational Behaviorism and Current Trends in Psychology*, Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration of the Inauguration of Graduate Studies at the University of California, 89-103, 1936.

ogy always are. If I seem here unduly to favor topological psychology, let me say I do so only from the standpoint of method. There are many problems raised by psychoanalysis, perhaps most notably that of symbolism, where the topological attack falls down completely. But those problems which topological psychology may attack are to be given a definite answer.

2. Present behavior in topological psychology is always derived from the existing structure of the psychological field. In this, topological psychology may be said to be an ahistorical science. Ahistorical sciences like physics do not need to know the past history of events studied, because they are able to give a complete dynamic description of the momentary situation. It is freely to be admitted that few problems exist where at the present time we do not need to know something of the history. Psychoanalysis is an historical science, *i.e.*, it is concerned with the effect of past emotional experience on present behavior. Topological psychology does not deny that historical sequences have great present importance. It attempts, however, to derive present behavior from the precise momentary situation. How far such deduction may be carried out, time alone will tell. All systematic sciences tend to be ahistorical.¹

3. I believe that there is to be found a slight difference in emphasis on the efficacy of the various factors of what both recognize to be a socio-psycho-biological problem. The psychoanalyst is forced from his instinct theory of the basic urges to stress the psychobiological aspect of the problem. As an example of this let us consider the frequent argument of the psychoanalyst that war is inevitable and that socialism is impossible, because of the aggressive urges or the freudian death instinct. The motivating forces according to the psychoanalysts are innate instincts or urges. The motivating forces according to the topological psychologist are functions of the

¹ Lewin, K.: *Psychoanalysis and Topological Psychology*, *op. cit.*, goes into this distinction in considerable detail.

organism *in* the environment. Although psychoanalysts consider the environment they attempt to deduce behavior almost solely from the person. To put this difference in emphasis rather bluntly, the psychoanalysts assume considerably more immutability of human nature than do the topological psychologists. Both agree that biological mechanisms are subject to environmental manipulation. The topologists, however, would consider the potentialities of manipulation greater than do the psychoanalysts.

4. Finally, the data of psychoanalysis come chiefly from clinical practice, while those of topological psychology come from the experimental situation. This accounts, I believe, for the strong and the weak points of each. Clinical practice gives the problems of the psychoanalyst their great vitality and undoubted significance. Clinical practice, however, is fraught with sources of error. In every medical speciality exactness and precision have followed the introduction of experimental procedures. If the experimental method is applicable to neuro-anatomy and to physiology, why should it not be applicable to psychology? That it will be is the hope of the topological psychologist. A brief introductory paper does not allow us to present the details of experiments already performed or at present in progress. Certain earlier experiments from the standpoint of topological psychology have touched on the problems arising in psychoanalysis.¹ At the present time experiments are being undertaken by topological psychologists in co-operation with psychoanalysts, with direct reference to psy-

¹ Zeigarnik, B.: *Über das Behalten von erledigten und unerledigten Handlungen*, Psychol. Forsch., 9: 1-85. 1927.

Dembo, T.: *Der Ärger als dynamisches Problem*, Psychol. Forsch., 15: 1-144. 1931.

Brown, J. F.: *Über die dynamischen Eigenschaften der Realitäts- und Irrealitäts-schichten*, Psychol. Forsch., 18: 2-26. 1933.

Mahler, W.: *Ersatzhandlungen verschiedenen Realitätsgrades*, Psychol. Forsch., 18: 26-89. 1933.

Lissner, K.: *Die Entspannung von Bedürfnissen durch Ersatzhandlungen*, Psychol. Forsch., 18: 218-250. 1933.

choanalytical problems.¹ I am convinced from my own work in this field that we may eventually develop a respectable number of experimental procedures and may soon even speak of a science of experimental psychopathology. That I believe would be a step forward for academic psychology as well as psychoanalysis.

Summary

We have raised the question of the possibility of coöperation between the psychoanalyst and the topological psychologist in the establishment of experimental procedures in psychopathology. An historical survey of the interrelationships between psychiatry and academic psychology revealed that the time might now be ripe for such coöperation. The points of similarity and difference between the two modes of attack were listed. Reference was made to certain existing experiments with implications for psychoanalysis and to other current direct attacks on the problem.

¹ Lewin, K.: *Psychoanalysis and Topological Psychology*, *op. cit.*

Brown, J. F.: *The Modified Dembo Technique—An Application of Topological Psychology to Experimental Psychopathology*. (To appear in the Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, July, 1937.)

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A ONE-SIDED SKETCH OF JONATHAN SWIFT

BY I. F. GRANT DUFF (LONDON, ENGLAND)

Swift was, as he called it, "dropped" in Ireland on November 30, 1667. His grandfather, a clergyman of the Church of England, had lost everything in the Great Rebellion, and his sons went to Ireland to retrieve their fortunes. The eldest, Godwin, did very well at first, but died poor and senile. Another son, Jonathan, got a small position at the bar. He married young a penniless English girl, Abigail Erick. They had a daughter, Jane, and soon after a son, Jonathan, who was born posthumously. The widow was left with very little of this world's goods. It might have been better for her son if she had had too little to employ a nurse for him for he tells us in his scrap of autobiography: "When he was a year old his nurse who was a woman of Whitehaven, being under an absolute necessity of seeing one of her relations . . . and being at the same time extremely fond of the infant, she stole him on shipboard, unknown to his mother and uncle, and carried him with her to Whitehaven, where he continued for almost three years. For when the matter was discovered, his mother sent orders by all means not to hazard a second voyage, till he could be better able to bear it. His nurse was so careful of him, that before he returned, he had learned to spell; and by the time he was three years old he could read any chapter in the Bible."

The baby remained with his mother until he was six years old, when he was sent as a boarder to Kilkenny school, and his mother and sister went to Leicester, so that he was orphaned for the third time. His uncle Godwin bore the cost of his education. After school he went to Trinity College, Dublin. He writes of this: "By the illtreatment of his nearest relatives he was so much discouraged and sunk in spirits that he too

Based on a paper read to the British Psychoanalytical Society, November 1935.

much neglected his academic studies . . . so that . . . he was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency and at last hardly admitted in a manner little to his credit, which is called . . . *speciali gratis*, February 1686."

In 1689, he went as a sort of secretary, to Sir William Temple; left him to take orders in Ireland, but soon returned to his service, and remained with him until Temple's death in 1699. In 1700 Swift got a small cure near Dublin but he was often in London and was doing a certain amount of writing. While he was with Temple he had written *A Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*; these were both published in 1704, and though they were published anonymously, a wide circle knew that he was the author and he became a man of mark. It has been said that in *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift reduces religion to affections of the bowels and of the flesh. Its publication did him much harm for it prejudiced Queen Anne against him from the beginning of his career. In 1707 Swift was sent to London to obtain the First Fruits for the Irish clergy. Through Sir William Temple he knew many men of note among the Whigs who were at this time in power, and through them he tried to achieve his mission, but without success. When in 1711, he came over on the same mission for the second time, the Tories were trying to seize the reins of government from the Whigs. Harley and St. John, their leaders, realized that Swift's pen might be an invaluable asset, and to gain him to their cause they procured the queen's consent to the First Fruits for the Irish clergy. Swift's principles as a churchman and his self-interest were both on their side and the Tory leaders won his complete and undying loyalty. For the next three years Swift was a power in the state. He poured out political pamphlets which may have been equalled, but have never been surpassed. Then the Tories fell, soon after Queen Anne died, and Swift returned to Ireland. He had gained a few friends, more enemies, and a tremendous reputation. Addison held Swift to be "the most agreeable companion, the truest friend and the greatest genius of the age". Before the crash came Swift had been given the deanery

of St. Patrick's, Dublin. This was a great disappointment to him for his chief wish was for an English bishopric. His own personal failure, and the fall of the Tory party, broke Swift for a while, but by 1720 he was again in the political arena with his pen, and in 1724-25 came the Drapier Letters. The occasion of these was a job. Walpole, now Prime Minister, obtained a license from George I for a certain William Wood to mint copper coinage for Ireland. The Irish Parliament petitioned against this coinage in vain. Then Swift took up the cause against "Wood halfpence" in the Drapier Letters. The license for the coinage had to be withdrawn, and Swift was the hero of all Ireland.

In 1726 he published *Travels into Several Remote Quarters of the World* by Lemuel Gulliver. It was published anonymously as was the case with nearly all his works, but the secret of his authorship leaked out and the book brought him new and dazzling fame.

