Chapter 4
The Freudians

As long as Freud was in Vienna he remained surrounded by a devoted circle that reached out into a wider network of close disciples. There was Alexander in Berlin, Ferenczi in Budapest, and Jones in England, who was later joined by Melanie Klein. Then there was Freud, himself, and his daughter, Anna Freud with him in Vienna. Meanwhile, Marie Bonaparte, among others, championed psychoanalysis in France, before Lacan. The empire was far flung, but the greatest concentration of analysts eventually was found in the United States, where major centers sprang up, mainly around New York, Boston, Washington DC, Chicago, and eventually Los Angeles. An all-too-brief survey of only a selection of these Freudians will suffice to show that several even made major modifications of Freud's theories, but almost all to a great extent stayed within the structure of personality defined by Freud.

The origin of this orthodoxy can be traced back to a series of events beginning in 1902, when Freud first gathered what he believed were his earliest disciples around him as a sounding board for his ideas. "A number of physicians gathered around me with the declared intention of learning, practicing, and disseminating psychoanalysis."[1] They met in Freud's waiting room.

Constituting the original group, Freud sent postcards to Wilhelm Stekel, a physician and analysand, Max Kahane, who had also translated a volume of Charcot's work into German, Alfred Adler, a practicing physician interested in social causes, and Rudolf Reitler, whom Freud analyzed and then crowned "the world's second analyst" in 1902. The group grew to 19 by 1906, when they retained a paid secretary—Otto Rank. It formally became the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1908.

By 1912, Stekel and Adler "had defected," and Jung was in his last days as "heir apparent," though neither Adler nor Jung ever claimed they were a "student" of Freud. This was always the Freudians' view, however. To prevent further deviancies, Jones proposed a Secret Committee while visiting Vienna in the fall of 1912. Ernest Jones, Otto Rank, Sandor Ferenczi, Hans Sachs, Karl Abraham, and Max Eitingon became members. Freud commemorated the event by distributing intaglios that were turned into rings they all wore, pledging not to deviate from his teachings. The group took a great weight off of Freud's shoulders, he said to them, knowing now that the future of psychoanalysis had been vouchsafed to such a loyal group. They proved to have their most important influence just after World War I. Meanwhile, Americans

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flocking to Vienna to seek an analysis with Freud, especially those who constituted the foundation of the New York Institute, carried this sense of orthodoxy with them back to America.

The influence of the group waned into the 1920s, dissolving in 1924. After a brief interlude when an attempt was made to reconstitute it under Anna Freud and the women of psychoanalysis, its function was replaced by the network of independent free-standing psychoanalytic institutes devoted to training. So it was the early years that were clearly the most vibrant.

Ferenczi in Budapest

Sándor Ferenczi became one of Freud's most devoted disciples, and as such developed a circle in Budapest rivaling Berlin and Vienna. Sándor Radó, Margaret Mahler, Michael Balint, Alice Balint, and Franz Alexander, all passed through his scene before moving elsewhere.

Ferenczi was born in Hungary, July 7, 1873, and raised in an open-minded middle class Jewish family as 1 of 10 children. His father was a book dealer, whose shop attracted a wide variety of intellectuals, including poets, writers, and artists. Ferenczi himself graduated from the University of Vienna Medical School in 1894, where he fell under the influence of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and his theories relating to sexual psychopathology. Early on, during his postdoctoral years Ferenczi worked in charity hospitals and also developed an interest in non-ordinary states of consciousness. In this vein, he became an expert in hypnosis, somnambulism, automatic writing, and the investigation of mediums and spiritualists. He was already a well-published author by the time he met Freud in 1908.[2] Thereafter, he committed himself to Freud's teachings and remained loyal almost to the end, when they had a falling out over theoretical issues.[3] Ferenczi became focused on the transference/countertransference relationship and began to emphasize the intersubjective nature of the therapeutic relationship. He also put great emphasis on the mother–child bond in contrast to Freud's all consuming focus on the father and he deemphasized the patient's fantasy of the traumatic experience in favor of a focus on actual trauma. At the same time, Ferenczi was concerned that the therapist was also in need of assistance overcoming his or her own neuroses and so recommended the didactic teaching analysis, following Jung, in which the therapist himself became the patient to prepare for treatment of his own patients.[4] He followed Rank's idea that birth trauma determined all that subsequently occurred to the person and underlay all neuroses. But more than merely the urge to return to the safety of the womb, Ferenczi believed that regression was the organism's way of returning to the aqueous environment out of which human beings originally evolved.[5]

Rank and His Circle

Billed as Freud's longest and most devoted disciple and then his harshest critic, Otto Rank was born in Vienna and earned the PhD from the University of Vienna

in 1912 when he was 28. Rather than medicine, he trained in philosophy and the humanities and through these subjects widened the scope of psychoanalysis considerably. He earned a living as secretary of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society; was managing editor of the two most important analytic journals, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* and *Imago*; and was also director of Freud's publishing house. In addition, he was acting secretary in the International Psychoanalytical Association.

Rank's disciples believed that his theories promoted an active and egalitarian psychotherapy focused on the here and now, the actual relationship between the patient and the therapist, and the power of consciousness to harness the resources of the will. Past history, the nature of the transference, wish fulfillment, and a focus on the unconscious were Freud's concerns, not Rank's. Nevertheless, his reading of Sigmund Freud′s *The Interpretation of Dreams* inspired him to write *Der Künstler* (1907; "The Artist"),[6] an attempt to explain art by using psychoanalytic principles, which he extended to the idea that the neurotic was essentially a failed artist. He followed with *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (1909),[7] which dealt with myths using the hero motif from different cultures, but without reference to a collective unconscious. *The Incest Motif in Poetry and Saga* followed in 1912, which was his own analysis of the Oedipus complex in poetry and myth.[8] He contributed two chapters to later editions of *The Interpretation of Dreams* on myths and legend, his major work was on birth trauma. But *The Trauma of Birth* (1924),[9] which defined the act of being born as the prototype for all traumatic experiences during life that follow, precipitated the break with Freud after 18 years of discipleship. Rank's major deviation from Freud was his focus on separation anxiety, a concept which Freud could not abide. Rank traveled to the United States and then went to Paris in 1926. He moved to the United States permanently in 1935, where he died at age 55 in 1939.

