
Clio's Psyche

Examining the "Why" of History and Culture

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Psychohistorical Dreamwork

Introduction

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Most people associate the modern study of dreams with Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. What is less well known is that these two oneiric [dreamwork] pioneers were in fact quite knowledgeable historians of dreaming. Both Freud and Jung were intimately familiar with the long, rich history of Western dream theory and investigation, a history that stretches back through more than three millenia. Freud and Jung drew upon this history to develop their monumental psychological theories, which are not so much radical new statements about dreams as modern renderings of ancient teachings and insights.

In recent years psychohistorians have begun

A Sociology of Dreams?

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"For sociology, interested only in man awake, the sleeper might as well be dead." This is a quote from the late distinguished French cultural anthropologist Roger Bastide. Based on his studies of dreams in transitional cultures in Brazil, he raised the question: "...whether the sociologist is right to ignore the other half of our life, to envisage man standing and sitting, but never asleep and adream" ("The Sociology of the Dream" in G.E. Von Grunebaum and Roger Caillois (eds.), *The Dream and Human Societies*, 1966).

In primitive societies in the early stages of transition, there is a unity between the world of myth and the sacred as reflected in the dream and in

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Introduction

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to push the study of dreams in new directions, beyond the confines of the sleep laboratory and the clinician's office. These scholars, many of whom are represented in this issue of **Clio's Psyche**, have shown that dreams do not simply reveal the intrapsychic dynamics of the individual dreamer, but actually express with stunning creativity the dreamer's experiences as a historically situated being. Montague Ullman and Paul Elovitz deserve special credit for leading this movement toward a greater appreciation of how dreams weave the psychological and historical threads of our lives into marvelously complex tapestries of meaning. The 15-year-old Association for the Study of Dreams (ASD) has also promoted this cause by providing an important forum for researchers from various fields who are exploring the psychohistorical aspects of dream experience.

The articles gathered in this issue of **Clio's Psyche** mark an exciting new advance in our awareness of the history of dreaming. Leading dream researcher Montague Ullman contributes his reflections on the sociological dimensions of dreaming, arguing that we need a "resocialization" of our understanding of dreams. Robert Rouselle provides a fascinating dream from ancient Athenian history. J. Donald Hughes offers a sweeping overview of medieval attitudes toward dreams and dream interpretation. David Bakan provides an exciting introduction to the great Jewish philosopher Maimonides and his highly sophisticated analysis of dreams, visions, and imagination. Ralph Colp, Jr., focuses on the haunting dream experience of Leon Trotsky, who years after his exile from the Russian Bolshevik state had one last encounter with his former comrade Lenin. And I offer some preliminary findings from my research into the connection between political imagery in our dreams and the social and political realities of our communities.

These articles show that a wealth of new historical information is waiting to be gathered about the various dream beliefs and practices that preceded the modern era. Perhaps the new historical investigations collected in this issue will provide the basis for new, post-Freudian and post-Jungian theories of dreaming that will lead us into a new era of understanding.

Kelly Bulkeley, PhD, is a scholar who

focuses on the interplay of dreams, religion, psychology, and culture. He is the author of several books, including The Wilderness of Dreams (1994), Spiritual Dreaming (1995), Among All These Dreamers: Essays on Dreaming and Modern Society (editor, 1996), An Introduction to the Psychology of Dreaming (1997), and Dreamcatching: Every Parent's Guide to Exploring and Understanding Children's Dreams and Nightmares (co-authored with Alan Siegel, 1998). Dr. Bulkeley received his PhD from the University of Chicago Divinity School and his MTS from Harvard Divinity School. He is past President of the Association for the Study of Dreams (ASD), and is a member of the Steering Committee of the Person, Culture, and Religion Group of the American Academy of Religion. □

A Sociology of Dreams?

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waking reality with easy passage in both directions. Western society lacks the institutions that foster this exchange. The door to the dream world is closed to society at large. It remains open on a small scale as the container of one's personal problems to be worked through in private with a therapist. We live in a dream-deprived society. The failure to acknowledge the social function of dreams, and the failure to recognize the necessity of institutionalizing dreams in a way that makes that function more visible, has led Bastide to conclude that sociologists look upon any such institution as dealing with a "waste product" and would not be "within the competence of a sociology worthy of its name -- a kind of social sewer service."

Dreamers make use of images available to them at a given moment in history. Remolded into metaphorical visual imagery, they convey information of some significance to the dreamer. It seems to me obvious that just as they contain personal referents, they might from time to time contain social referents. That is to suggest that unresolved social tensions also play a role in shaping subjectivity and surfacing in a dream just as more personal tensions do. As Erich Fromm, Trigant Burrow, and others have pointed out, there is a social unconscious at play that takes its toll so long as it remains unconscious. In the following quote, the sociologist Robert S. Lynd describes one over-arching source of social blindness.

Liberal democracy has never dared face the

fact that industrial capitalism is an intensely coercive form of organization of society that cumulatively constrains men and all of their institutions to work the will of the minority who hold and wield the economic power; and that this relentless warping of men's lives and forms of association becomes less and less the result of voluntary decisions by "bad" or "good" men and more and more an impersonal web of coercions dictated by the need to "keep the system running" (R.S. Lynd, "Business as a System of Organized Power" in A.M. Lee (ed.), *Readings in Sociology*, 1951).

Here are three examples of this warping that are encountered in dreams.

When a young woman in therapy, suffering from frigidity, makes a reference in her dreams to

her own sexual organs as a head of lettuce encased in the empty shell of a cantaloupe situated on the shelf of a supermarket, she is saying something about her own personal sexual problems and at the same time making a statement about an aspect of social life. The personal referents are of interest to the clinician. Her sexual organs are seen as objects separate from her functioning self that can be bought and sold in an impersonal way. Might the social referents be of interest to a sociologist? We do live in a society where attributes of individuals such as brains, beauty, talent, and sex are treated as objects that can be bought and sold in the marketplace.

Racism raises its ugly head when a young white woman dreams of a black man as a threatening predator.

In Sweden the struggle for equal rights for women began much earlier than in the United States. There were signs of successful women in all spheres of life. In the eighties I came across a Swedish magazine article commenting on the dreams of three very successful women in politics and the business world. Sexism seemed to be a thing of the past. Yet in each of the dreams the self-image of the woman was that of a cow who, along with other cows, was there for the benefit of the farmer.

Freud repersonalized the dream. Might psychohistorians not benefit from a resocialization of the dream?

Montague Ullman, MD, is a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst who many consider to be the father of modern dreamwork partly because of the pathbreaking work he did as head of the Dream Laboratory of New York's Maimonides Medical Center Psychiatry Department. His co-authored books include Working with Dreams (1979), Dream Telepathy (1973), and The Variety of Dream Experiences (2nd ed., revised, 1998). □

The Maternal Incest Dream of Hippas

Robert J. Rousselle
Independent Scholar

In his history of the great war between the Greeks and the Persians, the Greek Herodotus reported an unusual dream as occurring in 490 B.C.E. Prior to the battle of Marathon, the former Athenian tyrant Hippas had the following dream

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which is presented together with Herodotus' narration.

The night before he saw a vision in his sleep as follows: Hippias imagined he lay with his own mother. He concluded from the dream that he would return to Athens and recover the supreme power in his old age.... (The following day Hippias guides the Persian forces to Marathon.) While he was engaged in this, he suddenly sneezed and coughed violently. Since he was of great age, many of his teeth were loose. He therefore lost one of his teeth from the force of his cough. It fell into the sand.... (Unable to locate the tooth, he says to his comrades,) 'This land here is not ours, nor will we be able to bring about its subjection. What is to be my share, my tooth possesses.' In this manner Hippias figured out the meaning of the vision (Herodotus 6. 107. 1-3, author's translation).

Hippias was the son of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus. Neither his mother's name nor any other detail is known about her except that she, too, was Athenian. Hippias was born around 570, and, by the time he was about 10 years of age, around 560, his father had married an Argive woman, Timonassa, by whom he had two more sons. It is unknown whether death or divorce removed Hippias' mother from his life.

In 527 Hippias assumed the rule of Athens upon his father's death. Originally benevolent, his rule became despotic after the assassination of his brother Hipparchus in 514. In 510 Hippias was driven out of Athens. He fled to Persia with his family, and eagerly joined Darius in his invasion of Greece in 490.