The great mass of Swift's writings was finished by 1736, when a decline of his mental powers began to show itself. There was, too, an increasing amount of mental and physical pain, and his eyesight failed. From 1740 his mind was completely clouded in what has been diagnosed as senile dementia. He died at the age of 77, in 1745.

Swift was subject all his life to depression, and from the early twenties to attacks of "coldness of the stomach", giddiness, and deafness. The latter symptoms have been attributed to Ménière's disease. He himself thought that the giddiness and coldness of the stomach were due to a surfeit of fruit, from which one might conclude that these attacks were interpreted to fit unconscious castration fantasies. Other evidence in this direction is the importance given by Swift to the eating or not eating of fruit in *The Journal to Stella*; also that in his fragment of autobiography he tells us that a relative was disinherited by his mother for robbing an orchard; and further that Swift's first political success was in gaining the First Fruits for the Irish clergy. There is also a passage in *A Tale of a Tub* which runs as follows: ". . . if there be a protuberancy of

parts in the superior region of the body, as in the ears and nose, there must be a parity also in the inferior; and, therefore, in that truly pious age, the males in every assembly, . . . appeared very forward in exposing their ears to view, and the regions about them; because Hyppocrates tells us that when the vein behind the ear happens to be cut a man becomes a eunuch; and the females were nothing backwarder in beholding and edifying by them”.

Oral and anal imagery jostle each other in the works of Swift, and his character traits were largely oral and anal too. Notably oral was his love of conversation and word play; in the letters to Vanessa, “drinking coffee” was used as a synonym for happy times spent with her. Anal traits were revealed in his intense cleanliness of his person, conscientiousness, and dependability. In money matters he was often generous and at the same time he could be mean about halfpence. In later years this degenerated into pronounced avarice. Time mattered to him so much that he had his watch continuously in his hand.

Swift was a great misanthropist but even more a misogynist; nevertheless he liked the society of women and two women played a great rôle in his life. The one was Hester Johnson—“Stella”; the other Esther Vanhomrigh—“Vanessa”. Stella lived as a child near Temple’s place where Swift got to know her. After Temple’s death in 1701 or 1702, she and a friend went over to Ireland to live near Swift, who played the part of a loving guardian to her. She died in 1728, leaving him heart-broken. The happiest period of Swift’s friendship with Vanessa was in the time of his glory from 1711 to 1714. During these years he was constantly at her mother’s house. Though he could not respond with passion to the passion which he excited in Vanessa, yet she attracted him immensely. When, however, he became Dean of St. Patrick’s he tried to break with her, but could not, and as she had property not far from Dublin she followed him to Ireland, where she died in 1723.

Many have called attention to Swift’s immense desire to reform humanity. In his dealing with women, *reform* is cer-

tainly the correct word, for the intention was to make a "female man" as he designated Queen Anne in *Gulliver's Travels*. Stella was eight when Swift first knew her, and he was twenty-two. He soon took up her education; he guided her reading, taught her to write, and her writing became so like his that in after years it was mistaken on one occasion for his. When Stella was dying he wrote of her, "This was a person of my own rearing and instruction from childhood, who excelled in every good quality that can possibly accomplish a human creature". In a poem to Stella he writes:

Say Stella was Prometheus blind,
And forming you mistook your kind?
No; 'twas for you alone he stole
The fire that forms a manly soul.

In *The Journal to Stella* he addresses her and her companion as "Sirrahs", "Boys", and "Lads". He took precisely the same attitude to Vanessa. Mrs. Long, her cousin, writes, "How can I pretend to judge of anything when my poor cousin is treated as a hermaphrodite". Their story, as Swift saw it, is told in the poem *Cadenus and Vanessa*. Venus wishes to make a perfect woman, and in order to get Pallas Athene's help, she deceives her:

The Queen of learning gravely smiles,
Down from Olympus comes with joy
Mistakes Vanessa for a boy.

Athene endows the child with manly qualities. When Vanessa is grown up her teacher is Cadenus, who seems to follow Athene in her mistake:

That innocent delight he took
To see the virgin mind her book,
Was but the master's secret joy
In school to her the finest boy.

A bond between Swift and Vanessa may have been likeness in looks, for one well-known portrait of Vanessa shows a strong likeness to one of Swift's portraits, and the poem goes on to relate that in character Vanessa formed herself on Cadenus:

She thought he had himself described,
His doctrines when he first imbibed;
What he had planted, now was grown;
His virtues she might call her own;
As he approves, as he dislikes,
Love or contempt her fancy strikes.
Self-love, in nature rooted fast,
Attends us first, and leaves us last;
Why she likes him, admire not at her;
She loves herself, and that's the matter.

These passages make quite clear that Athene and Cadenus are one, and it is evident that the will to teach young women was a repetition in reversal of the time at Whitehaven, when young Jonathan's nurse taught him his letters.

It was not only to Stella and to Vanessa but to all humanity that Swift wanted to play the nurse. His favorite vehicle for reforming mankind was satire, whether in the form of pamphlets, allegories, travels, or poems. Swift is a most convincing example of how closely pregenitally fixated people may keep in touch with their unconscious thoughts and mechanisms in so far as giving them verbal expression is concerned. His works are full of an amazing wealth of the sort of fantasy which is usually unconscious. In an essay satirizing ecstatic forms of religion (*A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*), for instance, he described displacement from below upwards just about two hundred years before Freud discovered it for science: "As yet snuffling was not, when the following adventure happened to a Banbury saint. Upon a certain day . . . the saint felt his vessel full extended in every part (a very natural effect of strong inspiration); and the time and place falling out so unluckily that he could not have the convenience of evacuation upwards, by repetition, prayer, or lecture, he was forced to open an inferior vent. In short, he wrestled with the flesh so long, that he at length subdued it, coming off with honorable wounds all before. The surgeon had now cured the parts primarily affected; but the disease, driven from its post, flew up into his head". This was the

way the saints learnt to snuffle, and then we are informed that "the Persian beast acquired his faculty, of snuffling, by covering a mare the day before".

Reading commentators of *A Tale of a Tub*, or of Gulliver's Voyages, reminds one of reading the interpretation of the fore-conscious material of dreams in a psychoanalytical case. I will give two instances: during most of the time that he was with the gigantic Brobdingnags, Gulliver, who was the size of one of their fingers, was in charge of a child giantess, who looked after him in every way, and also taught him the language. This girl is generally supposed to represent Stella. That is a reversal, for it was not Stella who taught Swift but Swift who taught Stella. Then when the empress of Lilliput is enraged with Gulliver for urinating in the palace, it is interpreted as meaning Queen Anne's indignation against Swift for "bespattering" the Church in *A Tale of a Tub*. The interpreters of Gulliver's Voyages do not venture further than this and the nurse at Whitehaven, as a prototype of Stella, of the girl giantess, and of Queen Anne, remains unnoticed.

In some ways the Voyages of Gulliver may be said to be a sort of biographic Galton photograph of the child, Jonathan, and from it, with the help of his other works, we can learn a great deal of the childhood of Swift, and of how he came to be a reformer, for it is most certainly Swift's *apologia pro vita sua*.

There are four voyages. The first is to a land inhabited by a people "not six inches high". The next is to Brobdingnag, a land of giants. The third voyage satirizes the scientists of the day; on this voyage Gulliver also meets the immortals, the great ones of history whom he calls up from the grave. Their debased counterparts are the immortal Struldbrugs, in whom Swift covertly mocks at the heroic figures of his own forgotten or partially forgotten past. In the last journey he comes to the country of the Yahoos and the Houyhnyms. Throughout the book, Gulliver is as anxious as a certain type of good child, to let it be known how well he behaves, and as one would expect from a child, he is chiefly concerned with the primitive things of life. He gives much space, for instance, to showing how he

obeys the strictest dictates of cleanliness with regard to his evacuations. This is especially important in Lilliput where he is a giant. One of the nastinesses of the Yahoos is that in assaulting him, they excrete upon him. This form of attack is mentioned in several of Swift's writings. He even uses a subtle variant of the idea in a political pamphlet, *An Examination of Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities in the City of Dublin*. Ireland was, in his day, in a condition of destitution, but the English government, with great political blindness, did not care to have its attention drawn to the subject. The pamphlet in question was a bold attempt to get attention, so that some thing might be done to better the condition of Ireland. Swift opens the subject by mentioning that there is a great deal of human excrement in the streets of Dublin, "for which" he explains, "the disaffected party" (the Tories) "have assigned a very false and malicious cause. They would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British fundamentals, to make the world believe, that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently, that the clamor of poverty among us, must be false, proceeding only from Jacobites and Papists. They would confirm this, by pretending to observe, that a British anus being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements upon a strict view appearing copples crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hybernian, which lie much flatter". This is undoubtedly an echo of investigations made by the small Jonathan at a time when he still used excreta himself in offensive tactics, and the unconscious belief in the injurious qualities of excreta was one source of the vigor put into the successful fight against Wood's halfpence.