During the 1930s Rank developed a concept of the will as the guiding force in personality development. The will could guide the instincts in ways not acceptable to Freud's theory. He also developed his own ideas about life and death. The life instinct leads us to become competent individuals who seek to live in freedom, and the death instinct draws us toward identification with family, community, and social relationships in general as a natural protection from separation anxiety, and the final major event, our own annihilation.[10]

Ernest Becker, author of *The Denial of Death*, was influenced by Rank.[11] Paul Goodman, co-founder of Gestalt Therapy with Fritz and Laura Perls, borrowed Rank's ideas on the importance of the immediate moment for the Gestalt emphasis on the here and now. Anaïs Nin was analyzed by Rank and later wrote about their affair. Carl Rogers was profoundly affected by Rank's ideas concerning the intersubjective bond in the therapist–patient relationship. He invited Rank to lecture and followed further developments of Rankian thought through the work of Jessie Taft and other Rankians. Rollo May and Irvin Yalom were both influenced by the profoundly existential nature of Rank's ideas. The transpersonal psychiatrist Stanislav Grof adapted Rank's ideas about birth trauma to his theory of rebirthing and the awakening of systems of condensed experience.

Anna Freud, the Devoted Daughter

Foremost, of course, there was Anna Freud, analyzed by her own father. By default, she became heir apparent to the Freudian ethos, in the absence of any of Freud's sons taking up the banner of their father. She was born December 3, 1895, Freud's youngest child,[12] she attended the Cottage Lyceum in Vienna in 1912. Remembered as Freud's favorite, she received, however, no education higher than the lyceum. Freud began an analysis with her in 1918, which lasted for 4 years. In 1923, at the age of 28, she began a private practice with children and also began lecturing on child psychoanalysis and involved herself as the secretary of the International Psychoanalytical Association from 1925 to 1934. She continued her practice and teaching while continuing to live under her father's roof in Vienna. Among her analysands was Erik Erikson. In 1935 she became director of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Training Institute. While it was not published in London until 1945, Anna Freud's *The Psychoanalytical Treatment of Children* contained an extensive lecture series on the subject that she had delivered before the Vienna Institute of Psychoanalysis in 1926.[13] She followed in 1937 with *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*,[14] a central text in the new era of psychoanalytic ego psychology. Her most important contribution was the idea of ego development in the child in both normal and abnormal conditions. Psychoanalytic theories of development across the life span and the application of psychoanalysis to normal development then flourished, as they seemed through this work to have had the sanction of the Master himself. Ostensibly in this way, she became Freud's long sought heir apparent.

Anna Freud fled Vienna with her father in 1938 and settled in London, opening a practice and becoming heavily involved with the local psychoanalytic community. However, she soon clashed with Melanie Klein over the methods and direction of child analysis, but the real underlying tension was over who would actually represent the psychoanalytic legacy. This led to the creation of two entirely different schools of thought, Anna's theories of child development and Melanie's new theory of object relations, based on the mother–infant bond; while further elaborations, neither of them deviated from the classical psychoanalytic framework previously established by Freud.[15]

Jones in Britain

Alfred Ernest Jones (1879–1958) was born in Wales, and in 1901 took a medical degree from the University of London.[16] In 1905, he came to hear of Freud's work through the surgeon Wilfred Trotter, later author of *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916),[17] but, according to Andrew Paskauskas, Jones was not really converted to psychoanalysis until after the Clark Conference in 1909.[18] With James Jackson Putnam, Jones had participated in founding the American Psychoanalytical Association in 1912, and in 1913 founded the London Psycho-Analytic Society. He also began analysis with Sandor Ferenczi in 1913. In 1919 he founded

the British Psycho-Analytical Society and served as president of the International Psychoanalytic Association from 1920 to 1924 and again from 1932 to 1949. Also in 1920 he founded the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* and served as editor until 1939. In 1921 he launched the International Psychoanalytic Library, which published over 50 titles on psychoanalysis during his tenure as editor. He also obtained from Freud the exclusive rights to the English translation of Freud's work, and thereafter supervised James Strachey's translation, which became the *Standard Edition of the Collected Works of Sigmund Freud*. While still in print today, it has been said of this translation that Strachey substituted English folk tales for the Jewish ones Freud had originally recounted in German, and in this way anglicized psychoanalysis for English-speaking readers. At the end of his career, Jones undertook a biography of Freud in three volumes, which appeared between 1953 and 1957 to both acclaim and controversy.[19] Commenting on this work, Henry A. Murray later maintained that it was accurate in most cases where Jones was talking about others. In Jones's own case, however, he indulged in much over-elaboration, factual inaccuracy, and misplaced credit given to himself.[20]

Herbert Silberer

There were many minor disciples around Freud, in the sense of not well known outside psychoanalytic circles. Possibly the most short-lived was Herbert Silberer, a well-to-do, educated man from Vienna, who was a member of Freud's circle after the Clark University conference in 1909. He was interested in what his translator, Smith Ely Jelliffe, called a "paleo-psychology." This referred to the appearance of similar dynamics in dreams, fairy tales, myths, and legends of different cultures, to which Silberer gave a psychoanalytic interpretation. His approach differed somewhat from the more clinical analogies Freud made with cases of psychopathology, notwithstanding Freud's attraction to the idea that psychoanalysis digs deeper and deeper into strata of the unconscious, much as the archeologist would uncover layer after layer of a city from some ancient civilization in the past. Silberer's early research focused on problems of symbol formation, where he developed a technique for tapping into the hypnogogic state of mental imagery by positioning himself to hover for long periods at the interface between the waking consciousness and the sleep state.[21]

Also enamored with Jung before the split between Freud and Jung in 1913, Silberer took up the problems of mysticism and its symbolism and gravitated toward an analysis of the symbols of the European alchemical tradition long before Jung had this subject as his focus. Silberer's work, *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism* (1917), is a case in point.[22] Opening with a long-hermetic parable, Silberer proceeded to equate Freud's method of dream interpretation to the non-pathological symbolism of alchemy and followed with an explanation of Freud's method of dream analysis, and then his own psychoanalytic interpretation of the material. How the alchemists would interpret it led to a discussion of the hermetic scholars and the Rosicrucians and Freemasons, and the problem of multiple interpretations.

In a bold departure from Freud's epistemology, Silberer devoted the second half of the book to a non-pathological, psychoanalytic interpretation of introversion as the proper orientation to understand the universal, interior spiritual quest for personal regeneration. Both Jung and Silberer mentioned the influence of each other's ideas on their own. When the work was first published in German, however, Freud took a dim view of it, and eventually Silberer was edged out of the psychoanalytic circle around the Master. The myth is that he fell into despair over Freud's rejection and hanged himself in 1923, but the story is disputed by recent evidence.[23]

Ludwig Binswanger

Ludwig Binswanger (1881–1966), at first a student of Jung's and then for a time ardent follower of Freud, was a grandson of Ludwig Binswanger, Sr., an enlightened Swiss physician who had founded the Bellevue Sanitarium at Kreuzlingen in 1857. Binswanger's father, Robert, was also a physician as well and Director at Bellevue until 1910, while Binswanger's uncle Otto was a professor of psychiatry at the University of Jena and director of the psychiatric clinic there. The young Binswanger first met Freud in 1896 at a conference on psychiatry and neurology. In addition, Binswanger Sr. had discussed Freud's work in a 1904 publication, *Die Hysteria*, so Freud was known to the Binswanger physicians from an early era.[24]

Later, in 1906, the young Ludwig Binswanger joined the staff at the Burghölzli under both Jung and Bleuler, where he completed his medical dissertation on the subject of association. Binswanger recalled that he joined the Burghölzli as a trainee physician when Eugen Bleuler was doing his preliminary work on *Dementia Praecox, or the Group of Schizophrenias* (1912)] which revolutionized the theory of *dementia praecox.* But it was C. G. Jung, then chief physician of the hospital, with whom he planned to write his doctoral thesis. Jung was already well known for his work on the Diagnostic Association Test and had completed his epoch-making work on the *Psychology of Dementia Praecox*.[25] Jung suggested the subject of Binswanger's thesis "The Psycho-Galvanic Reflex Phenomenon in the Association Test." This put Binswanger into close contact with Jung, who also agreed to be one of Binswanger's subjects.