That Hippias would have dream omens would not surprise his contemporaries. The family of Peisistratus were collectors of prophecies, and Hippias is described as being more familiar with them than anyone else (Herodotus 5. 90. 2, 5. 93. 3). This family, as well as most powerful families, employed seers to interpret prophecies and dreams.

We are told little of the dream itself, only that Hippias dreamt he lay with his mother. The Greek for lay, *suneunethenai*, refers to having sexual relations with a legitimate partner. The noun *suneuna* means wife. *Meter* is mother, but it is frequently used to refer to one's native land. In his dream Hippias sees himself lying with his mother in an apparently lawful union, with nothing immoral or unnatural about it.

Dreams of maternal incest were not unheard of in antiquity. Both Comon (Pausanias 4. 26. 3) and C. Julius Caesar (Suetonius Julius 7. 1-2; Plutarch Caesar 32. 9) had such dreams at politically anxious periods of their lives, which were interpreted as omens of their political success. The second-century A. D. dream interpreter Artemidorus cites the maternal incest dream of the public figure as a prediction of political rule (1. 79).

It is noteworthy that the dream also parallels the mythic relationship of Gaia and Ouranos, as found in Hesiod's *Theogony* (116-60). Gaia comes out of chaos and parthenogenetically creates Ouranos to be her consort. They lay together, *eunetheisa*, which is the same root as the verb used in Hippias' dream. We thus have a mythic paradigm of a child's fantasy that his mother bore him without his father's aid, and the mother and son would become wife and husband.

The dream of Hippias operates on two levels. The first, as interpreted by Hippias as a prophecy, what we would call a wish fulfillment, is that he would regain control of Athens after 20 years of exile. Yet there is below that another wish fulfillment, an incestuous desire dating back to childhood which had long been sublimated from the wish for merger with his mother to the desire for reunion with his motherland.

As a young child a Greek aristocrat was usually raised by his mother while his father was often away from home. The boy's oedipal desires were channeled to institutionalized homosexual relationships, first as the pursued, later as the pursuer, and heterosexual relations. At the same time his drives were diverted to socially more acceptable goals such as warfare and politics.

Hippias was on board ship on the sea off Marathon the night before the battle. The sea and the image of riding a ship had a sexual connotation and were recognized as female dream symbols by Artemidorus (4. Preface). Well might the rocking of the ship at sea as well as his anticipation and anxiety concerning the subjugation of his native Athens have brought about the incestuous dream image. Though long sublimated into the desire to rule, the repressed oedipal urges came through in his dream at a critical moment. The transition from subconscious to dream image was eased by the identification of mother with earth and country.

The resolution of the dream prophecy for Hippias has an interesting mythic and psychosexual parallel. It recalls the myth of

Cadmus, who slew a dragon and sowed its teeth, from which sprung the first men of Thebes. The Greek for dragon, *drakon*, is used interchangeably with snake, *ophis*, which has a decidedly phallic connotation. The teeth, which came from the head of the phallic dragon and generate men when sown in the earth, are the equivalent of semen.

Hippias' tooth is *ekballei*, thrown out of the mouth. The verb *ballein*, with a variety of prefixes, has a sexual meaning of thrusting, and the spasm of a sneeze and a cough throwing out the tooth suggests the ejaculatory spasm. But in this case, a single old tooth of an impotent old man falls on infertile soil. So on the battlefield at Marathon the ancient Persian Empire was defeated and the young Athenian democracy began its greatest age.

Robert J. Rouselle is an independent scholar with a doctoral degree from SUNY-Binghamton in ancient Greek and Roman history. His interests include ancient studies, Christian martyrs, dreams, and psychohistory, and he has published a dozen articles and 15-20 book reviews.

□

Dreams and Dream Interpretation in the Middle Ages

J. Donald Hughes
University of Denver

Introduction

Anyone with an interest in dream interpretation who reads earlier literature soon discovers a remarkable contrast between the careful attention given to dreams in past centuries and the relatively casual attitude of most modern writers, with the exception of those who are informed by the insights of psychoanalysis and its allied endeavors. Many works of medieval literature refer to dreams, their interpretation, and their influence on human attitudes and actions.

The Jews

Granted the importance of dreams and their interpretation in the Bible, it is no wonder that there was great reverence for dreams in later Jewish tradition. There were expert rabbinical interpreters of dreams, 24 of them in Jerusalem alone, and also books on dreams. The Babylonian Talmud has four chapters on dreams.

Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, wrote five books on dreams, of which two survive. In his work, *On Dreams Sent by God*, he maintained that God could speak to people in dreams either directly, through angels, or by means of the soul's own power of divination. Josephus filled his history with many dreams, including an incident in which Alexander the Great and the High Priest Jaddua dreamed of each other. Josephus also recorded his own dreams, which he followed as guides in important decisions.

Means of turning aside the evil predictions of dreams are recommended, including fasting, reciting scripture, prayer, almsgiving, and penitence. According to tradition, a man who passes seven nights without a dream is an ungodly man. Rabbi Hisda said that an uninterpreted dream is like an unread letter.

The Muslims

Dreams have always held a very high place in Islam. The prophet Mohammed received many of his revelations, including the very first, in the form of dreams. A tradition holds that his great Night Journey, or *Lailatal-Miraj*, in which he traversed the universe on the horse *Elboraq*, began in a dream. There is a Muslim saying that "Dreams are a portion of prophecy."

Every morning, Mohammed asked his followers what they had dreamed the night before, proceeded to interpret the dreams' content, and then related his own dreams. The importance attached to dreams by the Prophet caused Muslims to continue an interest in dreams, as they prized their own dreams and held that a dream in which the Prophet appeared was particularly to be valued.

There are a number of famous historical dreams, such as the one in which the Khalif Omar was pecked three times by a white rooster, which foretold his death by assassination. In Islamic culture, dream interpretation flourished, becoming a recognized science called *Ibn ul Tabir*, and an immense number of dream books were written. A dream interpreter was considered to rank second only to a prophet, and to share some of the gifts of the latter. The philosopher Avicenna said that the mind is freer by night than by day.

The Christians

As antiquity faded into the Middle Ages, the official view of the Western Church on dream interpretation underwent a subtle change. The prominence of dreams of inspiration in the Bible meant that there could never be a denial that God

can speak through dreams, but this was now regarded as a possibility for prophets and saints, not ordinary Christians. Furthermore, believers were increasingly warned by popes and bishops that Satan could mislead them through their dreams. It seems as if the Western Church, wishing to keep authority in its own hands, was unwilling to trust this most private of experiences to remain within the bounds it set.

Nothern Europeans

In dreams, as in so much else in medieval times, the views and practices of the common people did not always follow the admonitions of the authorities. As folk were converted to Christianity, they brought along the attitudes to dreams characteristic of their former paganism. The Teutonic and Celtic peoples of northern Europe from early times held that dreams foretell the future, and dreams are woven into their sagas. For the interpretation of dreams, they consulted the wisest counselors available. In the *Laxdaela Saga*, for example, Gudrun went with her dream to Gest the Wise, a sagacious chieftain. While there were ecstatic prophets or shamans, both men and women, who dreamed in order to gain knowledge of the future and the other world, it seems that dream interpretation per se was not the monopoly of an especially trained profession, but that people gained experience of it in the course of their lives. Folk tradition assigned meanings to certain dream symbols. For example, dreaming of iron portends fire, of a polar bear foretells a storm from the east.

Both symbolic dreams and message dreams are common, but a special feature of northern dreams is the appearance of the spirit of a human being in the form of an animal. This *fylgja*, or animal double, sometimes called the "fetch" in English, is an important element in Scandinavian traditions. There is an instance of this in the *Vatnsdaela Saga*, in which Thorkell Silfri dreams that he is riding a red horse, which seems scarcely to touch the ground. He interprets it as a good omen. But his wife, Signy, tells him that the horse is called a *marr*, which is his fetch, that it looks red when it is bloody, and that it may mean that he will be slain. As it turns out, she is right. (A nightmare was believed not to be a dream, properly speaking, but a visitation of an evil spirit, a *mara*, *alp*, or *trude* or the result of hostile witchcraft.)