Swift's mysogyny bears a deep anal impress, and is largely expressed in anal language. His early difficulties in learning cleanliness stood between him and women for all time. By reversal and projection he is able to make them the culprits: women are dirty and excrete, therefore men cannot love them. The coprophilia of many of his poems about women is notori-

ous. In, for instance, *The Lady's Dressing Room*, Strephon creeps into his mistress's room just after she has left it. Her used linen is lying about, there are soiled towels, and dandruffy combs, etc. Strephon is disgusted but continues his tour of discovery. Finally he peeps into her night-stool in which he finds both fæces and urine, which surprises him:

Disgusted Strephon slunk away;
 Repeating in his amorous fits,
 'Oh! Celia, Celia, Celia shifts!'
 But Vengeance, goddess never sleeping,
 Soon punished Strephon for his peeping;
 His foul imagination links
 Each dame he sees with all her stinks;
 And, if unsavoury odours fly,
 Conceive a lady standing by.

Is Strephon twenty-two—or two? And does Vengeance wear a white apron? ¹

No wonder that Gulliver has to leave Lilliput for urinating in the wrong place! The circumstances are that Gulliver is called to put out a fire at the palace. The Lilliputians pass him their tiny buckets, "but the flame was so violent that they did little good". Gulliver then thought of the expedient of urinating on the flames. He writes, "I voided in such a quantity and applied so well that the fire was wholly extinguished". So a work of rescue rather than of destruction, and what pride and pleasure in the directing of the stream and the great quantity! Unfortunately, the Empress of Lilliput conceived "the greatest horror" for what he had done, "and in the presence of her confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge".

¹ The poem *Strephon and Chloe* is especially interesting in showing how Swift's potency was affected by his infantile experiences regarding excreta, including the woman's way of urinating. After Strephon has discovered that Chloe urinates:

The little Cupids hov'ring round,
 (As pictures prove) with garlands crown'd,
 Abashed at what they saw and heard,
 Flew off and never more appear'd.

Ferenczi¹ has dealt at length with the phallic significances of this passage and with some of the punishments suggested for Gulliver. The last punishment proposed was to sprinkle a poison juice on his shirts which would make him tear his own flesh and die in the utmost torment. The soiled garments here take on the attributes of the punishing superego. Clothes were an important subject to Swift. In the voyages, Gulliver succeeds in being decently dressed in the most adverse circumstances. In life Swift chose a profession whose *cloth* is intended to show that the wearer is pledged to good behavior. It is noteworthy, too, when Swift's attitude to the opposite sex is considered, that the official dress of the clergy approximates that of women. In *A Tale of a Tub* he has written a satire on the church in which the allegory is one of dress. Many reasons for the title of the book have been supplied from passages in the work itself. One suggestion, which is not made, is a wash tub, the tub in which the young Jonathan had watched the process of changing a dirty garment into a clean one, so that it looked as if it had never been soiled at all.²

The opening parable in *A Tale of a Tub* is of a father who, on his death-bed, gave each of his sons a coat and said to them, "Wear them clean, and brush them often. You will find in my will . . . full instructions in every particular concerning the wearing and management of your coats; wherein you must be very exact, to avoid the penalties I have appointed for every transgression or neglect". The powers that were imperative in small Jonathan's life appear to have been very strict about his clothes. Soon comes a passage which holds them up to ridicule: "There was a sect, whose chief idol was also worshipped as the inventor of the yard and needle". The worshipers in this sect "held the universe to be a large suit of clothes, which invests everything", and "what is man himself but a micro-coat, or rather a complete suit of clothes . . .

¹ Ferenczi, S.: *Gulliver Phantasies*, Int. J. Psa., IX, 1928.

² Cf. Freud's *ungeschehen machen* which is so important a mechanism, in the obsessional type of which Swift is an example.

examine even the acquirements of his mind, . . . is not religion a cloak, honesty a pair of shoes worn out in the dirt, self-love a surtout, vanity a shirt, and conscience a pair of breeches, which, though a cover for lewdness as well as nastiness, is easily slipped down for the service of both". Now to this sect belonged three ladies whose favor the brothers asked, but these ladies hated every one who was even "the breadth of a hair" below "the top of the fashion". As a result, the brothers were tempted to alter their coats, and the repressed returns. The first alteration made was to add large shoulder knots, displaced erections from memories of having the genitalia touched during the toilet of the child.

Taking all this interest in dress into consideration it is not surprising that one of Swift's political pamphlets is *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures*. Many of Swift's pamphlets deal with various aspects of this theme and we can, also, understand why in fighting against Wood's halfpence, he masked himself as a draper.

The themes of dress and nakedness are touched upon in the *Voyage to the Brobdingnags*, in an episode which must be based on experience: "The maids of honour often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their bosoms, wherewith I was much disgusted, because, to say the truth, a very offensive smell came from their skins, . . . That which gave me most uneasiness . . . was to see them use me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no sort of consequence; for they would strip themselves to the skin, and put on their smocks in my presence, while I was placed on their toilet directly before their naked bodies, which, I am sure, to me was very far from being a tempting sight, or from giving me any other emotions than those of horror and disgust. Their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously colored, when I saw them near . . . to say nothing further

concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drunk, to the quantity of at least two hogsheads."

This paragraph is obviously biographical, and is an admirable account of a wish fulfilment with the superego at work to repress desire. The horror expressed at "the rest of their persons" is the horror of the woman's genitalia, which probably lies at the root of Swift's caustic joke, "Last week I saw a woman flayed, and you will hardly believe how much it altered her person for the worse".

In the third Voyage, Gulliver meets with the immortal Struldbugs. They were very rare but might be born into any family, and could be recognized by a red circular mark over one of their eyebrows. Gulliver, on hearing of them, cried out in rapture, "Happy nation where every child hath at least a chance for being born immortal!" and went on to describe his ideal man living an ideal life. His discourse met with laughter, and he was then told that the Struldbugs had every possible fault connected with old age, and were least objectionable when senile. At eighty they were given a pittance, on which to subsist, and all they had was taken away from them; "Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequence of old age" they would come to possess everything in the state "which for want of abilities to manage must end in the ruin of the public". Owing to their faults they were "deprived and hated by all sorts of people".

The description of the Struldbugs represents an important part of Swift's unconscious self-portraiture. On the one hand they introduce us to his conception of himself as a baby, and on the other to his fantasies regarding old age, death and immortality.

One proof that the Struldbugs represent Swift as a baby is contained in the remark that "when one of them is born, it is reckoned as ominous". This was the feeling Swift had about his own birth. He used to keep his birthday as a day of fasting, during which he would read the third chapter of the Book of Job, which begins, "Let the day perish wherein I was

born and the night which said 'there is a man child conceived' ". Swift lets us into the secret of this attitude towards himself in his pamphlet, *A modest Proposal for preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burthen to their Parents or the Country, and for making them Beneficial to the Public*. It is a satire on the government of Ireland. The gist of it is, "I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children, already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, which is more than we allow to sheep, black cattle or swine, . . . that the remaining hundred thousand may at a year old be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune, . . . always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone, the fore and hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in the winter. . . . I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children". There is no need to elaborate this plain statement of Swift's fear of talion punishment for his own cannibalistic wishes as an infant. Sometimes he put it more lightly, as in his poem, *On Poetry*:

If on Parnassus' top you sit,
 You rarely bite, are always bit;
 Each poet of inferior size
 On you shall rail and criticise,
 And strive to tear you limb from limb;
 While others do as much for him.
 The vermin only tease and pinch
 Their foes superior by an inch.
 So, naturalists observe, a flea
 Has smaller fleas that on him prey;
 And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
 And so proceed *ad infinitum*.

Well might Swift say, "In a jest I spend my rage".