When it was complete, Jung sent Freud a copy of the dissertation, lauding Binswanger's work. The document was all the more interesting because, though presented anonymously, much was revealed about Jung's own unconscious complexes, including his hopes and ambitions as well as his concerns in the period just before meeting with Freud for the first time. He had hopes for a son in his new marriage, his father had recently died, he fretted over money, and always there was this incessant complex over Goethe. His struggles for power and intimations of his exchange with his patient Sabina Spielrein were also evident.

In 1907 Binswanger accompanied Jung on his first meeting with Freud and noted with pleasure that Freud recognized Jung right away as his "son and heir." There can be little doubt that the luster of the Swiss medical tradition hung on both Jung and Binswanger in Freud's presence at that meeting, as Freud contemplated the future of

psychoanalysis. If the Swiss Protestants were with him then psychoanalysis could not possibly be labeled strictly a Jewish science. In fact, as Jung's relation with Freud began to deteriorate in the years after the Clark conference, Freud was determined to keep up his Swiss connections, as evidenced by the so-called "Kreuzlingen gesture," where Freud came to visit Binswanger at one point and by-passed Jung near-by. Jung and Freud eventually parted ways in 1913, but the correspondence between Binswanger and Freud remained steady. Binswanger went overboard in his initial praise of psychoanalysis, though 10 years later declared that really only a few subjects were helped by it at the Bellevue Asylum, where Binswanger himself had become medical director in 1911 and remained for the next 46 years.

The relationship between Binswanger and Freud remained cordial up to the time of Freud's death in 1939, despite their theoretical divergence in the 1920s, when Binswanger became a figure in existential and phenomenological psychiatry, influenced heavily by Husserl, Heidegger, and Buber. His work is still largely unavailable in English, however, and the first inkling of the direction his ideas had taken did not come until 1958, when he analyzed the case of Ellen West in May, Angell, and Ellenberger's *Existence: A New Dimension in Existential Psychiatry*.[26]

James Jackson Putnam

James Jackson Putnam (1846–1917), distinguished Harvard professor of Neurology, co-founder of the American Neurological Association, scion of a long line of Boston Brahmins related to the Jacksons, the Cabots, and the Lowells, was Freud's big catch at the Clark University Conference in 1909. Putnam took the MD at Harvard Medical School along with his other close friends and medical school classmates, William James, Henry Pickering Bowditch, and Edward Emerson. He toured the German laboratories of Ludwig and Meynert, and on his return founded the laboratory of neuropathology at Harvard Medical School and immediately became identified with the Department of Diseases of the Nervous System at the Massachusetts General Hospital. He was the Hospital's first medical electrician in 1873, at which time he also founded the first Out-Patient Clinic for neurological patients. He specialized in aphasia, localization of brain function, and traumatic injuries to the nerves before taking up the study of the pathology of the emotions due to the scientific studies of William James, and he came to specialize in functional disorders of the nervous system with no known organic cause. He became an early follower of Charcot and advocate of psychotherapeutics before being introduced to the work of Breuer and Freud through William James. He had access to German translations of Freud's early shorter works on dreams and sexual psychopathology, which he applied in primitive clinical trials at the MGH between 1903 and 1905, culminating in his article "Recent Experiences in the Study and Treatment of Hysteria at the Massachusetts General Hospital" (1907),[27] published in the inaugural issue of Morton Prince's *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*. From 1906 to 1909, he became a primary mover in the Emmanuel Movement in Boston, the effort to combine the Christian teachings of character formation with the new methods in scientific psychotherapy.

Putnam did not actually read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* until the eve of the Clark Conference in 1909 (the English translation did not appear until 1913), where he suffered through the complete German edition. He was sufficiently impressed with Freud at the Conference that he converted to psychoanalysis, just as he was retiring from neurology at Harvard Medical School. From then on he became an avid supporter of Freud's methods on the international scene; he helped launch the American Psychoanalytical Association in 1912, and contributed numerous scientific papers at the various psychoanalytic congresses.[28]

Putnam's main difference from Freud was that he advocated a philosophy for psychoanalysis.[29] To cure his psychotherapeutic patients he believed one had to harness their will to live by appealing to their individual ideals and their highest aspirations. He found that his patients could not sublimate their primitive impulses just on the basis of an explanation of a Freudian concept. But he found they would engage in sublimating their instinctual impulses in service of actualizing their ideals. When he told this to Freud, the response was that it was all too Protestant for Freud, who referred to himself as "a godforsaken incredulous Jew." "But we need you for the movement," he told Putnam, "so by all means, keep writing."[30] There were other ardent Freudians in America at the time—Isador Coriat, William Healey, and Augusta Bronner in Boston, A. A. Brill in New York, Smith Ely Jelliffe and William Alonson White in Washington DC, but none with the stature of Putnam in American medicine in those early years.[31]

Abraham Arden Brill

A. A. Brill (1874–1948) became Freud's earliest American translator. As Paul Roazan has pointed out, he was Hungarian, so that neither English nor German was his native language and when rendering Freud's German into English often substituted his own examples when he could not understand Freud's or thought them too complex for English readers.[32] After he founded the New York Psychoanalytic Association in 1911, he became the recognized leader of psychoanalysis in America when his translation of Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* appeared for the first time in English in 1913. Freud would have preferred Horace W. Frink, whom both he and Brill had analyzed, but his confidence proved overwhelming for the man. In addition, Frink had proposed marriage to one of his patients when both were married to someone else. When the other spouses unexpectedly died separately under different circumstances, but around the same time, the patient and therapist developed morbid guilt which, though they were then free to marry, prevented the event from occurring. Frink, suffering from acute depersonalization, later died in a mental institution in a state of manic excitement.