Sleeping in unusual places, and on particular nights, was held to produce meaningful dreams. Both Norse and Welsh worthies sought them by sleeping in barrows, or chamber tombs.

This is a form of incubation, but it was not limited to tombs, temples, or churches. King Halfdan the Black of Norway was advised by his seer, Thorleifr Spaki, to follow the prophet's own custom by sleeping in a pigsty to dream. The Welsh hero Rhonabwy sought a dream by sleeping on a yellow calfskin, which was noted for its power to produce prophetic dreams. Dream interpretation books, or *Traumbücher*, were written and achieved great popularity. The northern peoples continued to honor and practice dream interpretation long after Christianity arrived, a process that occurred mainly in the years after 1000. Some bishops happily engaged in it, while others denounced it as a type of pagan magic.

The widespread medieval custom of pilgrimage to sacred places was connected with dreams. Many pilgrims undertook their arduous journeys because they had experienced dreams that told them to do so. Like the ancient incubation temples, the shrines of the saints were places of healing, and dreams were used in the process. More than one ailing Englishman had a dream in which St. Thomas à Becket told him to come to his tomb at Canterbury rather than to seek aid from physicians. Some people were skeptical of such dreams; a young blind girl dreamed that Mary told her to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Wulfstan, and her parents joked that as she wished, so she dreamed, a comment perhaps foreshadowing Freud's theory of dreams as wish-fulfillment. But in the way of such stories, she completed the journey and was healed. Priests at the shrines often gained experience in dream interpretation. Dreambooks appeared with alphabetical lists of objects seen in dreams and their meanings.

The Philosophers

The philosophy of the High Middle Age had no more definitive voice than that of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), so it is pertinent to note what he has to say about dreams, although he says relatively little. According to him, dreams can lawfully be interpreted, because the scriptures say that they can, and it is the common experience of mankind to have dreams that foretell the future. On the other hand, dream interpretation based on false opinion (not based on revelation or scripture) is unlawful, and the Bible warns against it. Dreams can come from internal or external causes. Internal causes include the soul and body; external causes include the heavenly bodies, God, and demons. Thomas gives no indication as to how one could tell what source any given dream comes

from, thus leaving the whole matter in the realm of theory.

A professor of the University of Paris who was a contemporary of Thomas, Boethius of Dacia, wrote an essay, *On Dreams*, which is a calm, dispassionate attempt to investigate the question of divination by dreams, and to go further than Thomas managed to go. Following Aristotle and Thomas rather closely, Boethius holds that dreams are natural occurrences that can be interpreted, on awakening, by means of reason. He says that the dreamer may indeed be able to ascertain the internal or external cause of the dream, and thus judge its meaning.

Meanwhile, those with a pastoral concern, like Bernard of Clairvaux and Rabanus Maurus, exhorted their flocks to avoid dream interpretation as the source of error and filth.

The Mystics

In both the East and West, medieval Christendom was blessed with a series of mystics who devoted themselves to direct contemplation of God. They report a great number of vivid images which they interpreted in spiritual terms, often in considerable detail. It is, however, often impossible to tell whether a given image is from a dream or from a waking vision due to a heightened state of sensitivity. In very few cases is the reader told that a vision occurred in a dream; in medieval times it seems that waking visions had a slightly higher degree of authority, so the common failure to mention the source is understandable. Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), Francis of Assisi (1181-1225), Mechtild of Magdeburg (1210-1280), Meister Eckhart (1260-1329), and Julian of Norwich (1342-1415) all report visions that contain imagery typical of dreams, and they all regarded themselves as capable of interpreting them themselves. It is at least possible that the remarkable similarity between the insights of the various mystics, and not only the Christian ones, derives from the fact that their visions derive from the world revealed by dreams.

The Poets

What is often regarded as the first poem in the English language, Caedmon's poem on the Creation, was composed in a dream at the demand of an unknown person, according to the history written by the Venerable Bede (673-735). Medieval literature is replete with dreams; indeed, the "dream-vision" is a recognized genre in the literary history of the times. In most of these the

dream is a framework within which the purposes of the author can be realized. The most influential medieval dream-poem is the French *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris, over 20,000 lines long, which begins, "Many men say that there is nothing in dreams but fables and lies, but one may have dreams which are not deceitful, whose import becomes clear afterward." In the *Roman de la Rose*, the dreamer falls in love with a red rose and receives the principles of a "religion" of courtly love. There follows a long series of adventures and speeches, an extended profane parody of a pilgrimage in search not of a saint's shrine but of the culmination of love. No one can believe that the poem in its present form is a literal record of a real dream; the interpretation has been inserted into the poem as an extended allegory. Chaucer, who translated a portion of the *Roman de la Rose*, also wrote four English dream-poems of his own. He includes dreams and their interpretations, as well as discussions of dream theory, in several of his other poems, showing that he was interested in dreams not only as a literary device, but also as they actually occur. His literary dreams are rather convincing in their resemblance to real dreams.

Conclusion

Dream interpretation was regarded as an art by medieval people, an art requiring intelligence and perhaps divine inspiration as well. It became a motif in literary fantasy. It was treated as a science by a few, particularly among the Muslims. Changes in the dominant themes of dream interpretation were the result of larger developments that affected either society at large or its leading classes, such as the rise of Islam, the Christianization of Europe, and the appearance of ideals such as chivalry and courtly love. This should not be surprising; rather it should be expected that the dreams of individuals, and the meanings they seek in them, should reflect and intertwine with the concerns of the particular cultures of which they are a part, and of humankind as a whole. The recognition of this characteristic of dream traditions and beliefs can provide perspective for consideration of more recent dream theories.

J. Donald Hughes, PhD, is John Evans Professor of History at the University of Denver and Visiting Professor of History at the University of Colorado-Boulder. He teaches ancient and environmental history as well as psychohistory. Among his numerous articles and books are a variety of writings on dreams including "The

Dreams of Alexander the Great," "Dreams and Dream Imagery in the Egyptian Book of the Dead," and "Dreams from the Ancient World." Professor Hughes has been a dreamworker for several decades and is past president of the Jung Society of Colorado. (See Hughes' contribution to "Books Shaping Psychohistorians" on page 67.)

[Editor's Notes: Regrettably, space considerations forced us to drop the numerous notes from Hughes' article.] □

Dreamwork Resources

The **Historical Dreamwork Method** is available to help the biographer better understand the dreams of the subject and other aspects of psychobiography. **Clio's Psyche** welcomes papers on historical dreamwork for publication and for presentation at Psychohistory Forum meetings. Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 43).

☆☆☆

Association for the Study of Dreams (ASD)

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1999 Conference: July 6-10

University of California, Santa Cruz, CA

Maimonides on Visions and Dreams

David Bakan
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This presentation, based upon a lengthy lecture on the subject, provides a brief look at Maimonides' views of visions, dreams, and their interpretation. One of my purposes is to draw attention to Maimonides' view that dreams can be a higher, imaginative, poetic, and prophetic apprehension of truth than philosophy, or what we would call a scientific approach alone can provide. This greatest Jewish medieval philosopher and physician, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204), often quoted God's words, "If there is a prophet among you, I, the Lord, do make myself known to him in a vision, I do speak with him in a dream..." (Numbers 12:6-7). Maimonides' fourth major work, *The Guide of the Perplexed* (written in Arabic about 1190), is the primary source for the subject.

Maimonides is adamant that many of the events recounted in Scripture are accounts of the visions and dreams of prophets other than Moses and are not real in the objective sense. He states that the prophetic texts may or may not be identified as visions or dreams, but that readers should be prepared to assume that such is always the case. He writes, "...in the case of prophetic parables seen or enacted in a vision of prophecy, when the parable requires certain action, when things are [said to be] done by the prophet, when intervals of time are mentioned ... [know that] this takes place only in a vision of prophecy [and that] they are not real actions, actions that exist for the external senses" (*The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. Shlomo Pines, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963: part II:chapter 46, page 404, hereafter, GP).

Maimonides deals at length with the psychology of visions and dreams. In explaining the difference between visions and dreams, Maimonides says of dreams, "I do not need to explain what a dream is" (GP II:41, 385). A vision, on the other hand, "is a fearful terrifying state which comes to a prophet when he is awake.... In such a state as this the senses ... cease to function.... Thereupon the terror and the strong affection ... become intensified and then prophetic revelation comes... (GP II:41, 385).