Another statement of the cannibalistic fantasy is in a poem *To Time* in which Swift describes time as a devourer. His anxious habit of carrying his watch in his hand and his exactitude in punctuality betray his anxiety to control time, the devourer, by an identification with it. Another result of his fear of time was the fantasy of the *Struldrugs*, for in so far as time devours life, so time and death are one; but as the *Struldrugs* are immortal they escape from the maw of time. They are deprived and miserable but they escape from being eaten.

This brings us to the other aspect of the *Struldrugs* as representations of Swift's fantasy about his old age. It has often been observed that he was afraid of his mind failing. He once put it that like a tree he would die at the top first. We get a hint as to what may be the meaning of this fantasy in *A Meditation upon a Broomstick*: "This single stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flourishing state in a forest: it was full of sap, full of leaves, and full of boughs . . . it is now, at best, but the reverse of what it was, a tree turned upside down. . . . A man is a broomstick", but a broomstick "is an emblem of a tree standing on its head; and pray what is man, but a topsy turvy creature, his animal faculties perpetually mounted on his rational, his head where his heels should be, . . . and yet, with all his faults, he sets up to be a universal reformer . . . bringing hidden corruption to light". If we accept *A Meditation Upon a Broomstick* as throwing light upon his fantasy of being "like a tree" and dying at the top first, then, according to Swift's own interpretation, it is a reversal of high and low. It is certainly a castration fantasy, in which his head suffers again for his genitalia. It is also an identification with the superego, and lastly a satire on the superego and the person in authority who had contributed to its organization. Gulliver, as one might expect, had aspirations to be a teacher, and in the picture of himself as the faultless immortal of his hopes, he is among other things a guide to youth. Godwin Swift had been Swift's own guide and Swift had felt most bitterly deprived by him, both of means and of education, so that when he died both

poor and senile, Swift's hostile feelings towards him must have had a very sinister satisfaction, for which the fitting form of talion punishment would be, that he, like his hated uncle, should lose his mental powers.¹

Swift at the time he was writing Gulliver was not only occupied with an expectation of senility, but was also troubled with a phobia of death. He informed Bolingbroke, in a letter written in October 1729, that he was forty-seven when thoughts of death began to haunt him. In the following March, he wrote again on the same subject, "When I was your age I often thought of death, but after a dozen years more it terrifies me less". He was sixty-two in March 1730, so the dozen years mentioned is a vague reckoning of the time from forty-seven to sixty-two, and this period covers the years in which he was writing Gulliver's voyages. Each of the journeys begins and ends with an escape from death. He was trying to overcome his fear of death by fantasies of escape. The voyage which ends with least danger to Gulliver is the third one in which he meets with the immortal Struldbrugs. If Swift "spent his rage in a jest" he has certainly hidden profound anxieties in these diverting stories of Gulliver, and in all the pages of this terror ridden book, we probably nowhere get deeper insight into his unconscious fears than in the description of the Struldbrugs. These unfortunates are immortal but in their immortality are so wretched that in their country, death was considered less terrible than immortality. The reasoning behind this fantasy would seem to be that in order to keep what you have you must not enjoy it. This applies to his sexual impotence as well as to the failure of his college career, and may partly explain the general failure of his ambition.²

¹ The fantasy, of dying like a tree at the top first, and the invention of the Struldbrugs, forces one to ask, whether Swift's senility was due to physical causes only, or whether unconscious forces might not have contributed. *The Modest Proposal* was written when Swift was fifty-eight and many of the writings after this show a loosening of repression which might presage its increase and lead to an inhibiting of just those powers which had been libidinised.

² The other more optimistic side of his infantile fantasies are mirrored in Gulliver's escapes and successes.

On this assumption to be a Struldbrug is a bid for immortality, and helps to explain why Swift was interested in "fools and mad" and left the bulk of his small fortune to a lunatic asylum. Melanie Klein in her paper, *A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Depressive States*, holds that in killing himself the suicide "always aims at saving his loved objects internal and external". Perhaps this hope with regard to death does not belong to suicides alone, but includes as well those who are facing death or fantasizing about it. The offices of the Church point to a wide dispersion of such a fantasy. The priest has to help the dying man to peace with God; he has to exhort him to give liberally to the poor, to make his will for the "quiet of his executors", to repent his sins and to be in charity with all men. Swift gives us his happy fantasies about death in the story of the Houyhnyms. The people of this country died calmly, in friendship with one another, and without fear or distress. Among them death was expressed by a word, which Gulliver tells us "is strongly expressive in their language . . . it signifies, to retire to his first mother". This reunion with the mother points to a hope of being at peace with the internal and external objects, which are in no danger, and therefore not dangerous. The immortality of the Struldbrugs, which is rendered harmless by their deprivation, taken together with the provisions in Swift's will, point to an unconscious fantasy of saving both himself and his internalized and external objects. Swift gives an account of his will in the poem on his own death written when he was 64:

'He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad;
And showed by one satiric touch,
No nation wanted it so much.
That kingdom he hath left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better'.
And since you dread no further lashes
Methinks you may forgive his ashes.

In the *Voyage to the land of the Houyhnyms*, Swift writes the main part of the book as an *apologia* for his life and his

misanthropy. The word Houyhnynm, we are told, means a horse "and in its etymology the perfection of nature". Horses were the lords of this country. Gulliver came to it through the mutiny of the crew of his vessel. Having mutinied the crew marooned him. Interestingly enough they marooned him in his best clothes. They landed him he knew not where. He walked inland and presently he saw creatures in a field whose shape was very singular and deformed. "Upon the whole", he writes, ". . . I never beheld . . . so disagreeable an animal, nor one against which I naturally conceived so strong an antipathy." These creatures, the Yahoos, presently became aware of him and attacked him. He fought desperately against them and was presently rescued by a horse. The story goes on to tell of the virtues of the horses, as opposed to the loathsomeness of the Yahoos, who were everything that is objectionable. To the horses, however, Gulliver was a Yahoo, because he was made like one. One apparent difference was his clothing, for the Yahoos went naked. When at last he was forced to undress, before the horse who was his master, the latter remarked that after all he was a perfect Yahoo, and that "It was not unwise in us to cover our bodies, in order to conceal our deformities". Gulliver answered the reproach of being called a Yahoo by boasting of England. He found that the Houyhnyyms listened to him with horror. All they had heard about the race of Yahoos to which Gulliver belonged increased their loathing of the species. Gulliver, on the contrary, contracted an immense admiration and love of the Houyhnyyms, which ran hand in hand with the unhappy conviction that he was nothing but a Yahoo after all. To counteract this hideous fact he "fell to imitating" the horses "gait and gesture, which is now grown into a habit, and my friends often tell me in a blunt way that I trot like a horse, which however I take for a great compliment; neither shall I disown that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manner of the Houyhnyyms, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the least mortification". Above all he imitated them in their dislike of Yahooism. It did Gulliver no

good. The Houyhnnynms distrusted him as a Yahoo and he was ordered to leave the country.

The whole of the voyage back to England shows Gulliver desperately trying to conform to his ego ideal. One expression of this effort is through the medium of clothes, the other is the detailed account of Gulliver's scorn and horror of his fellow men when he met them again. Of his attitude to the captain of the ship which picked him up and took him to Europe he says, "I descended to treat him like an animal that had some little portion of reason", which had been precisely the attitude of the Houyhnnynms to him. The captain had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to return to his wife and children. Nor was he the least moved by the joy with which they received him. He writes, "The sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt, and the more by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. . . . And when I began to consider that by copulating with one of the Yahoo species I became a parent of more, it struck me with the utmost shame, confusion, and horror. . . . I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of Yahoos, . . . yet my memory and imaginations were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted Houyhnnynms". During the time spent with the horses, Gulliver had not been able to bear to see his own reflection. Now he looked constantly at himself in the glass to accustom himself to human beings. It took him a year to get used to the presence of his wife and children, and directly he could stand them he began to instruct them, and wrote the account of his voyages in order to amend mankind.

Perhaps one reason why Swift chose horses to personify his superego is that the horse's skin is his clothing and therefore not subject to good and bad. Another reason may be, that in the time when he lived they represented the ideal of swiftness, which would be the first meaning known to him of his, and his father's name. The chief education of the Houyhnnym was to "strength, speed and hardiness by exercising them in running races". Jones in his book on the nightmare has discussed

in detail the phallic, urethral and anal meaning of the horse in unconscious fantasy. He points out that motion is an idea connected both with excretory functions and horses.