As for Brill, he had immigrated to America at 15, supporting himself by sweeping out bars, giving mandolin lessons, and teaching. He obtained the BA from New York University in 1901 and the MD from Columbia in 1903. He then went to Zurich to work under Bleuler and Jung and from there made his way to Vienna, where he met Freud and attended meetings of the Wednesday Society of analysts. He then

returned to the United States and founded the New York Psychoanalytic Society where he remained for the rest of his life. He translated Freud's works and produced volumes on psychoanalysis himself. By the 1930s, however, he was viewed by the younger analysts as something of a has-been and was summarily pushed aside as the new training institutes were being formed in New York and elsewhere.

Karl Abraham

Freud called him the first German psychoanalyst.[33] He was Freud's close friend and there at the beginning of the Wednesday evening group when it first formed in 1902. Abraham was born into a well-to-do Jewish family, in Bremen, Germany in 1887. He obtained his medical training and afterward spent more than a half dozen years working in medical asylums, first in the State Hospital at Dalldorf and later at the Bürgholzli under Bleuler and Jung in Switzerland. His wife, also a physician, became a distinguished psychoanalyst in her own right. He moved with his family to Berlin, where he set up a private practice and in 1910 founded the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. With the exception of his stint as a war psychiatrist, he presided over this group for 15 years. Eventually he analyzed Karen Horney, Sandor Rado, Ernest Himmel, and Felix Boehm. He was also a member of the Committee of the Seven Rings, which included Ferenczi, Jones, Sachs, Rank, and later Eidingon, formed to oust Jung and protect Freud's teachings from corruption.

Max Eitingon

Dubbed the first to come from a foreign country to study psychoanalysis, Max Eitingon, sent to Freud by Blüeler to find out what psychoanalysis had to contribute to psychiatry, came from Switzerland to attend two meetings of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in January, 1907.[34] He began the first of many long walks with Freud, commencing what Jones was later to call "the first training analysis."[35] Born in 1881 in Mogilev, Russia, and raised in wealthy circumstances by his Jewish parents, he was educated in Leipzig, and later pursued medicine and philosophy at Marburg. When he graduated from medical school in 1909, he moved to Berlin to join his friend Karl Abraham at the Psychoanalytic Institute. He remained there until the Nazis came to power, after which he immigrated to Palestine. He was the only psychoanalyst in the world who had independent means and proved to be a major force in financially underwriting the movement. As well, he was able to use his time initiating new programs, teaching psychoanalysis, and acting as an administrator as needed. He entered World War I as a colonel in the Austrian Medical Corps and made a name for himself studying war neuroses. He was to rise to prominence in the psychoanalytic movement for founding the polyclinic in Berlin, where budding psychoanalysts could be trained under proper supervision and have an empirical base in patient care. The idea that no one could do psychoanalysis that had not himself been analyzed was formalized in 1925, when Eitingon proposed the International

Training Commission. Here the Berlin model was adopted as a template for training analysts in the formation of other psychoanalytic institutes and served to focus and standardize the training and supervision of candidates throughout the movement. Eitingon presided over the Training Commission for almost a quarter of a century. As well, Eitingon was instrumental on more than one occasion in rescuing the Verlag, Freud's publishing house. For these efforts, Freud heaped upon him great praise, considering him like a son, who had helped both the movement and the Freud's family. Over the years, however, Eitingon's health began to deteriorate from a heart condition. He also became embroiled in the controversy over lay analysis. Freud came out in support of it, while Eitingon leaned toward requiring medical credentials. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Eitingon determined to take his family and move to Palestine, with the vision that he could introduce psychoanalysis there. The University repelled him, but he was able to establish a private psychoanalytic institute, over which he presided for the remaining years of his life. He died January 30, 1943.

Oskar Pfister

Oskar Pfister (1873–1956) was a Swiss pastor from Zurich who became an analyst to his parishioners, writing about Christianity and psychoanalysis, children and the family, glossolalia, and automatic writing, and by so doing fueled the debates over lay analysis.[36] Only physicians were allowed to apply for training in the United States, while elsewhere numerous other individuals who were non-MDs gained recognition, Erik Erikson among them. European attitudes were much different than the Americans, which allowed such figures as Marie Bonaparte and Melanie Klein to rise to prominence within psychoanalytic circles. Freud composed an essay on the subject "The question of lay analysis,"[37] in which he favored the idea of training for non-MDs. Pfister, along with the socialite Lou Andreas Salomé, were friends with Freud in this category and he was glad to have them in his circle.

Pfister, with already a long-standing interest in psychology, apparently came to Freud through Jung around 1908. He was himself analyzed and turned afterward to his parishioners as a pastor-analyst, promulgating what Peter Gay called an undogmatic Protestant psychoanalysis. He charmed the entire Freud family on his visits to Vienna, and even went so far as to defend psychoanalysis when the Swiss pastors under whom he worked nearly succeeded in ousting him. He tended to his flock and had long discussions with Freud about religion, calling Jesus the first psychoanalyst and Freud more like a Christian than a Jew.[38]

Marie Bonaparte

In France, there was Marie Bonaparte (1881–1962) great-grand-niece of Napoleon I of France, also officially known as Princess Marie of Greece and Denmark. She

first sought a consultation with Freud about her sexual frigidity, after which she went on the have affairs with several leading men other than her husband. She became a practicing analyst and introduced psychoanalysis into France when she founded the *Société Psychoanalytique de Paris* in 1926. That Freud's work was so long delayed can be attributed to the extenuating influence of the French Experimental Psychology of the Subconscious and the tradition of Charcot and Janet into the 1920s. She was an intimate in Freud's circle and socialized with Ernest Jones, Anna Freud, and other prominent psychoanalysts throughout England and Europe. She also contributed to the ransom money paid to the Nazis to free Freud from Vienna in 1938 and was responsible for preserving the Freud–Fliess letters for later publication.[39]

Psychoanalysis in France from then on became a particularly French institution with its own unique turn of influence. Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir both read Freud and absorbed psychoanalysis into their work. Sartre adapted it to his existential interpretation of experience by claiming that, while Freud was a genius in his own right, his emphasis on a reductive psychic determinism was incorrect. Sartre conceived instead a theory of psychoanalysis based on human freedom and the ability of the individual to define his or her own meaning in experience.[40] Freud expressed the idea that the neuroses reveal the sexual origin of the libido, while Sartre maintained that the interior life of the person, taken as a totality, is revealed in every gesture. Unlike Freud, he maintained that the ego is not in any privileged position to engage in self-knowledge, and he postulated transcendence of the ego through a radical critique of introspection. Moreover, he became the great author of the nihilism so characteristic of European existentialism and phenomenology, casting the individual's choices which define personality always in terms of the specter of nothingness that each one of us ultimately face.[41]

Lacan and Post-structuralism

Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) physician, psychoanalyst, and post-structuralist was born and raised in Paris, where he became heavily involved with Parisian writers, painters, and intellectuals in pre-World War II France. He associated with the surrealists and philosophically he was attracted to Jaspers, Heidegger, and Hegel. He was analyzed by Rudolph Lowenstein.