A dream is distinguished from a vision in that speech is heard in it, in accordance with "I do speak to him in dream." As for visions in which it is reported that speech is heard, Maimonides says, "every vision in which you find the prophet hearing speech was [only] in its beginning a vision, but ended in a state of submersion and became a dream" (GP II:45, 402). Maimonides draws attention repeatedly to "I do speak to him in a dream," as making language, the characteristics and the peculiarities of language, essential in the interpretation of dreams.

There are two basic notions on which Maimonides' psychological view of visions and dreams is based. The first is that the fundamental functions of all living forms, including human beings, may be characterized in terms of designative faculties, specifically nutritive, sensitive, imaginative, appetitive, and rational. The second is that visions and dreams are the products of the action of these designative faculties. The latter is a clear harbinger of what Freud referred to as the "dream work."

As Maimonides indicates, the narratives

and the poetry of the Scripture reach to a higher truth by virtue of the role of the human imaginative faculty. This notion is a harbinger of the great Romantic tradition that flowered in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. But the imaginative faculty can also combine images in different ways, producing combinations representative of things that have never been directly experienced, and can thus be misleading or revelatory.

Like Freud, Maimonides recognizes that the imaginative faculty can, combined with the rational faculty, lead to greater understanding than the rational faculty is capable of by itself. This is important to note since philosophers [scientists] are lacking in the imaginative faculty. As he states, "...the case in which the intellectual overflow overflows only toward the rational faculty and does not overflow at all towards the imaginative faculty ... is characteristic of the men of speculation [philosophy, science]" (GP II:37, 374).

Among the pointers Maimonides offers are that there are two kinds of dreams. There are dreams in which the internal meaning is contained in the theme of the dream. These are parables. More difficult are the dreams that are composites, where separate meanings are woven together into a whole in the dream, calling for separation and separate decoding.

With respect to the latter, the first step in the identification of the internal meaning of the dream is to recognize the fact that it is a composite, to break it up, and to deal with the parts separately. The latter corresponds to the classical *ad locum* form of exegesis of Scriptural texts. Maimonides exemplifies this method as appropriate for the interpretation of the dream of the ladder that Jacob is reported to have had. The text states, "And behold a ladder set up on the earth and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold the Lord stood above it" (Genesis 28:12-13). Maimonides' advice is to break out the parts of the dream on the assumption that it is a composite. He states the word "ladder" indicates one subject, "set up on the earth" a second, "and the top of it reached to heaven" a third, "and behold the angels of God" a fourth, "ascending" a fifth, "and descending" a sixth, and "And behold the Lord stood above it" a seventh (GP, Introduction to the First Part, 12-13).

In view of the assumption that the dream is a composite, a major deviation takes place from the common principle of identifying meaning, which is

to carefully identify the questionable item in its context and then to use the context as a guide. Here one has to overcome the context to get to the meaning. For the process of dream making is to impose an artificial context, as it were, which obscures the internal meanings.

To help the reader, Maimonides presents a lengthy lexicon of terms from Scripture. Virtually the whole of the first part of the three parts of *The Guide of the Perplexed* is devoted to this task. For each term he presents a number of alternative meanings that the term may designate. These alternative meanings derive from other places in Scripture. Since the principle is to defy the context in order to grasp the meaning, the lexicon is an aid.

In addition to the lexicographic method, Maimonides introduces several other methods of determining meaning. One of these is to assume that the text should be converted into a rebus, and interpret from there. Using English, it would be as though a dream contained an image of a window. Window is "win" and "dow," or, phonetically, "win dough," or "win money."

Maimonides explains this method of interpretation by saying that the prophets see things in their dreams and visions "whose purpose it is to point to what is called to the attention by the term designating the thing seen because of that term's derivation or because of an equivocality of terms" (GP II:43, 392). He gives an example from Jeremiah. Jeremiah sees a rod of an almond tree. The Hebrew word for almond is *shaged*. However, the word *shoqed* in Hebrew means "to watch over." Therefore, the meaning of Jeremiah's seeing the rod of the almond tree is that God watches over (Jeremiah 1:11-12; GP II:43, 392).

He also finds a license for finding the meaning of Scripture by taking the anagram of a word as expressing the internal meaning. Thus, *habol*, meaning spoil [the vineyards] in Hebrew, is transformed into *bahol*, meaning loath [God], by "changing," he says, "the order of the 'ha,' the 'ba,' and the 'lam.'" And, he adds, "solely the order of the letters is changed; and between the two terms there is no way an etymological connection or a community of meaning" (GP II:43, 393).

In conclusion, I want to suggest that Maimonides' contribution to the understanding of visions and dreams has been little appreciated and that his work is a major harbinger of the work of Freud in the 20th century.

(See the biographical sketch of Bakan as

part of the interview with him on page 65.) □

Trotsky's Dream of Lenin

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In the year 1935, when Leon Trotsky was living in Western Europe as an exile from the Russian Bolshevik state that he had founded with Lenin, he kept a diary (Leon Trotsky, *Trotsky's Diary in Exile, 1935, 1976, hereafter, Diary*). In it he recorded the fluctuations of a chronic fever along with comments on current and past events in his life. Late in June the fever exacerbated, causing him to become gravely ill and to have a dream which he recounted in his diary on June 26th:

Last night, or rather early this morning, I dreamed I had a conversation with Lenin. Judging by the surroundings it was on a ship, on the third-class deck. Lenin was lying in a bunk; I was either standing or sitting near him, I am not sure which. He was questioning me anxiously about my illness. "You seem to have accumulated nervous fatigue, you must rest." I answered that I had always recovered from fatigue quickly, thanks to my native *Schwungkraft* [animated energy], but this time the trouble seemed to lie in some deeper processes.... "Then you should *seriously* (he emphasized the word) consult the doctors (several names)...." I answered that I already had many consultations and began to tell him about my trip to Berlin; but looking at Lenin I recalled that he was dead [Lenin had been dead for over a decade]. I immediately tried to drive away this thought, so as to finish the conversation. When I finished telling him about my therapeutic trip to Berlin in 1926, I wanted to add, "This was after your death"; but I checked myself and said, "After you fell ill" (*Diary*: 145-6).

Trotsky's dream has not been mentioned in psychological studies of his personality, and it has only received superficial and cursory mentions in two of his biographies (Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky, 1929-1940*, 1963: 250-51, hereafter, Deutscher; and Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Trotsky*, 1977: 367-68). This essay will first sketch the factual background to the

dream: the relationships between Lenin and Trotsky, the history of Trotsky's illness, and the events proceeding the dream; and will then collate these facts with the contents of the dream, to offer some interpretations of these contents.

Background

Lenin and Trotsky first met in 1902, when Lenin was 32 years old and Trotsky 23, and they were both dedicated Russian revolutionary Marxists. After being political friends, they became for many years bitter political foes who held different Marxist viewpoints. Then during the beginnings of the Bolshevik Revolution -- in the years 1917-1922 -- they put aside differences, renewed their early friendship, and formed what Trotsky called "our fellowship of work" in which they directed the events of the Revolution. Lenin, along with valuing Trotsky as his "ablest" lieutenant, was concerned about the latter's health. In March, 1921, when Trotsky had an illness that a doctor thought was caused by improper nutrition, Lenin wrote a letter to several Bolshevik agencies, ordering them "to organize adequate nutrition for Comrade Trotsky according to the doctor's orders..." (Leon Trotsky, *My Life*, 1931: 480, 511, hereafter, *My Life*; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Trotsky: The Eternal Revolutionary*, 1996: 267).

Trotsky, as early as 1918, came to regard Lenin as "the greatest man of our revolutionary epoch" (Leon Trotsky, *On Lenin: Notes Towards a Biography*, 1971: 193, hereafter, *On Lenin*). Whereas he adapted the attitude of an arrogant newcomer towards many members of Lenin's Bolshevik party (he had only joined the party in August, 1917), toward Lenin he formed a special attitude of outward "tactful pliancy," in which he regarded Lenin as his "master" from whom he "learned to arrive independently at the same decision" (Anatoly Vasilievich Lunacharsky, *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, 1967: 66; *My Life*: 394). Despite their feelings of mutual respect, Lenin and Trotsky were not socially intimate (perhaps because of a lingering residue from their years of political enmity, Deutscher: 50).