Motion was certainly Swift's greatest interest in the horse, for he looked upon exercise, whether walking or riding, as a most important help against his giddiness and deafness. We have already seen that these disorders were invested by Swift with fears of castration. The repeated escapes from death through drowning in Gulliver's voyages suggest that he may have been a bedwetter as a small child.¹

If we accept the above assumptions and take into consideration his intense coprophilia, we may then suppose that riding on horseback would be a symbolic mode of expressing the necessity and ability to control "the motions" both anal and urethral. The mastery of the sphincters is intimately connected with an identification with external authority, so that a horse, by condensation, could represent both the motion to be controlled and the superego enforcing the control.

Swift's hostility to external objects, at the phallic level of his development, is probably responsible for the strict sexual abstinence of the Houyhnhnms, who mated only for purposes of reproduction, and who limited their families to two foals. We find too that Gulliver mentions that the English geld stallions to make them docile. Gulliver's Houyhnhnm master is particularly revolted when he learns of this custom, but thinks later, that, the Houyhnhnms might well copy the English in this and might practice gelding on their own Yahoos to make them more tractable.

It may be, too, that the fact that the difference between a horse and a mare is less obvious than that between a man and a woman, appealed to Swift, in his fear-ridden wish for the "female man". In the Houyhnhnm country, the young of both sexes received the same education "excepting for some articles of domestic management".

¹ Compare the lines in *Strephon and Chloe*:

"The nymph oppressed before" (with a full bladder) "behind
As ships are tossed by waves and wind . . ."

If one makes a general review of *Gulliver's Travels*, one finds that it resembles a dream in that the greatest freedom from repression is at the end. First of all, in the matter of food. In the accounts of Lilliput one is reminded of Gargantuan feasts, there are endless meats and delicious wines. In the second and third voyages, too, Gulliver did quite well, even if not so well; but when he comes to the Land of the Houyh-nynms he has an insipid, mostly vegetarian diet, to which he has to get accustomed, even though the diet leaves him better than he ever was before. This seems, at first sight, like greater repression, but it is not, for the possibility of enjoying good meals means that the repression of anxiety laden anthropophagous fantasies, is well maintained. Not only does Gulliver's attitude towards food alter as the book goes on, but most significant is the change in the attitude to himself. In the journey to Lilliput, Gulliver preserves his self-esteem completely. Misfortunes come to him from the outside. Among the Brobdingnags, his troubles are greater for his tiny size brings dangers with it. The Brobdingnags, too, are disgusted with what he tells them about England, but he thinks them absurd and maintains his good conceit of himself. In the journey to Laputa he jeers happily at the reformers, and does not recognize himself in the Struldbrugs. It is in the fourth journey, that the devastating knowledge comes to Gulliver (not to Swift), that he is a Yahoo, and we gain a little more insight into the genesis of Swift's misanthropy. It is the infant Jonathan's despair at his inability to meet the demands of his internal longings and of the external repressing forces. We learn of his gallant attempt to meet these demands, and to avoid the knowledge of his own Yahooism (repressed desires). The chief mechanism utilized was projection, which resulted, as always, in an acute awareness of the Yahooism of other people. Identification, however, played its part too in his rigid determination to approximate the parental images and so he became not only a misanthrope, but a reformer also. The fact, which Swift had already revealed in *A Meditation on a Broomstick*, that reforming zeal gives some gratification to for-

bidden id wishes, finds recognition in Gulliver's perplexed words, "I must freely confess that . . . some corruptions of my Yahoo nature have revived in me . . . else I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this Kingdom".

What insight! But as Swift remarks, "Satire being levelled at all, is never resented for an offense by any, since every individual person makes bold to understand it of others, and very wisely removes his particular part of the burden upon the shoulders of the world, which are broad enough and able to bear it". Such are the uses of projection!

The sea journeys in Gulliver's voyages have been held to be echoes of Swift's great interest in reading of travels, and of his many journeys to and from England in his adult life. But I would suggest that the first journey to Whitehaven has more importance as a foundation for the book. Clinical work has abundantly proved that infants attribute a disappearance of the mother to their having drunk her up or to having in some other way destroyed and incorporated her, and such beliefs fill them with guilty terrors. Swift's writings show how lively were his cannibalistic fantasies. When, therefore, the Houyh-nynms bid Gulliver to leave their country, because he may incite their Yahoos to drink their cattle dry, Swift would seem to be giving us a euphemistic version of the reason, which he gave himself, for the disappearance of his mother when he was taken to Whitehaven. The same fantasy in reverse, is present in Gulliver's departure from Brobdingnag, when he is nearly devoured by an eagle. Clinical work has further revealed the dire effects in after life of a summation of psychical traumata, and in the journey to Whitehaven the baby Jonathan had not only to suffer the massive trauma of the disappearance of his mother, but at the same time he was subjected to an enormous quantity of fresh experiences many of them of an unpleasant and therefore terrifying nature. It is impossible at this distance of time to follow in detail the effects of this journey on the baby's mind, but it must have had a very large part in Swift's remarkable pregenital fixations, and he traces for us

a rough outline of its enduring results in the journey to the Houyhnnms.

In a letter to Pope, written on September 29, 1725, about the book, Swift writes, "Upon this great foundation of my misanthropy . . . the whole buildings of my Travels is erected". He might more accurately have written, "Upon this great foundation of my Travels, the whole building of my misanthropy is erected".

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William G. Barrett

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BOOK REVIEWS

A BASIS FOR THE THEORY OF MEDICINE. By A. D. Speransky. International Publishers, New York, N. Y. 452 pp. including 46 plates.

This volume is printed in the U.S.S.R. and comes from the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine at Leningrad. The author, formerly a student under Pavlov, is Director of the Department of Patho-Physiology at the Institute. In the bibliography of works from his own laboratory he lists over 125 original papers by more than 50 workers. These articles, which represent the foundation of the book, have been published for the most part in Russian journals. The quantity of experimentation reported is overwhelming, the technical description inadequate, the development of the author's thesis enthusiastic, the conclusions startling.

Speransky's novel method of research reverses the usual procedure: instead of studying the disease as an entity, he uses it to study the physiological responses of the organism. He finds that the nervous system plays the cardinal rôle in these processes. The conditions and forms of nervous dystrophic processes are extensively investigated by the use of "pumping", *i.e.*, withdrawing and re-introducing the cerebrospinal fluid 6-10 times, in connection with his experiments. This procedure breaks down the blood-cerebrospinal fluid barrier and acts as a mild trauma, or irritant, to the central nervous system. It also speeds up dystrophic phenomena and gives consistent results, thereby making possible the author's types of experimentation.

Speransky is led to the conclusion that the nervous system is not only drawn into infectious and traumatic disease processes but itself organizes the external manifestations. Thus the clinical picture results from a dystrophic process within the nervous system, instituted by the original trauma or infection but thenceforth proceeding as an independent function.

One of his most important discoveries arose in connection with those animals which were not much affected by the original experiment. He found that when these were subjected to a "second blow", *e.g.*, a later irritation at a region remote from that used for the first experiment, the majority developed dystrophic symptoms

quickly and in those regions where they had appeared transiently, or had been expected to appear as a result of the first experiment. He thus finds that a "conditioning" or "readiness" may be established and that therefore one cannot count upon any experimental result without knowing the entire life history of the organism, *e.g.*, who would expect to blind a dog by irritation of a sciatic nerve?

The author's data led him to the conclusion that a study of the rôle of the nervous component of pathological processes offers the possibility for "integration of all the innumerable separate pathological forms into a single system". And that it also offers a "leading link" for therapeutic intervention with "a concrete task, consisting in finding, studying and utilizing a number of means capable of creating temporary regroupings of the relations in a complex organism". He presents data regarding the clinical use by various colleagues in different hospitals, of irritation of the nervous system through "pumping" and through anesthesia of the lumbar sympathetic ganglia. Such diverse conditions as Parkinson's Disease, rheumatism, typhus exanthematicus, malaria and Persian (recurrent) typhus were frequently cured, or benefited by "pumping". Affections of the gastro-intestinal tract, nose, ear and eye and some septic processes and skin ailments responded favorably to "lumbar block". Speransky finds that clinical, as well as experimental evidence necessitates our adopting the conception that the nervous system is responsible for all phases of those pathological processes which follow the initial impact of a specific infectious agent. He believes that the micro-organisms appear at various sites only because the nervous system makes it possible for them to do so, thus reversing our present conception that pathology results from their presence.