Lacan specialized in psychiatry, and in 1926, did his clinical training at St. Anne, the main psychiatric hospital in Paris, where he would later return and begin weekly seminars in 1951 that would continue for 30 years. As his theory began to develop, he encountered numerous forms of opposition from the International Psychoanalytical Association and particularly the French psychoanalysts. Eventually, he resigned from these groups to form his own organization, the *École Freudienne de Paris*. His major era of influence was the 1950s and 1960s. He joined the faculty at the *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* and in 1964 began lecturing at the *École Normal Supérieure*, and then moved to the *Faculté de Droit*, where he continued to lecture for more than 20 years.

Trained in classical psychoanalysis, Lacan soon became disenchanted with the way analysts were misinterpreting Freud and he began a critique of the prevailing trends toward ego-psychology and object relations theory. He called for a return to Freud in the original texts as a way to show the subsequent deviations that had taken place. His main focus was on fusing the dynamics of the unconscious to language by way of a structural linguistics. One does not rescue the patient who has been traumatized or neurotically conflicted from control by a primitive unconscious through strengthening the executive functions of the ego. One learns to balance the functions of consciousness and the unconscious, both of which are equally complex. His concept of mirroring shows the "I" in contrast to itself with the development of language. The first stage in the development of the ego, and the initial step toward a colossal misunderstanding of who the person is, begins when the individual, in fact, first identifies with his own image in the mirror rather than who he is within. Who the child also becomes is contrasted with how the child is seen by others, particularly the all powerful mother, whose attention continues to be reinforced through language, which has both a conscious and an unconscious source. In this, the imaginary, the symbolic—meaning the linguistic, and the real are three different dimensions of experience that are central to the growth of the self.[42]

Melanie Klein

Melanie Klein (1882–1960) kept within the Freudian framework, but virtually founded her own school of thought under that umbrella. She was born and raised in Vienna, but had no graduate education. Rather, she was analyzed by Sandor Ferenczi during World War I, after which she became a practicing analyst working with children by 1919. She later sought an analysis with Karl Abraham in Berlin and began to generate her own interpretation of psychoanalysis with children, to the acclaim of other analysts. In 1926 she was invited by Ernest Jones to immigrate to London, where she remained for more than 30 years.[43]

Klein's major works included *The Psychoanalysis of Children* (1932), *Contributions to Psychoanalysis*, 1921–1945 (1948), *Narrative of a Child Analysis* (1961), and *Our Adult World and Other Essays* (1963).[44] She is considered to have deviated from Freud, in that she emphasized the child's more important bond with the mother, she believed fear and aggression were more influential in shaping early childhood development than the psychosexual stages of development, and she believed the superego began to make its appearance as early as 2 or 3 years of age. These ideas remain within a Freudian framework, however.

Klein's major emphasis was on the world of objects that the infant and child identified with and in this she is acclaimed as the mother of object relations theory. Freud had established that the important objects of the infant's earliest identifications are internalized as mental representations. Klein contended that these could be people, such as the mother and the father, but also parts of objects, such as the mother's breast, body odor, and voice, setting the stage for later neuroses to develop as personality was shaped first this way and then that depending on the objects of

identification. The identification was both psychic and bodily. Fairbairn and others developed these ideas into formal object relations theory, which represented a major new arena of psychoanalytic discourse beyond a psychology of the ego and an era unique to the history of psychoanalysis in Britain. Anna Freud stood opposed to these ideas and became a countervailing force once she and her father immigrated to England in 1938. Eventually, Freudian and Kleinian therapy with children stood opposed to each other, although a reconciliation between the two schools emerged with the development of a third group somewhere in between, which defines the state of psychoanalysis in Britain today.

Donald W. Winnicott, for instance, was an English physician and psychoanalyst who worked with psychotic children and their mothers. He trained in medicine at Oxford and St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College and qualified in 1920. He then went to work at Paddington Green Children's Hospital in London, where he stayed for 40 years. Influenced by both Anna Freud and Melanie Klein, he supervised psychoanalysts of the day such as R. D. Liang. He was also associated with the translators of the Standard Edition of Freud's works, James and Alex Strachey, among others.[45]

Wilfred Bion (1897–1979) was a British psychoanalyst who became a pioneer in the application of Freudian theory to the dynamics of groups. He had undergone a training analysis from 1946 to 1952 with Melanie Klein.[46] Meanwhile, John Bowlby (1907–1990), physician and British psychoanalyst, had been influenced by Melanie Klein but whose ideas about mother–child attachment differed significantly from hers. Born into an upper middle class English household, Bowlby experienced his mother as loving, but restrained in the expression of her emotions, so she remained distant. He was raised by a nanny whom he considered a second mother, but who unfortunately left the family when he was 4. Boarding school at age 7 became yet another crisis of separation and anxiety, themes he would develop professionally in his later years. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge. He then trained in medicine at the University Hospital in London and specialized in adult psychiatry at the Maudsley Hospital. He qualified as a psychoanalyst in 1927 at the Institute for Psychoanalysis in London, where Melanie Klein was his supervisor, later associating himself with the Tavistock Clinic. In the ensuing years, his focus became normal and abnormal development in the child. Separation and loss were his main themes, which he eventually developed into a full-scale theory of attachment in the tradition of object relations.[47]

A seminal statement was his article "The Nature of the Child's Tie to his Mother," which appeared in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* in 1958.[48] There, drawing on literature from learning theory, Piaget, and psychoanalysis, he explicated four major theories describing the nature of mother–child bonding: the fulfillment of purely physiological needs, the theory of the mother's breast as the primary object, the theory of the need for human contact, and the theory revolving around the child's fury at being extracted from the womb. In any case, he pointed out that developmental psychologists do not agree on much beyond the fact that the mother is the primary object and that the foundation of personality is laid down in the mother–infant bond within the first 12 months of life.

Heinz Kohut

Meanwhile, there were other British analysts who had their own effect on the continued evolution of the field, widening the psychoanalytic interpretation of personality. Heinz Kohut was born in Vienna and received the MD from the University of Vienna. He fled Austria in 1939, the year after Freud left, and immigrated to Chicago, where he became a staunch advocate of the strict Freudian approach. Eventually, however, his thinking gave way to a more liberal conception of the ego and the self. Finally, he abandoned Freud's framework of a separate id, ego, and superego to develop a tripartite theory of the self. The study of the narcissistic personality was his point of departure and his conception of the self gave greater emphasis to relationships than Freudian psychology. His key text was *The Analysis of the Self* (1971), in which he coined the term narcissistic personality disorder.[49] He was certainly not the first to conceptualize the self in psychodynamic theories of personality, as Jung had preceded him by several decades. But he did write in an era when ego psychology and object relations had trumped Freud's previous focus on the primitive unconscious, and so could be credited with retrofitting psychoanalysis with the concept of the self to a greater extent than any other trained Freudian.