In May, 1922, Lenin had a stroke which incapacitated him physically and mentally. By the summer he had made a partial recovery, and in his first post-illness meeting with Trotsky he related how he had been unable to "speak or write, and had to learn everything all over again." By the fall and winter, although he was able to attend meetings of the Bolshevik party's political bureau, at the end of these meetings he gave Trotsky "the

impression of being a hopelessly tired man. All the muscles of his face sagged, the gleam went out of his eyes.... His shoulders drooped heavily." Trotsky added that "at such ghastly moments Lenin seemed to me a doomed man" (*My Life*: 507).

On March 10, 1923, Lenin had a second stroke that paralyzed his right side and left hand, and rendered him almost speechless. Throughout 1923, although he made some temporary improvements, he could not participate in political work, or meet with Trotsky or most of his other colleagues. He was cared for by his wife, sister, nurses, and a group of Russian and European doctors. Trotsky, who received reports on his condition from one of his doctors, was torn between not abandoning his hopes for his recovery and not wanting him to live on as a helpless invalid (*My Life*: 507-8).

In the fall of 1923, Trotsky confronted a political and a medical crisis, each of which would become protracted. Stalin and other old-Bolshevik party members, in the course of politically maneuvering to become Lenin's successors, dissembled their intentions by accusing Trotsky of wanting to become a dictator. In an October 26th speech to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party, Trotsky replied that he had turned down positions of power when Lenin had offered them to him, and that he "feared above all making the impression that [he] was organizing a faction." Later he revealed that the "very thought" of his replacing Lenin "made [him] shudder" (Valentina Vilкова, *The Struggle for Power: Russia in 1923*, 1996: 184; *My Life*: 482). His reluctance to change from Lenin's ablest lieutenant to replacing Lenin as a leader probably originated in his unresolved oedipal conflicts with his authoritarian father (Peter Loewenberg, "Psychoanalytic Ego Psychology and Object Relations and Their Uses for the Historian," *The Psychohistory Review*, 25, 1996: 32-33).

And, then, late in October, after returning from a weekend hunting trip to the marshy country outside of Moscow, he became afflicted by a fever that physicians diagnosed as an infection of unknown etiology, that was unresponsive to medical treatments and greatly aggravated by mental stresses, and that persisted through 1923 and into 1924 (*Diary*: 145).

On January 21, 1924, Lenin died from a third stroke. Trotsky, in an article for the Bolshevik newspapers that was hurriedly written while he felt the sensations of fever, tersely and

eloquently expressed his feelings of shock ("we were all awaiting recovery, and instead catastrophe came"), of being "orphaned," and of determination to carry on Lenin's teaching. "Tomorrow," he wrote, "we shall still ask: is Lenin no more? Because his death will for long continue to seem impossible" (*On Lenin*: 203-4). He would continue, for a longer time than he could have anticipated, to think that Lenin's death was "impossible." Because Stalin deceived him about the date of Lenin's funeral, and perhaps also because of his fever and reluctance to assume a leadership role, he was not among the many mourners who attended the January 27th funeral. At this time he was "shaken with gratitude" when Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, wrote him in a letter that in the last month of his life her husband had been moved by reading a comparison of Lenin and Marx that Trotsky had published. Krupskaya added that Lenin had continued to feel friendship for Trotsky from their 1902 meeting until his death (*My Life*: 510). (In her letter she made no mention of the years of political differences between Lenin and Trotsky).

In the months following Lenin's funeral, Trotsky remained feverish and withdrawn from others, privately identifying with his dead leader while scorning his old-Bolshevik opponents and publicly mourning for Lenin by writing several warm and vivid recollections of the latter, centering on their first meetings and then on their "fellowship of work" in the Bolshevik Revolution. In April, 1924, these were published in a book, *On Lenin: Notes Towards a Biography*. In the "Foreword" to this book, Trotsky announced his future intentions of revising some of his recollections, adding new ones, and "perhaps" becoming Lenin's biographer (*On Lenin*: 24). In an October 7, 1924, article on Lenin's personality, "The True and the False" (published in the Bolshevik party newspaper, *Pravda*), he emphasized that his subject's "essential characteristic was to embody a tense will striving towards a [revolutionary] goal." One example of this was a solicitude for the health of political comrades, which Trotsky commented on as follows:

Lenin's personal attentiveness towards his comrades was dictated by devotion to the cause -- precisely to the same cause for which the comrades themselves gather around him. This attention which Lenin gave to them both as his co-workers and as

individuals testifies once again to his singleness of purpose, to the tenseness with which his whole personality was geared to the achievement of his aim (*On Lenin*: 158,167).

In making these comments Trotsky no doubt was recollecting the attention that Lenin had shown for his 1921 illness and wishing that he had this attention for his present illness. About this time his Bolshevik opponents began a daily newspaper campaign of slandering his political past and his relations with Lenin, a campaign which exacerbated his fever, but to which he did not publicly reply.

Over the next three years his life was dominated by illness and struggles against his political opponents for Lenin's legacy. Since his Russian doctors were unable to diagnose the causes of his recurrent fevers, which often "paralysed" his important activities, they recommended that he take a medical trip to Berlin in the spring of 1926. There, after consulting with many German physicians, he had his tonsils excised, an operation which did not alter the subsequent course of his fevers (*My Life*: 522-4). In his political struggles, he offered no resistance when his opponents followed up their campaign of slander by demoting him from his military and political positions after Stalin had become the majordomo and his main adversary. Although he displayed the utmost courage and tenacity in fighting for his political ideas, which he considered to be the ideas of Lenin, by the end of 1927 he was politically destroyed.

He believed that his defeat had resulted from what his Marxist outlook led him to conceptualize as "objective processes": the decline of world revolutionary movements and the rise of bureaucracy in Russia, processes that had "foreordained" Stalin's victory and that even Lenin could not have prevailed against. Thus, when Krupskaya said to him in 1927 that had her husband been alive "he would probably be doing time in a Stalin prison," he agreed with her (*My Life*: 481). He could not seriously or for long consider the possibility that, in addition to objective historical processes, his defeat had been influenced by his reluctance about replacing Lenin as a leader and his arrogant attitudes that had estranged him from Bolsheviks who might have become his political supporters.

In February, 1929, Trotsky was deported from Russia, and then lived the next six-and-a-half

years of his life in Turkey and France. As a man without a country, he was ostracized from having contacts with those who lived in Russia. In these years he thought about Lenin in various -- always passionate -- ways, applying what he called "Bolshevik-Leninist" ideas to his voluminous writings on current politics and in his attempts to politically organize his diverse groups of sympathizers. In his two major books -- *My Life* and *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932-1933) -- he gave delineations of the roles of himself and Lenin in Bolshevik history. Trotsky's writings refuted the falsifications of Stalin that prevailed in Russia, and influenced the opinions of readers outside of Russia. He frequently spoke about writing a biography of Lenin, and by the mid-1930s he had completed the first volume, *The Young Lenin*, depicting Lenin's first 23 years, up to the year 1893. In his diary, in an entry for April 10, 1935, he recollected the emotional details of a September, 1918, talk with Lenin: how, as he recounted his first successes in the Russian Civil War as the commander of the new Red Army, Lenin had listened with "excited attention" and then had seemed to be looking at him "with somewhat different eyes as if he was *falling in love*" [emphasis by Trotsky] (*Diary*: 84). This memory, which was so intensely remembered after 17 years, was his most affectionate recorded memory of Lenin.

In May and early June, when he and his wife Natalia were living in the small French Alpine village of Domène, he began to experience a period of increased exacerbations of his fever that made him feel that his resistance was becoming weaker, and that his "liquidation" was approaching (*Diary*: 119). (Febrile illnesses had, previously, killed four of his childhood siblings, his father, and one of his daughters.) His exacerbations were probably caused by different mental stresses: news from Russia of persecutions of Trotsky's youngest son and his first wife; being without money; his often intense and acrimonious correspondence and meetings with individuals who were affiliated with his Bolshevik-Leninist organizations (because he was afraid that his diary might be examined by the police, he made only infrequent and vague references to these political activities in its entries); harassments by rightists and leftists; and the growing threat of being deported by the French government to a remote French colony.