There is no reference in the book to the influence of emotional factors but his conception of "the sick person" rather than "the sickness" has implications of obvious importance for the psychologic orientation.

The presentation is diffuse and the material so poorly organized that it is often difficult to follow the author. There are some contradictions as he develops his theory and occasionally one feels the pressure of over-enthusiasm. At the same time a vast amount of experimental work by numerous observers is reported, the soundness of some of which can hardly be doubted. The point of view is unique and stimulating, but final judgment of the work as a

whole must await verification of the critical experiments and a more painstaking evaluation of the theoretical implications.

WILLIAM G. BARRETT (BOSTON)

DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF (Sexuality in the Struggle for Culture). By Wilhelm Reich. Copenhagen: Sexpol Verlag, 1936. 247 pp.

Justifying himself from personal clinical experience as well as from other clinical and sociological data, Reich arrives at the conclusion that marriage as a rule is an unhappy tie; that, in fact, the average span of sexual attraction in a marital relationship is only four years. If this conclusion be correct, the implications in terms of human disappointment and frustration are enormous. Indeed, Reich considers the problem of sexuality as basic in the state, even conditioning its form, and holds that as the modern state is built up on the idea of matrimony and the family, the code of morality emerging from this ideology is decisive in its effect on man's psychic organization.

If the way towards satisfaction of the sexual drives is barred, they are very apt to cause mischief and to be used for purposes hostile to life. This is precisely what happens now, for out of matrimony arises the ethical demand for monogamy, and this demand brings about repression and renouncement of drives which, by means of education in the family unit, begins even in early childhood. The repression of sexual drives manifests itself in a general weakening of mental and emotional functions, especially in weakening of self security, of will power, and of judgment. The authoritative social contract (*Gesellschaftsordnung*) of matrimony becomes the foundation of a structure which is a mixture of helplessness, need for support, longing for a leader, fear of authority, fear of life, mysticism, and sexual impotency. It marks itself by rebelliousness and bondage at the same time. All this forms the basis for a mass psychology on which bureaucratic tendencies and dictatorship can develop. To maintain matrimony, various written and unwritten laws have been made against abortions, against homosexuality, against divorce (or in making divorce difficult), etc. What has particularly strengthened the prohibition against sexual intercourse before marriage has been the unwritten law of disdain for the girl who enters marriage not a virgin. Such a morality is decidedly a denial of life.

As a whole, mankind accepts without question the morality that rejects rape and murder. While accepting these prohibitions, Reich rejects the morality of asceticism for youth, and the absolute and eternal faith and authoritative sexual subjugation under the paternal and maternal powers, and similar authoritative subjugation under the marriage vows. These produce not love but hatred, and create antisocial and asocial drives which necessitate new laws for the maintenance of the state. In the ideological superstructure of society, matrimonial morality, as an exponent of private property, occupies a chief place. Pre-matrimonial and matrimonial chastity constitute for the male the feeling of security that he is the real father of his children. Were this not true there would be no secure family life. This is the foundation upon which the people and the state rest (Gruber). But due to this repression, monogamous matrimony has its converse in adultery, and virginity in prostitution.

It is plain that community morals are decayed. Reich cites and criticizes Lindsay's book, *Revolution of Modern Youth*, showing that Lindsay presents facts which on the one hand signify the destruction of morality in youth and on the other signify that youth cannot evade the ideology of monogamous matrimony and the demand for the chastity of girls. Again justifying himself by clinical and sociological data, Reich expresses the belief that without the moral refusals, taboos, repressions, and sublimations not chaos would result, but that the drives would manage and regulate themselves by "self-steering". Reich is surely right in his contention that sexual enlightenment today misses the essential point which is sexual lust. It is not so important for the adolescent to know that the sperm and ovum combine to form anew the mystery of life, as it is that he know what to do with the mysterious sexual excitement with which he desperately fights. He states that today there are no men who have worked through their own sexuality in an undisturbed, affirmative, not repressive way, since everyone has been influenced by an education that has been religious, and sexuality-denying.

In this respect Reich believes that Russia in the early days of its revolution promised much. Even among Left Socialists it was not quite understood that the early decrees on marriage, divorce, abortions, on the care of children etc., did not merely change the form of matrimony and the family but annulled it completely.

The new form that was chosen no longer justified the name of marriage, historically, psychologically, or economically. To Reich this new collective relationship would have resulted in the ideal form of a state, had its first promises been realized. The sociological assumption of a sexual relationship for the longest possible duration, he holds, would have to be based on the financial independence of the female, the care and education of the children by the state, and the abolishment of every economic interference.

But why was the revolution not able to keep its early promises? In the latter part of this book Reich makes a study of this question, concluding that the people were not yet ripe for this kind of development. Just as in Germany familial bondage was the foundation on which the imperialist, national socialist ideology was built, so familial bondage in Russia acted as a brake to the revolutionary collectivization of life. There arose a contradiction between the new sociological foundations of the family and the not-so-quickly nor so easily transformed unconscious structure of the individual, which strove emotionally to maintain the family ties. This substitution of the patriarchal family by the collectivistic form is to Reich the fundamental nucleus of the revolutionary cultural problem.

Among many other topics, Reich devotes a chapter to the unauthoritative education of the infant and another to the problem of delinquency, citing in this respect the marvelous beginning made with the Commune Bolschevo, the document from which the magnificent film, *Road to Life*, was produced ten years ago. But this promising beginning was stopped and delinquency has enormously increased in Russia. The solution, Reich believes, is only possible if we succeed in eliminating the incestuous bondage of children to the parents, with its great load of guilt feeling, and if we begin the collective education of the children before their fourth year, that is, before they form their deep attachments to the parents. (Has Reich ever seen delinquents who in consequence of lack of family life could not form attachments at all?)

In the course of the years the decrees which offered so much hope at the beginning of the revolution have been replaced. There is now a law against abortion (1934), against homosexuality (1935), and Reich learned, during the publication of the book, that the old form of matrimony would soon regain its former status. The

new ideas could not succeed because they were overtaken by the old ones.

GRETA FRANKENSTEIN (NEW YORK)

WOMAN'S MYSTERIES, ANCIENT AND MODERN. By Esther Harding, M.D. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935. 324 PP.

In this book the author has amplified and explained at greater length many ideas presented in an earlier volume, *The Way of All Women*.

The central theme of this interesting volume is the ancient worship of the Moon Goddess, and its evolution through successive civilizations and religious formulations down to those of the present day.

The first chapter opens with an attack upon the scientific orientation of the past century, for its studious neglect of subjective factors, and for its attempt to exclude them as misleading in all sorts of investigative procedures.

The next four chapters are devoted to an historical account of the development of Moon Worship, with a detailed explanation of the reasons why primitive man attributed to the Moon characteristically feminine endowments, and of how with the coming of Sun Worship the Moon God was replaced by the Moon Goddess.

Chapters six and seven are a description of the worship of Ishtar, of Isis and Osiris, and of the myths connected therewith. Chapter eight carries the story into the Græco-Roman period, and includes a comprehensive account of the significance of various elements in the prescribed rituals. Chapters nine and ten are devoted to a rather thorough-going account of the symbols associated with Moon Worship.

The remainder of the book aims to show how the ideas symbolized in these myths and religious observances are still valid today as an aid to the understanding of woman's psychology and of many of the problems that arise in relationships between the sexes. The need for replacing unconsciously motivated attitudes, based on a striving for power, by attitudes of a more philosophical and impersonal character is repeatedly stressed, the text for the lesson being drawn from the initiation rites in several of the ancient religions.

The closing chapter, entitled *Immortality and Inspiration*,

gives a résumé of the significances of these ancient beliefs, and reasserts the thesis that modern society has been endangered by a neglect of subjective values, which in the earlier civilizations were given such ample recognition.

The text is supplied with an abundance of footnotes and other references and there is a complete index. The subject is thoroughly explored and the style excellent. The ideas in the main are familiar to those acquainted with the writings of Jung and his followers, and the author pays Jung the tribute of whole-hearted allegiance.

The volume can be recommended to anyone who is interested in the origin of ancient myths and religious rituals. Furthermore, in its later chapters it contains many statements about human relationships which give evidence of wide experience and of an intuitive understanding of feminine psychology.

JOHN A. P. MILLET (NEW YORK)

THE INTELLECTUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE FRONTAL LOBES—A STUDY BASED UPON OBSERVATION OF A MAN AFTER PARTIAL BILATERAL FRONTAL LOBECTOMY. By Richard M. Brickner, B.S., M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 354 pp.