M. Masud R. Khan

One of the most interesting examples of psychoanalysis at mid-century is the case of Mohammed Masud Rasa Khan (1924–1989), whose flamboyant life and career as a training analyst, psychoanalytic insider, and Anglo-Pakistani aristocrat serves as a lens through which to view the development of the object relations school within the British Psychoanalytical Society and the International Psychoanalytic Association after World War II. His rise was meteoric, and his fall a major embarrassment to psychoanalysis. In retrospect, he was described by one commentator in terms of the harm done by an alcoholic married analyst who initiated sex with female patients, encouraged affairs between other patients, threatened patients who terminated treatment, and abandoned those who did not meet his own emotional needs. He also serves to highlight the larger enigma of how one translates the unconscious across cultures and the extent to which this translation succeeds or fails in the life of a single individual from a non-Western culture.

Khan was born in 1924, in an area of India known as the Punjab, which later became part of Pakistan. His father was a civil servant in the British Raj who then became a well-to-do landowner raising horses and his mother was described as a dreamy eyed dancer, one of several wives that created several households of children for the father. Both the father and the mother were absent for different portions of Khan's upbringing. At one point, between 4 and 6, he remained mute in his mother's enforced absence. Thus, he was later always in perpetual search for a father figure, and lack of maternal bonding probably contributed to his isolation and inwardness, which in turn expressed itself later as a tendency toward confabulation and fantasy. He was also born with a slight physical defect where one ear was larger than the

other, a condition which further made him shy as well as an outcast among his peers. He was raised a Sunni Muslim but because of his father's accomplishments in the Indian government under the British, the household was thoroughly English. He was home schooled by a young female tutor who was herself a graduate of Oxford, before he attended nearby colleges associated first with the University of the Punjab and then the University of Lahore, where he earned Bachelors and Masters degrees in English literature, political science, and mystical Persian Sufism. In 1942 he experienced the death of his favorite sister, with whom he was deeply in love, after which he fell into a depression. Then his father died a year later.

Kahn's graduation coincided with Indian independence from the British, and he took advantage of the situation to immigrate to London at the age of 22, where, instead of proceeding to Oxford, he applied to become an analyst-in-training at the British Psychoanalytic Institute. The admissions committee looked favorably upon his materials and John Bowlby, the secretary, replied in the affirmative. Khan was supervised by both Melanie Klein and Anna Freud, associated with Wilfred Bion, Michael Balint, and W. R. D. Fairbairn, was analyzed by Ella Sharpe and John Rickman, and eventually wound up a protégé of Donald Winnicott. He became a credentialed analyst in 1950. The conversion to the psychoanalytic viewpoint had become complete and he was judged now able to inoculate others.

At the same time his star continued to rise within the psychoanalytic community. He went on to be appointed editor of the International Psychoanalytical Library, producing 26 volumes; he became editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, and coeditor of the *Nouvelle revue de Psychanalyse*, for which he wrote 27 articles between 1970 and 1987. During this period he also produced a number of books of note, all of them have a bearing on his definition of personality, but cast into the particular epistemology of psychoanalysis. Two in particular were *The Privacy of the Self* (1974) and *Hidden Selves* (1983).[50]

In these works, largely through case studies, he developed the idea that all therapy is about self-experience. Most people act in a way that is not exactly consonant with their real inner self. Their entire situation colludes to hold them in place, extending this false self to the world, so that when they speak, they do not speak from the authentic center of themselves. What one needs is a holding environment where one's soul can be discovered in a private space, a space where no one can reach, where the self is beyond definition.

Such ideas are quite understandable to the educated reader, but they also reflect the approach of Sufism to the normal personality as an untamed horse, or a dog that has yet to be properly trained. With the absolute knowledge of God as the goal the individual enters into disciplined practice where self-management, the privacy of one's own thoughts through prayer and meditation, leads to self-knowledge and an absolute love of God.[51] In this regard, Christopher Bollas remarked that one of Khan's favorite Persian aphorisms was, "Where am I but in the place where no news comes to me, even about myself".[52]

He accepted all that Sigmund and Anna Freud had to say about the ego, its unconscious aspects, and its defenses; he followed closely the writings of Hartmann and Kris on psychoanalytic ego functioning; he internalized the object relations

hypotheses of Klein and Winnicott; but then fielded his own psychoanalytic interpretation of such concepts as the false self, by drawing on his own resources, such as the Persian mystics. The fact that this remained only half conscious to himself was the likely source of much of his neurotic behavior, except for the fact that his psychoanalytic interpreters still cleaved to a Judeo-Christian interpretation of human sexuality, when Khan had the vast traditions of the Orient to draw from, though unconsciously, as it was in his blood as well as his cultural milieu. What, after all, could the White world comprehend of Kundalini Yoga?

But this was not always the case. As one of his biographers noted, within a colonial system the original inhabitants establish a symbiotic relationship with their colonizers, such that the values of the colonizer are internalized as part of the self, which creates a condition of unconscious identification.[53] Alliances and lieutenancy are then the established norm, but for this harmony to proceed there must be a concomitant devaluing of the native self. Khan carried both this devaluing and this identification with him to London, where he transferred it into the more self-contained epistemological framework of psychoanalysis and adopted a social role of associating himself with cricket, high tea, and the elite aristocracy of English and European culture. He was a man of impeccable dress and decorum reflecting his confabulated view of his own high station, as he strove to be more British than even the British themselves. That this elitism slowly began to disintegrate over the years can be inferred by his increased problems with alcohol, his tendency to give up expensive suits for more native forms of dress, his all to frank published revelations of his sexual exploits in therapy, and finally, at the end, his widely published anti-Semitic tirade against the Jews which he had suppressed for so long.

In the end, suffering from lung cancer, his last book, *When Spring Comes* (1988)[54] appeared, full of vitriol against the Jews, and containing descriptions of what were judged as numerous countertransference violations, bi-sexual encounters, and his general mental instability. His credentials as a training analyst had been revoked by the British Psychoanalytical Society in 1975 over similar complaints and also personality conflicts with other members. Then, when the book came out in 1988, the analysts had had enough, and his membership was cancelled altogether. He died in London in 1989. The eventual cause of death was liver failure, caused by his alcoholism but complicated by the effects of cancer. The origin was possibly rage against himself. His body was flown back to Pakistan, where he was buried next to his father. Tributes that followed were both scathing and laudatory, some calling him insane, others a "prince of the psychoanalytic movement." Still others took no note of his passing, or waited some years to render their opinion.

Islam is actually closer to Judaism and Christianity since the three constitute the prophetic tradition in world religions. The Jews and the Arabs are both sons of Abraham, and Christianity represents the over-identification of the Christians with their Judaic heritage. Islam, meanwhile, is the errant expression of the prophetic tradition because it also has roots in non-Western epistemologies, such as the indigenous philosophies of India, and represents a potential bridge between these other ways of knowing the ultimate and the Judeo-Christian outlook. Masud Khan struggled with this paradox in his overidentification with the British but found a means of

expressing his lineage within psychoanalytic conceptions of personality and consciousness. Through psychoanalysis he had dialogued with the Jews as much as he was able in his lifetime, only to return to his native self at the end.