He was saved from this threat when, on June 8th, he was granted a six-month temporary

residence by the government of Norway. He then recorded in his diary how he and Natalia traveled from Domène to Paris and afterwards to Antwerp in Belgium, meeting briefly with his oldest son and political confidant, Leon Sedov; his nine-year-old grandson, Seva; and groups of political supporters. After overcoming a reluctance to accept him by the Norwegian government (which feared he might engage in revolutionary activities), borrowing money to pay for his travels because he was penniless, and obtaining the necessary visas for himself and Natalia who were both stateless individuals, he and she and two secretaries sailed from Antwerp to Oslo on the small Norwegian ship, the *Paris*. His only diary comment on the June 15-18 voyage was that the whole trip was "ideal" because no one "took any interest" in him (Deutscher: 290-92; *Diary*: 138-42).

At Oslo Fjord he was met by Olav Schefflo, a sympathetic Norwegian journalist who drove him and his party in a car to a hotel near Oslo where they rested for several days. On his arrival the Norwegian National Farmer's Union protested his admission, he was attacked by Norwegian fascists and local supporters of Stalin, and the government restricted his area of residence and asked him to pledge to refrain from political activities. On June 23rd he and Natalia settled into two rooms of the country home of Konrad Knudson, which was located 40 miles north of Oslo. Knudson was a Socialist member of the Norwegian parliament, whose moderate political views were remote from those of Trotsky, but who accepted the latter as a tenant when all other Norwegian homes were afraid to offer acceptance (Deutscher: 292-93; *Diary*: 142-44).

In a June 24th diary entry, after recording some of the attacks against his residing in Norway, he added, "Worst of all is the illness. Ten days of travel and living in hotels passed well, and I seemed to have revived. But now everything has come back at once: weakness, temperature, perspiration, inner physical emptiness.... It's an affliction, there's no other word for it." He went on being sick, and on the early morning of June 26th had his dream of conversing with Lenin. A dream which he thought important enough to write down in detail immediately upon awakening.

Interpretations

Because of Trotsky's censorship from his diary of many of his political activities, much important information relating to his dream remains unknown. However, by drawing on the

information that has been given in this essay, and by focusing on the contents of the conversation between Lenin and Trotsky and the reasons for their being third-class passengers on a ship, it is possible to postulate several of the psychological and political meanings of the dream.

The dream was Trotsky's attempt to defend against his anxieties about his illness, and his loneliness in his new place of refuge, by reestablishing a relationship with Lenin, a Lenin who eleven years after death is virtually alive, shows none of the stigmata of his years of cerebral strokes, and who for most of the dream closely and "anxiously" questions Trotsky about the latter's symptoms. In his replies Trotsky first expresses his fear that his illness involves "deeper processes" that portend his death. After Lenin has urged him to counter this fear by "seriously" (Lenin's emphasis) consulting several doctors, he recounts to Lenin that his many consultations with physicians -- up to his 1926 visit to Berlin -- have been ineffectual. (His diary does not record that he has consulted any doctors since his present exacerbation of illness began in May). In their conversation, Lenin, by his close questioning, shows what Trotsky in 1924 had described as the "tense will" and "personal attentiveness" that the Bolshevik leader reserved for a valued political comrade. Trotsky, in his replies to this questioning, shows the desire of a patient to explain his illness to a trusted physician.

They converse on the third-class deck of a ship where they appear to be alone (although Trotsky's recollections of their 1917-1922 talks sometimes convey the impressions that they had been alone, these talks usually occurred at political functions where others were present) and where they are physically close to each other. Trotsky is either standing or sitting, perhaps because (as he will note in his diary) he cannot decide which position is best for his fever, while Lenin is "near" him, "lying in a bunk" (*Diary*: 159). The reasons for Lenin being in this reclining position are not known.

To understand how they came to be third-class passengers it is necessary to discuss Trotsky's views about being in third class and about what would have happened had Lenin not died in 1924. It is not known what ship's class Trotsky occupied during his voyage to Norway on the *Paris* (occurring eight days before his dream) or whether he observed the third-class passengers on the *Paris*. On one occasion in 1916-1917, when

he was a second-class passenger on a ship sailing from Spain to America, he visited the third-class passengers and later he would painfully recollect their hunger and depressed and sullen feelings as they sailed "from a poverty that [was] bitter and hateful to another shrouded in uncertainty" (*My Life*: 268-69). Perhaps his dreaming of being in third class expressed his depressed view of himself as an individual who was homeless, impecunious, sick, and aging (in his diary, after noting that he was 55 years old, he commented that "old age is the most unexpected of all the things that happen to a man"), and who was now seeking refuge in a country where the reception of him had been constrained, uncertain, and protested, and where he lacked any significant influence.

It has been mentioned how he had agreed with Krupskaya's 1927 prediction that had her husband lived after 1924 he would have been defeated by Stalin and served time in prison. Trotsky continued to believe this prediction, up to and after his dream, repeating it in an article, "How Did Stalin Defeat the Opposition?", that was written in November, 1935 (Leon Trotsky, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36)*, 1977: 178, hereafter,, *Writings*). In dreaming of Lenin as being his companion in third class, Trotsky was inferring that this companionship had come about because Lenin had been defeated by the same historical forces that had defeated him; that instead of being in Stalin's prison, Lenin had become, like him, a political exile from Stalin's Russia; and that Lenin's attentiveness about his illness arose, in part, because of their having suffered similar anti-Stalin experiences. The dream is silent about further details and complexities of their third-class companionship: how they came to meet and for how long, what they did after the boat's voyage ended, and, in addition to Trotsky's illness, what other subjects they talked about.

Trotsky's pleasure in dreaming about having a companionship with a living and healthy Lenin begins to come to an abrupt and cruelly realistic end when, as he is recounting to Lenin his 1926 medical trip to Berlin, he realizes that by 1926 Lenin was dead. However, so great is the force of his wish to be with a living Lenin, that he goes on telling the dead Lenin about his trip. At the end of his telling, which is also the end of his dream, while he wanted to say to Lenin that his trip was "after your death," he could only say "after you fell ill." These last words show Trotsky's continuing mental conflicts over accepting the

finality of Lenin's death -- a conflict that he had first expressed 11 years previously by writing that Lenin's "death will for long continue to seem impossible."

Although he does not appear to have made any further comments on the dream, he was influenced by it in two ways. First, after recording the dream in his diary on the morning of June 26th, he observed his wife fixing up their Norwegian living quarters; and this observation, along with his conflicts over whether Lenin is his companion in a dream, stimulates him to enter in his diary a tender and detailed appreciation of the attributes of his wife as his companion. "Even now," he writes, "she does not cease to *amaze* [his emphasis] me by the unspoiled, integral, artistic quality of her nature" (*Diary*: 146-47).

The second influence of the dream was that -- as his fever continued -- he slowly, and with reluctance, began to act on Lenin's insistence that he "seriously" consult physicians. (His actions were also influenced by the debilitating nature of his fever and probably by the insistence of his wife). Less than a month after his dream, he told several visitors that he was expecting to be seen by two doctors (whether he was then really seen is not known). In September he met with a doctor from Czechoslovakia, and afterwards with Norwegian doctors in a hospital in Oslo. None of the doctors that he met helped him; but in December, for unknown reasons, his health became better (*Writings*: 53; *Diary*: 147-8, 159; *Deutscher*: 296-98).

Ralph Colp, Jr., MD, is a psychobiographer of Darwin who has devoted much of his professional life to treating graduate students at Columbia University. He was an active participant in the first historical dreamwork seminar in 1985. Dr. Colp wishes to express special appreciation to the members of the Psychohistory Forum and its Communism: The Dream That Failed Research Group for many years of sharing his interest in Trotsky's dream. (See Colp's contribution to "Books Shaping Psychohistorians" on page 67.) □

A Dreamer's Eye View of American Politics

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What are American voters really thinking as they cast their ballots in our quadrennial Presidential elections? What are their strongest feelings and deepest concerns about the candidates?

Since 1992 I have been researching political imagery in dreams, gathering several hundred reports of dreams in which major political figures appear as characters. These dreams open a fascinating window onto the deeper-lying emotional attitudes Americans have about the world of politics.

Although I intend to gather dream reports over the course of several more election cycles, the research I have done to date leads me to posit three different categories of "political dreams."