This volume is a very complete study of a man who had a large portion of both frontal lobes removed and who has survived for several years conducting a more or less well adjusted life. The psychologic and neurologic observations made on this patient are unusually complete and extremely valuable because the damage to the brain is discrete and its exact extent is definitely known.

Following this operation the patient showed definite symptoms which Dr. Brickner has grouped as follows: *I* Symptoms in the intellectual sphere, with an emotional coloring—in the nature of impairment of restraint in controlling or concealing emotion. These may be listed as boasting, reminiscing (utilized for self-aggrandizement), free expression of mild hostility, free expression of anger or puerile impulses, impairment of social sense, loss of love for the family, impairment of moral sense, and *Witzelsucht*. *II* Symptoms in the intellectual sphere without emotional coloring—in the nature of a limitation of the capacity to associate or synthesize mental engrams to a complex degree. These were evidenced in difficulty in maintaining attention, a tendency to defective capacity to segregate units of intellectual activity, difficulties

in retention. *III* Tertiary phenomena in the nature of the affection. of judgment, critique, abstractive ability, appreciation of situations, orientation, initiative, capacity to evade or bluff and the presence of stereotypy and slowing in thinking. *IV* Unclassified symptoms are discussed under the headings of lack of insight, euphoria, use of jargon, incontinence and compulsiveness. *V* Special symptoms, with consideration of aphasia, perseveration and condensation.

The book is full of tests and interviews reported in detail.

It is important to note that we are dealing fundamentally with quantitative, rather than qualitative changes in the personality function. Dr. Brickner prefers to interpret all his findings as related to a single intellectual deficit—the impairment of the process of synthesis. Although the patient's symptoms were numerous, none indicates a fundamental alteration in the nature of any mental process—although there is a residual impairment in completeness.

While many of the symptoms have an emotional coloring there is nothing to indicate an emotional disturbance in the primary sense.

The frontal lobes play no specialized rôle in intellectual function, but make for greater intellectual intricacy in a quantitative manner by increasing the possible engram associational possibilities.

The book contains a very good review of our scanty knowledge of the frontal lobe. It is unfortunate that the patient's pre-operative psychological state is not better described. Only ten pages are devoted to the patient's life prior to operation. One would like to know much more about his early development; furthermore, this particular section of the book is inadequately organized.

On the whole, the study is a very valuable one and perhaps indicates how scanty are our present methods of testing for determining minute changes or differences of behavior. One would, of course, like to know what psychological tests might have showed in this patient before he was operated upon, in order to know not only what *changes* occurred in his mental capacities but also what specific capacities were impaired. The volume is well worth reading as a fairly complete case study.

S. BERNARD WORTIS (NEW YORK)

JUVENILE PARESIS. By William C. Menninger, M.D. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1936. 200 pp.

This excellent monograph is based on a study of forty-three cases of juvenile paresis personally observed by the author, and of six hundred and ten cases recorded in the literature. In addition, there is appended an extensive bibliography of five hundred and thirty articles or monographs.

The study is complete, covering all aspects of the disease. Each chapter concludes with a helpful summary.

Dr. Menninger's study shows that forty percent. of four hundred and twenty-six cases of juvenile paresis reviewed, were mentally retarded before any other signs or symptoms developed to establish the diagnosis. Sixty percent. developed normally mentally until the onset of the disease.

Hypophrenia in individuals developing juvenile paresis is in no way different from other forms of mental deficiency. He finds that normal physical development occurred in forty-nine and seven tenths percent. of cases. Thirty-five percent., however, showed physical underdevelopment, manifested in most cases by stunting and genital hypoplasia.

Convulsions were recorded in seventeen percent. of the entire series of six hundred and fifty-three cases.

The neurologic syndromes encountered in juvenile paretic neurosyphilis are in general more frequent, more diverse and more advanced than those in adult paresis. They represent combinations of focal brain syphilis, meningovascular syphilis and involvement of the spinal cord, as well as diffuse syphilitic encephalitis. Congenital syphilitic stigmata are present in about seventy-five percent. of cases. Defective development of the teeth, including the Hutchinson type is the most frequently occurring stigma, present in about forty percent.

The endocrine disorders associated with juvenile paretic neurosyphilis are frequent and variable, and no one type is characteristic.

The commonest mental picture observed in juvenile paresis is characterized by confusion, mental regression to simple dementia, inadequate emotional response, and restless purposeless behavior.

An interesting chapter on the psychology of juvenile paresis considers the material in the light of psychoanalytic theory and findings. The author believes that in juvenile paresis one can

see a continuous regression, both of the ego and of the libido distribution. This regression takes place most commonly in a simple deteriorative process, perhaps because of the immature ego ideal. Also because of the incomplete differentiation of the ego ideal, depressions, grandiose delusions and, in fact, all acute psychotic symptoms are less frequent. On the contrary, autoerotic activities are far more frequent.

Laboratory data in this illness show the colloidal gold curve to be the typical "paretic" strong first zone curve. The cell count of the cerebrospinal fluid varies from no cells to three hundred and ten cells per cubic millimeter. About eight percent. of all forms of late congenital syphilis have a negative blood Wassermann.

The clinical course of the disease is remarkably uniform. There are physical changes in the form of growth disturbances, and varied neurologic and mental changes. The outcome of the disease is nearly always death either with preceding convulsions or respiratory infection from inanition. The average duration of the disease is four to five years.

Treatment of the disease, when compared with treatment of adult general paresis, is extremely disappointing. Dr. Menninger recommends as treatment a combination of fever therapy, tryptarsemide, bismuth, and an occasional short series of neoarsphenamine, and he emphasizes the necessity of prolonged treatment *without* interruption.

A final chapter is devoted to careful description of the gross and microscopic pathology. The characteristic microscopic findings include a generalized round cell infiltration, an extensive proliferation of neuroglia and microglia, an increase in the vascularity with proliferative changes of the vascular elements and reduction in the number of nerve cells in the cortex, and changes in the nerve fibers.

This volume is highly recommended as an exhaustive study of juvenile paresis. It will stand for many years as the authority in this field.

S. BERNARD WORTIS (NEW YORK)

SOLVING PERSONAL PROBLEMS. By Harrison Sacket Elliott and Grace Loucks Elliott. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936. 321 pp.

The Elliotts have written a manual for counselors which is not merely another make-psychology-simple book. Counseling is the

business of aiding others by advice and interpretation, no matter who does it or what the degree of penetration. It must be noted that we have no psychological theory which divides cases according to relative difficulty and to depth of penetration necessary—if the neuroses be excluded. The result is that it is difficult to evaluate a book like this. The authors believe that there is a field for advice and guidance in which psychoanalytic treatment is not required. Use is made of conceptions which can be traced directly to Freud's work. For example, the authors refer frequently to the contrast between "personality age" which may be retarded, and chronological age at which mature development is expected. Through the aid of the counselor an individual is brought to take the risks that he feels are attendant upon the assumption of social maturity. One of the great values of the book is its intelligent social orientation. The authors understand clearly, at any rate, what the adult individual ought to be like. The root concepts which are used include evasion of responsibility, the rôle of fear, self direction as an adult characteristic, dependence, and plan of life. The problems of sex and marriage are treated intelligently. The functions of the counselor are to give initial support, shift responsibility to the subject, give practical directions for self-directed living, and then to withdraw support. One may say that we have here a good practical text for the general field of personality study and guidance and that it is to the reviewer's knowledge the best choice of a simple book in this field. The authors are weak in a systematic theory of personality formation, but this weakness is quite pardonable in view of the general lack of such a theory in the literature. There is a temperate discussion of psychoanalysis and of the problem of training analysts.

JOHN DOLLARD (NEW HAVEN)

Current Psychoanalytic Literature

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The Psychoanalytic Review, Vol. XXIV, Number 2, April, 1937.

- F. ALEXANDER & L. J. SAUL: Three Criminal Types as Seen by the Psychoanalyst.
 ISRAEL NEWMAN: The Physiology of Symbolization.
 FRITZ WITTELS: The Mystery of Masochism.
 H. S. DARLINGTON: The Confession of Sins.
 RALPH R. GREENSCHPOON: A Famous Case of Compulsion Neurosis.
 JOSEPH C. YASKIN: The Psychobiology of Anxiety.

Mental Hygiene, Vol. XXI, Number 2, April, 1937.