Ego Psychology

Ego psychology was a distinct outgrowth of Freud's earlier emphasis on the id, and the conflicts that arise between the instincts and the ego. At first it seems that the ego grew out of the id in Freud's theory, as in his essay on narcissism in 1914, until he began to elaborate more on ego functions and their relation to external material reality in "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego" (1921); "The Ego and the Id" (1923), and "Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety" (1926). Anna Freud carried the theory of defenses forward (1937), as did Melanie Klein (1932b) and her variant of Freud in object relations theory.[55] But it was figures such as Rudolph Lowenstein, Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, and David Rapaport who were most closely identified with ego psychology.

Heinz Hartmann (1894–1970) was born in Vienna and graduated with a degree in medicine from the University of Vienna in 1920. He began as a young man in pharmacology but soon switched to psychiatry, undertaking analytic training in Vienna, then Berlin. He returned to Vienna, where he worked at the Psychiatric Institute at the University of Vienna and then the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute, before moving on to Paris and then New York. He edited the *International Journal for Psychoanalysis* and co-founded the *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* with Anna Freud and Ernst Kris. He became medical director of the treatment clinic at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and thereafter served as president of the various psychoanalytic associations both nationally and internationally.

His papers between 1922 and 1935 were on clinical topics related to personality and character development in twins. A second phase on psychoanalytic theory and methodology was followed by a phase on psychoanalysis and health, the attempt to adapt Freud's theory to the normal personality. A seminal work during this period was "Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation" (1939).[56] Here, he made a clear distinction between instinctual conflicts between the ego and the id and nonpathological, autonomous adaptations of the ego, the so-called conflict free spheres of ego development, such as memory, thinking, and language.

Others, such as Ernst Kris and Rudolph Lowenstein joined him in elaborating on the functions of the ego that promote adaptation in the world of external material reality. This further fused biology with the forces of social adjustment, making psychoanalysis not only more of a cognitive but also a social psychology.

Ernest Kris (1900–1957) was born in Vienna and encouraged from an early age to study art.[57] He later earned the PhD in art history from the University of Vienna, after which he became assistant curator at the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, which housed one of the great collections of art treasures in Europe. He soon developed an expertise in cameos and intaglios in the collection and was eventually recognized as a world expert. He met Freud through a mutual friend of the Freud family

and began as a consultant to Freud's collection of artifacts. He then became a member of the Vienna Institute for Psychoanalysis and began an analysis with Helene Deutsch. He saw himself as an art historian, rather than a clinician, and published works on art and creativity from a psychoanalytic perspective. He did begin medical studies in 1933, but was diverted to other activities, when Freud put him in charge of editing the psychoanalytic journal, *Imago*. He became a training analyst at the Psychoanalytic Institute of Vienna but fled Austria, following Freud to London, in 1938. There, he trained analysts at the London Institute of Psychoanalysis.

He became involved in the analysis of enemy communications during World War II and was sent by the British Government to Canada to continue the work there. From Canada, he immigrated to New York in 1940, where he became a visiting professor at the New School for Social Research and a training analyst at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute. He also became an American citizen and joined the American Psychological Association. In his later years he began to focus on child psychoanalysis, leaving the world of museum artifacts behind. He established the Postgraduate Study Group of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and two major projects, the Longitudinal Study at the Yale University Child Study Center in New Haven and The Gifted Adolescent Research Project at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute.

A work that defined his key contribution to psychoanalysis was *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (1952).[58] Employing the basic principles of psychoanalytic ego psychology, he divided the process of artistic creation into inspiration and elaboration. Inspiration drives the artist to create in a rapturous state, while elaboration focuses on the solution of a deliberately defined specific problem. In both cases, regression into the unconscious plays a major part, as it acts in service of the ego as a kind of controlled madness. In addition to other works on ego-psychology, Kris also became well known for his editorship with Anna Freud of the Freud–Fleiss Letters[59] and for his theoretical papers published with Lowenstein and Hartmann.[60]

Rudolph Lowenstein (1898–1976) was born in Vienna and interrupted his study of medicine when he began an analysis with Hans Sachs in Berlin. He moved to Paris in 1925 and helped launch the *Société Psychanalytique de Paris* (SPP). He resumed his medical studies and was awarded the MD in 1935. He was mobilized into the French army in 1939, but eventually made his way to New York, where he continued his career as an analyst.

David Rapaport was born in Budapest, in 1900, raised in a middle class Jewish family, and at the University studied physics and mathematics.[61] He went to Palestine for 2 years to live on a Kibbutz and promote Zionism, where he married and began a family. He returned to Hungary in 1935, began to undertake psychoanalysis, and took the PhD in philosophy from the Royal University of Hungary in 1938. Immediately afterward he immigrated to the United States with his family, where he worked at Mt. Sinai Hospital and a state hospital in Kansas, before going to the Menninger Clinic in 1940. At the Menninger he began as head of the School of Clinical Psychology and director of research. *Emotions and Memory* appeared in 1942 and *Diagnostic Psychological Testing* in 1946–1948.[62] These are his best-known work in psychoanalytic ego psychology. *Organization and Pathology of Thought*, a

collection of papers, appeared in 1951.[63] He left Menninger's to go to the Austen Riggs Center in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he worked until his death from a heart attack in 1960. Though he had been analyzed he never practiced psychoanalysis himself and was known instead as a theoretician, concerning himself with ego development and problems of metapsychology.[64]

The Menninger Clinic

The history of the Menninger Clinic began when Charles Frederick Menninger took his medical degree at the Hahnemann Medical College in Chicago, where he was trained in homeopathic medicine. In Topeka, Kansas, he began a medical practice and eventually broke with the homeopaths to join the ranks of the local physicians trained in allopathic medicine. After visiting the Mayo Clinic in 1908, he resolved to begin a group medical practice in Topeka serving psychiatric patients. With his son, Karl Menninger, a graduate of Harvard Medical School, Class of 1917, he launched the Menninger Diagnostic Clinic. They were soon joined by his other son William, who had trained at Cornell Medical College. At the time of their formal organization as a sanitarium in 1925, it was one of the only two mental health facilities in the United States to specialize in psychoanalysis,[65] to which the Menningers added the idea of group practice and the concepts of milieu therapy and moral management, a program of humane care pioneered by Quaker physicians who ran the English asylums at Gheel and elsewhere in the 19th century.[66]

Devoted to medical practice, research, and education, their facility became the Menninger Foundation in 1941 and a few years later, the Menninger School of Psychiatry. They specialized in treating a small group of patients diagnosed as neurotic or psychotic while expanding their facilities to focus on the training of psychiatrists and psychologists. After World War II, the facility was transformed from a small family operation housing 60 beds to one of the largest programs devoted to training in psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis in the world. While the number of patients remained small the staff expanded. This was due largely to support from the federal government through the GI Bill, which provided funds to train needed mental health care workers who could deal with the problems of returning servicemen. To this end, they began to accept annually entering classes of 100 psychiatric residents who already held the MD and 10 psychologists who came to the Menninger to earn a degree in clinical psychology from the University of Kansas.