One, as Political Cartoons of the Mind. These are dreams that use a few simple images to express in succinct and sometimes very humorous ways the dreamer's political perspective. For example, a 36-year old man from Florida dreamed, "I'm playing golf with Bill Clinton. I've heard people say he cheats, and I understand what they mean, because he frequently improves the lie of his ball. But he encourages the people he's playing with to do the same. He says, 'It's just a game, and just for fun!'" This dreamer voted enthusiastically for Clinton in 1992, but he wasn't so sure in early 1996 (when he had this dream) that he'd vote for Clinton a second time. As the golf imagery of his dream puts it, he's worried that President Clinton is a "cheater" who frequently "improves his lies" and then tries to smooth-talk other people into letting him get away with it.

Two, as Personal Symbols. These dreams use the figures of politicians as "personal symbols" to express strong emotions that the dreamer is feeling toward some matter in his or her current life. An example would be a 62-year-old man from Indiana who had separated from his wife and was sadly trying to decide whether or not he should divorce her. During this time he dreamed, "I talk to President Harry Truman for seven hours. We talk a lot about the problems of the Presidency -- the loneliness of one man having to make decisions." The dreamer immediately noted the pun about President "True-man," and saw the dream as a metaphor of his personal struggle to figure out for himself the best, "truest" decision to make about his marital problems.

Three, as Dreams of Political Reconciliation. These dreams, though relatively

rare, have the power to change a person's political attitudes, compelling the dreamer to reconsider his or her accustomed beliefs about a politician. In one case a California woman, age 32, was surprised and deeply troubled when Newt Gingrich and his Republican allies took power in Congress in 1994. But then she dreamed,

"I'm at some sort of school gathering, and Newt Gingrich comes in to give a talk. I'm impressed by his intensity, his intellect, and his awareness of people's life problems, although I don't agree with all his arguments. But he talks a lot about self-reliance, and I do agree with that. Then I tell him a bit about my ideas, and he listens. I wake up, wondering if he thinks my ideas are good or bad."

This woman remained opposed to the conservative agenda of Gingrich and the Congressional Republicans. But, having had this "dream dialogue," the woman believed she better understood Gingrich's charismatic appeal, and she even recognized certain political principles on which she and Gingrich actually agree.

There are, of course, many different ways to interpret such dreams. A Freudian might see the President as an oedipal symbol representing the dreamer's father, while a Jungian might view the President as an archetypal image of inner masculinity. And, a neurologist might say all these dreams are simply the nonsense we should expect to be spit out by the brains of people living in a media-saturated society.

But after talking with many of these dreamers in detail about their experiences, I've come to believe that their dreams often have a genuinely political level of meaning: their dreams are creative efforts to make better sense of the political world in which they live. Based on this evidence, I would propose that one of the functions of our dreams is to help us integrate our inner and outer experiences -- connecting our personal hopes, desires, and fears with the social and political realities of our community.

(Author's Note: I am continuing my research on dreams and politics, so if you have any comments or material to share please contact me at 226 Amherst Ave., Kensington, CA 94708, <76633.1555@compuserve.com>.) □

Editor's Conclusion

Historical dreamwork is a valuable tool helping the biographer to know more about the psyche of the subject. It also assists the psychobiographer, who utilizes the Historical Dreamwork Method, to better understand how elements of his/her own life experience influence the biography. When I developed an idea for this Method, which involves a type of group role-playing -- building on the Ullman Dreamwork Technique -- and then organized the first historical dream seminar in 1985, Don Hughes, Montague Ullman, Ralph Colp, Mena Potts, and others joined me in making it a reality. Historical dream understanding has made significant progress since then with the work of the Association for the Study of Dreams and its publication playing an important role. Yet, major work needs to be done to alert biographers and historians to the rich treasure trove of dream materials and the techniques for discovering it and I hope our readers will join in this exciting process. □

The Kennedy Tapes and The Cuban Missile Crisis

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John F. Kennedy's early apologists likened him to Shakespeare's Prince Hal, dissipating himself in his salad days with the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, but recovering his lost prestige with a masterful display of sangfroid and diplomatic hardball during the Cuban Missile Crisis a year-and-a-half later.

For those who lived through those October Indian summer days of 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis was a frightening experience, reminiscent of Barbara Tuchman's masterful *Guns of August* (1962), which outlined the series of miscalculations by the major powers after the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and in the beginning of World War I.

However, with the Cuban Missile Crisis, a single miscalculation could have triggered thermonuclear war. Barry Gewen, an editor of the *New York Times*, recently wrote, "It is not hyperbolic to say, as many have, that the Cuban missile crisis was the single most dangerous episode in the history of mankind."

The recent (1997) publication of *The*

Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis, edited by Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, offers new information and a chance to review the situation. The tapes cover the secret, verbatim recordings of the meetings of the Special Executive Committee ("Ex Comm") which the President assembled to deal with the situation. The President was aware that the Ex Comm meetings were being recorded, but it is unclear as to whether any of the other participants also knew.

However, before proceeding to a psychohistorical discussion of the principal players in this drama, there are two items from the world of *realpolitik* that should be noted. First of all, there was objectively very little at stake here. The U.S. at the time had an enormous edge in nuclear weapons. During the Eisenhower administration, the U.S. had established nuclear missile sites in Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Secondly, according to Ted Sorensen, Kennedy had no per se objection to missiles in Cuba. This latter point is underscored in *The Kennedy Tapes*.

At various points on the tapes, Kennedy mentions that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had lied to him, ignored his specific warnings, and promised not to press the Berlin issue until after "the November elections."

The personal contrast between the two adversaries could not have been greater. Khrushchev always reflected his earthy, peasant background, coal-miner youth, and experience as a hard-nosed party functionary for the rest of his career. His political cunning was such that he not only survived the Stalin purges, but had risen to the position as head of the Communist Party by the time of Stalin's death.

After Khrushchev met with Kennedy in Vienna in 1961, the Soviet leader exhibited basic contempt for him. Kennedy was "a millionaire ... and the son of a millionaire." and "younger than Khrushchev's oldest son." Indeed, Khrushchev had exhibited his toughness with the construction of the Berlin wall, thereby forcing the West to live with a divided Berlin. Eisenhower was considered "tough" by Khrushchev but Kennedy was seen as "flexible," or a compromiser, a weaker version of his capitalist ancestors.

There were two items, however, in Kennedy's background that played heavily in his handling of the crisis but of which the Soviets were generally oblivious. First, Kennedy was a genuine combat veteran. In addition to his personal

knowledge that he had exhibited a certain quantum of Hemingway's "grace under pressure," Kennedy had also acquired the combat officer's cynical contempt for the military brass. This was in stark contrast to Khrushchev's cloying admiration for the generals in the Red Army. Secondly, one of the few crosses that John Kennedy had to bear through life was his father's loud and vociferous support of the accord that Neville Chamberlain struck with Hitler at Munich in 1938. Conventional wisdom had ever since had it that if the Allies had just "stood up" to Hitler, World War II could have been averted.

Consequently, one of the overriding mind-sets of the young president (like the son of a drunkard living an abstemious life) was, in my opinion, that he would not repeat the "mistake" that had blackened his father's reputation. First and foremost, he would stand up to the bullying tyrant.

This fear of appeasement, with a force approaching that of a conversion reaction, serves as the basic predicate for Kennedy's drawing a gratuitous "line in the sand" with the Cuban Missile Crisis. Kennedy and all of his advisors held it as an article of faith that the various "appeasements" of Hitler from the early rearming of the Reich to Munich itself were simply delaying the inevitable conflict.

Yet the young President had surrounded himself with such intense hawks that Kennedy seems to have been the only "dove" in the Ex Comm coterie because of favoring a blockade from the beginning. One side favored immediate air strikes, while the hard-liners wanted a full invasion of Cuba. In an appearance as part of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before the Ex Comm, Air Force General Curtis LeMay said of the proposed blockade, "This is almost as bad as the appeasement at Munich.... A blockade [is] a pretty weak response to this." Outside of the Ex Comm, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson argued plaintively that "everything is negotiable," but few shared his views. (Although there is no mention of it in the transcripts, one suspects that Kennedy might have been amused by the "soft line" taken by Stevenson who had a decade or so earlier scorned Joseph Kennedy as an "appeaser.")