- FRANZ ALEXANDER: Psychoanalytic Aspect of Mental Hygiene and the Environment.
 SMITH ELY JELLIFFE: William Alanson White.

The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLII, Number 6, May, 1937.

- ALFRED ADLER: Psychiatric Aspects Regarding Individual and Social Disorganization.
 FRANZ ALEXANDER: Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganization.
 TRIGANT BURROW: The Law of the Organism. A Neuro-social Approach to the Problems of Human Behavior.
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 PAUL SCHILDER: The Relation between Social and Personal Disorganization.
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 WILLIAM F. OGBURN & ABE J. JAFFE: Recovery and Social Conditions.
 MARK A. MAY: A Research Note on Co-operative and Competitive Behavior.

Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, Vol. XXXVII, Number 3, March, 1937.

- JULES H. MASSERMAN: Effects of Sodium Amytal and Other Drugs on the Reactivity of the Hypothalamus of the Cat.

Vol. XXXVII, Number 4, April, 1937.

- FREDERIC WERTHAM: The Catathymic Crisis: A Clinical Entity.
 BERTRAM D. LEWIN: A Type of Neurotic Hypomanic Reaction.
 LAWRENCE S. KUBIE: Modification in a Schizophrenic Reaction with Psychoanalytic Treatment.
 C. MACFIE CAMPBELL: Adolf Meyer.
 Bibliography of Adolf Meyer.

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NOTES

COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF SUICIDE, INC. Incorporated December 31, 1935, the Committee for the Study of Suicide, Inc., has made a substantial beginning during the period of 1936 on its proposed five year study of suicide.—An award was granted in 1936 to the Psychopathic Hospital of the University of Colorado at Denver for a systematic study of suicide under the direction of Dr. Franklin G. Ebaugh and the Committee.—The Institute for Psychoanalysis at Chicago was granted an award by the Committee and work was begun there October 1, 1936 on psychoanalytic studies of five suicidal patients under the general guidance of Drs. Alexander and French.—Arrangements were made through Dr. Goldwater, Commissioner of the New York City Department of Hospitals, for a project to study suicidal patients in the Psychopathic Division of Bellevue Hospital. Organization of the project has been proceeding actively since October 1, 1936: the Committee has appointed one physician, and plans are made to include another physician and two social workers. The latter will help to establish a correct picture of the social background of individuals afflicted with suicidal trends.—McLean Hospital in Waverley, Mass., has also concluded an arrangement with the Committee for the Study of Suicide, Inc., for psychoanalytic studies of suicidal patients to be carried on there by Dr. M. Ralph Kaufman of its staff, beginning in September 1937.—For the investigation of suicide among primitive races the Committee has subsidized the organization of material on suicide among the 'Mohave' Indians in Arizona by Dr. George Devereux, anthropologist. He is also preparing a report on suicidal customs among the 'Moi' race in Indo-China.—Plans are being made for an anthropological expedition which will work in Melanesia or Micronesia in the hope of shedding further light on suicidal customs among primitive peoples.—A history of suicide in the human race as a social and medical phenomenon is also projected by one of the members of the Committee.—The officers of the corporation, elected in December 1936 are as follows: President: Dr. Gerald R. Jameison. Vice-President and Assistant Treasurer: Dr. Henry A. Riley. Treasurer: Mr. Marshall Field. Secretary and Director of Research: Dr. Gregory Zilboorg. Assistant Secretary: Dr. Raymond Gosselin. Counsel: Mr. Louis Weiss.

THE HENRY PHIPPS PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL on April 16th and 17th, 1937, was host to a large number of psychiatrists from all over this country and to a few from Europe. They had assembled to celebrate the Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the founding of the Clinic, and the seventieth birthday of its director, Dr. Adolf Meyer. On the afternoon of April 17th: papers were read by former members of the Phipps staff. That evening, a banquet was held at the Belvedere Hotel. The following morning there were papers by Dr. Meyer and the present staff of the Clinic; and that noon a final luncheon was served to all the guests in the Clinic itself.—At the dinner, two presentations were made to Dr. Meyer: a huge volume containing pictures and bibliographical and biographical notes on all of his present and former students;

and the April issue of the Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, which was brought out as a special number in celebration of his birthday anniversary, and which consisted exclusively of contributions by past and present pupils.—Among these contributions were two dealing with psychoanalytic studies: "A Type of Neurotic Hypomanic Reaction", by Bertram D. Lewin; and "Modifications In a Schizophrenic Reaction With Psychoanalytic Treatment", by Lawrence S. Kubie.—At its 194th meeting on March 30th, 1937, The New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute passed the following resolution: "Whereas, Dr. Adolf Meyer has given devoted service to the fostering of a healthy attitude to psychiatry in this country, and has by the persuasive significance of his psychobiological point of view taught the medical profession to accept psychological facts as significant realities of human health and disease, and furthermore has recognized the place in psychobiology of the psychoanalytic technique of investigation and therapy, Therefore, as a token of esteem and of gratitude, the New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute felicitate Dr. Meyer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, and have the honor to elect him to Honorary Membership."—This resolution was presented to Dr. Meyer at the banquet, and read in part by Dr. Macfie Campbell, the toastmaster.—In a letter of acknowledgment, Dr. Meyer replied as follows: "I want to express my appreciation of the message imparted through Dr. Macfie Campbell at the anniversary dinner. I greatly appreciate the spirit of the relation of the psychobiological point of view and the recognition of a place in psychobiology of the psychoanalytic technique of investigation and therapy and I want to thank the New York Psychoanalytic Society for the expression of the cordial relationship with so many of the members of the Institute. With many thanks for the Honorary Membership conveyed, I remain, Most sincerely yours, Adolf Meyer."

THE BOSTON PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE AND SOCIETY announce the following program of the Institute for the coming year: On alternating Mondays, Technical Seminars conducted by Dr. Helene Deutsch, and Case Seminars by Dr. Hanns Sachs; The Principles of Technique, 14 lectures, by Dr. Sachs; Female Sexuality, 8 lectures, by Dr. Helene Deutsch; Psychosomatic Problems by Dr. Felix Deutsch; Theoretical and Applied Seminars on Dream Interpretation by Dr. M. Ralph Kaufman; Courses on Psychoanalytic Psychiatry by Dr. M. Ralph Kaufman; Freud's Writings by Dr. Isador H. Coriat.—At the Annual Meeting the following officers were elected: M. Ralph Kaufman, M.D., President; Leolia Dalrymple, M.D., Vice-President; John Milne Murray, M.D., Secretary-Treasurer.—Dr. Felix Deutsch was elected to honorary membership, and Dr. Frank d'Elseaux was elected to membership in the Society.

THE BOSTON PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE has issued the Annual Report of the Educational Committee 1936-1937 through its Chairman, M. Ralph Kaufman, M.D. The following is quoted from its report: "The increased number of candidates are bringing to the Institute and Society a number of problems. In line with its policy, the Educational Committee feels the need for the utmost rigidity of standards, both as to preliminary qualifications and to the personality

and character of all candidates. Psychoanalysis is a growing science, and, we all know, a very difficult one. There is an absolute need for a fundamental training and mastering of its technique, clinical application, and its theoretical superstructure, before one is equipped as a psychoanalyst. There is a great danger, particularly in American psychoanalysis, of a dilution and rejection of some of the most fundamental aspects of analysis under various guises, such as progress, eclecticism, 'scientific' work, and other illusions. It is the function of any training group to see to it that those under its guidance and jurisdiction shall be properly equipped to represent psychoanalysis in its most fundamental and scientific form. John Dollard in his introduction to his recent book 'Criteria for the Life History', makes the following statement in another context, which I believe is pertinent to the problem of psychoanalytic training: 'Scientific thought is not "fair" to erroneous notions; it is rather organized realism. A man cannot indulge his passion for keeping the peace, if he has one, or for staying in good with the right people, and be a scientist. Science is after the "best way to say it", completest, briefest, directest.' The matter of training has occupied the attention of all training groups in America and in Europe for some years past, and although we do not believe that we have arrived at an ultimate solution, we are on our way. There is a need for a fundamental, well-rounded curriculum, to the study of which only qualified students should be admitted."

THE WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY on April 17, 1937, elected the following officers: Dr. Lewis B. Hill, President; Dr. Joseph O. Chassell, Vice-President; Dr. Amanda L. Stoughton, Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Lewis B. Hill was made a representative to the Council on Professional Education.