The treatment program was designed specifically for each patient rather than treatment regimes organized by diagnosis. The approach was holistic, in that it provided adequate time for work, education, play, rest, socialization, and time alone for reading and reflection. The central figure was the primary physician, who directed psychologists, nurses, social workers, interns, and all staff who had contact with the patient. Each patient had different needs and the entire staff was alerted to these in each case.

That psychoanalysis was at the core of their curriculum there could be no doubt. Their northwest office building housed offices of the Topeka Psychoanalytic

Institute and the Topeka Psychoanalytic Society. Nevertheless, the atmosphere was eclectic, optimistic, and pragmatic in the American tradition. David Rapaport mixed diagnostic testing with Freud's theories of psychology and metapsychology. George Kline and Phil Holzman ran a laboratory of experimental psychology. Gardner and Lois Murphy came for 12 years, during which he served as director of research. Rudolf Ekstein and Robert Wallerstein lectured on psychotherapy and produced *The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy* (1958).[67] Margaret Brenman and Merton Gill worked on hypnosis and related states. Henri Ellenberger was in residence for several years and lectured on what would become his *Discovery of the Unconscious*.[68] Helmuth Kaiser came and presented on his theories about communication between patient and therapist. The theories of Wilhelm Reich, Milton Erickson, and Carl Rogers were explored. Otto and Pauline Kernberg were there. And Erik Erikson gave lectures that became *Childhood and Society* (1950).[69] Frieda Fromm-Reichmann came from the Chestnut Lodge, while Margaret Mahler and Margaret Mead lectured, as did Ludwig von Bertalanffy and S. I. Hayakawa. Aldous Huxley and Isaac Bachevis Singer presented. Even Anna Freud visited several times. In addition, Elmer and Alyce Green launched the Voluntary Control of Internal States Project through the Menninger's Biofeedback Laboratory, which they founded. Such a spectrum of expertise defines the way psychoanalysis had been absorbed into its uniquely American variety.

Franz Alexander

With regard to the problem of personality in psychoanalysis, we can cite no better example than that of Franz Alexander (1891–1964). Franz Alexander was born in Budapest, immigrated to Berlin, where he was the first graduate of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, which he then ran until immigrating to the United States. He was the first training analyst in Boston before being called to the University of Chicago in 1931 to become its first visiting professor of psychoanalysis. He founded the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute, which became an international center for training and research into psychoanalytic concepts. Among his trainees were Karl and William Menninger, Leo Bartemeier, and Gregory Zilboorg.

The quintessential statement on Freud's dynamic theory of personality we would expect to find in Alexander's *Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality: The Application of Freud's Theory of the Ego to the Neuroses*, first translated into English as a Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph in 1930.[70] But the result was heavily qualified. The work recited the epochs of psychoanalytic history beginning with the era of Charcot, then Breuer, identifying trauma, repression, abreaction, and catharsis as the essential elements. Then followed Freud's period of isolation, where Freud abandoned hypnosis for free association, discovered the sexual component of the neuroses, and emerged with his new system, psychoanalysis. The first two eras were totally dominated by a focus on repression and the instincts, and to object libido. Only later did Freud turn his attention to the psychoses, which may contain manifestations of the neuroses, and to the narcissistic neuroses, which is the ego

involved in self-preservation and also self-love. From this, Freud concluded that the ego is the true reservoir of the libido. His later formulation of the id, controlled by the ego, which is in turn overseen by the superego, led him to the formulation that the neuroses represent a conflict between the id and the ego (the instinctive needs), the psychoses represent a conflict between the ego and the outward world, and the narcissistic neuroses a struggle between the ego and the superego. These must be understood within the larger framework of the two kinds of instincts: *eros*, the life force, and *thanatos*, the death instinct.

Alexander's work claimed as original only his extension of the Master's theory to a further understanding of neurotic self-punishment. The id demands gratification, the superego punishment and retribution. The ego mediates between the organism and the environment through object cathexis, but participates, as well, as a central player in the drama being played out between instincts and ideals within. In this, the ego demonstrates an unconscious aspect in the form of preverbal instinctive needs at odds with the inculcated rules of the superego just below the surface of consciousness. The person becomes resigned to his or her illness. A neurotic illness can then become a permanent part of personality through the individual's adjustment to their infirmity, making it difficult to give it up once they have become comfortable with its chronicity.

But the real question for us is, what does Alexander mean by the "total personality"? Obviously it is id, ego, and superego across a spectrum from waking consciousness to the unconscious, itself made up of instincts as well as conscience. Reason was still the highest function Freud could conceive, even though it was the most fragile under stress and trauma. There is no spiritual dimension to personality, only the introjection of external rules and values from parents and culture. It is no wonder then that Freud viewed religion as just another neurosis, since his model is incapable of differentiating between the external teachings of organized religion and a generic spiritual dimension to personality inherent in each person that can be cultivated independently of external social institutions.

Finally, it is paradoxical that when you ask the educated man or women on the street, "What is psychology?" or "What is psychiatry?" they will most likely say Freud, when Freudian theory has lost most of its power to influence these disciplines in the academy. In fact, as we have said earlier, there is one line of interpretation, which suggests that Freud never had the impact on psychology and psychiatry that most people think that he had had. This is due to the fact that scientific laboratory psychology has been dominated first by physiological psychology and psychophysics, then behaviorism, and now cognitive science, while scientific psychiatry has always been grounded in medicine, its most pervasive advances occurring in psychopharmacology, both instances where psychoanalysis never had any influence. Yet history shows how pervasive psychoanalysis has been in culture at large. It is this paradox that shows how successful Freud was in his insistence that psychoanalysis was a science and in its persistence in American psychiatry, despite its dubious status as such. It is also a condition that has allowed for the radicalization of depth psychology in popular culture beyond anything Freud could ever have dreamed. All did not emanate from Freud, by any means, but his influence did significantly shape what was to come.

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5. Ellenberger, 1970, p. 844.
6. Rank, O. (1907). *Der kuñstler*: *Ansaïze zu e. sexual-psychologie* [The artist: Approches to sexual psychology]. Leipzig: International Psychoanalytic, Verlag.
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University Press; *Femininities, masculinities, sexualities: Freud and beyond* (1994). Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky; *The power of feelings: Personal meaning in psychoanalysis, gender, and culture* (1999). London, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

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