Vice President Lyndon Johnson, a member of the Ex Comm but only irregularly present, comes off like someone's slightly doddering uncle at a family reunion. For example, "Well, hell, it's like the fellow telling me in Congress: 'Go on and put the monkey on his back.'" (It is small wonder

that Johnson, a few years later, could not resist the arguments of basically this same set of advisors calling for the regular escalation of military operations in Viet Nam.) Fortunately, at the height of the crisis Kennedy made a point of assuring that he, and not the generals who wanted to make the ultimate decision, controlled the nuclear weapons.

It seems fairly clear from subsequent publications dealing with the Soviet side of the face-off, that Kennedy was always a tactical jump ahead of Khrushchev. In terms of the strategic considerations, Kennedy's tactics were nearly flawless -- if one puts aside the question of the basic rationale for the crisis. Importantly, Kennedy's major concern of anticipating a serious move by the Soviets against Berlin was apparently never on the Soviet agenda.

As the editors of *The Kennedy Tapes* note, all of the members the Ex Comm had been "molded by World War II and the Cold War." Uniquely, of the entire assemblage, only John Kennedy seems to have been able to rise above his principles, as it were, and to consistently take the minimalist position in line with the collective mind-set. His performance here could be viewed as a classical study of the rational ego mediating the conflicting demands of the id and the superego. It was the survival instinct versus "the lessons of the past" which cloaked the id's desire for unlimited, grandiose power.

This performance was doubtless facilitated by Khrushchev's misreading of Kennedy's persona. Like many self-made men, the Soviet leader had a general contempt for intellectuals and the recipients of inherited wealth. He had no personal experience with people like Kennedy and seems to have relied on a basic Soviet stereotype, confusing Kennedy's aloof demeanor at Vienna with softness, his acceptance of an affront with cowardice. Despite his prejudices, the Russian had to face the reality of JFK's having the power of the U.S. behind him.

During the subsequent two years before he was ousted from office, Khrushchev could never stop wondering whether Kennedy was actually capable of starting a nuclear war. "Why should I believe that you Americans would fight a nuclear war over Berlin?" he asked point-blank of Secretary of State Dean Rusk during a meeting in August of 1963.

As card players know, it is the bluff that separates poker from all other games. Unless a

player is prepared to run an equivalent risk, it is impossible to know whether one's opponent is bluffing or not. In the game of international politics, which sometimes takes the form of Russian roulette, Khrushchev, who was backpedaling from the beginning of the crisis, never met the ante, much less raised the stakes. I think that it is clear from the tapes that Kennedy would have made a nuclear strike -- a cool, deliberate, rational move -- in order to save Berlin. He would have certainly had the unanimous support of Johnson, Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and the rest of the Ex Comm. Western civilization, consequently, owes a great debt to Nikita Khrushchev.

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Book Reviews

Clinton as Target of Displaced Rage

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Review of Michael A. Milburn and Sheree D. Conrad, The Politics of Denial. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996. ISBN 026213330X, x, 292 pp., \$25.

Politics is a highly competitive profession. The competition is especially severe and persistent in the United States and other countries with free elections and two major political parties. Politics therefore attracts people with strong aggressive feelings and intensifies those feelings.

Political expressions of aggressive behavior are described by Michael A. Milburn and Sheree D. Conrad in *The Politics of Denial*. The authors are professors of psychology at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. They argue that denial and displacement of childhood rage against punishment are important sources of punitive political policies, including the death penalty and warfare against foreign enemies.

One of the astute observations by Sigmund Freud was that young children are intensely emotional and irrational, contrary to the prevalent fantasy that their small size causes them to be gentle and sweet. Punishment of children induces rage, which is defined as a furious, uncontrolled

anger. Childish rage usually results in further parental punishment rather than an empathic and rational response. Children repress their rage from conscious awareness because of the overwhelming power of the adult punisher and also because they need parental love and support. Children therefore displace their rage onto other targets, while they deny the parental source of this emotion. As adults they punish their children and support punitive government policies.

The book by Milburn and Conrad cites many studies and discussions of the adverse effects of punishment. The reference list contains more than 400 publications. The principal citations on effects of childhood punishment are from a book by Alice Miller, *For Your Own Good: Hidden Cruelty in Child-Rearing and the Roots of Violence* (1983). The political consequences are largely based on a classic book on authoritarian behavior by Adorno, et al, *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950).

The citations constitute a sampling rather than a comprehensive survey of the literature on punitive child training. The book does not cite the numerous articles on the subject by Lloyd deMause and others in *The Journal of Psychohistory*. (They do cite two articles in that journal, Atlas (1990) on charismatic political leaders and Godwin (1996) on Newt Gingrich.)

Milburn and Conrad include examples of punitive behavior by politicians who suffered severe punishments in childhood. Only four are described extensively. They are Pat Buchanan, who was a Republican candidate for President in 1996; Newt Gingrich; Ingo Hasselbach, who was formerly an East German neo-Nazi; and John Silber, who was the Democratic nominee for Governor of Massachusetts in 1990. Gingrich, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, is the only one of these who has been a major national leader. There are only brief mentions of more prominent leaders.

Richard Nixon is an excellent example of a major political leader with punitive policies. His only political behavior described by Milburn and Conrad is the characterization of the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1972, George McGovern, as favoring "Amnesty, Acid, and Abortion." Watergate is referred to but not the specific punitive actions, such as Nixon's "enemies list." Psychobiographies of Nixon provide information on his punitive childhood experiences and aggressive reactions as a politician.

Milburn and Conrad point out that Bill Clinton, like Newt Gingrich, grew up in a home with a violent stepfather. The authors identify several contradictory characteristics of Clinton. He is an adamant supporter of the death penalty although a supporter of the liberal cause of rights of gays in the military. They denounce his administration for ignoring genocide in Rwanda but praise him for peaceful settlement of a threatened civil war in Haiti and for supporting an international climate treaty, which may be blocked by the Republican majority in Congress.

A psychobiographical article by Barry and Elovitz (*The Journal of Psychohistory*, 1992) discussed contradictory characteristics of Clinton. He had a mutually close, loving relationship with his mother but also suffered severe deprivations and probably punishments during childhood. He was born after the death of his father. His mother was often absent during his first four years. His maternal grandmother was probably the main source of his early childhood punishment. Clinton described her husband but not her as the kindest person he ever knew. His mother was loving but highly emotional and a rebellious daughter of a punitive mother. He was four years old when his mother married his stepfather, who sometimes beat his mother and probably also physically punished him. Clinton's recollections appear to indicate denial of punitive childhood experiences, typical of severely punished children. Accounts of Clinton's behavior as President include episodes of intense rage and self-pity, in accordance with effects of childhood punishment.

A more consistent expression of displaced anger is the attack on Clinton by Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and many of the Republican members of Congress. Clinton has the unenviable distinction of being the first President of the United States to be served a subpoena to testify about allegations of his own criminal behavior. (The withdrawal of the subpoena after it had successfully forced the President to agree to testify does not diminish its importance.) The attack on the President is grossly disproportionate to the accused misconduct, which consists of an unprofitable investment prior to his Presidency, a few episodes of private sexual behavior, and election fund-raising that has been traditional in both major political parties. The bitterness of the attack against the President may indicate that he is the target of displaced rage against the punitive authority figures of the parents of his political

adversaries.

Previous Presidents have often been targets of displaced rage. Denunciation and ridicule are occupational hazards for the principal political authority figure. Expressions of displaced anger may be magnified in a group situation, such as the Republican majority in Congress. This is consistent with the phenomenon of *groupthink*, described by Irving Janis in *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes* (1982).

Displaced anger also might have been exaggerated in 1974 when the Democratic majority in Congress forced Nixon to resign the Presidency. In comparison with Clinton, Nixon's crimes were more severe and pertained to his governmental functions. Nevertheless, his principal foreign policies were rational and enlightened. Vice President Ford and the principal federal officials were patriotic and intelligent public servants. The insistence on forcing Nixon to relinquish the Presidency was a reaction to Nixon's own hostility, but I believe that it also expressed the displaced rage of the members of Congress and the American people.

I agree with the principal message by Milburn and Conrad, associating childhood punishment with punitive political behavior. Their book contains much useful information, including summaries of research by the authors testing effects of childhood punishment on adult political opinions. However, I believe that the authors are excessively pessimistic. The book stresses denunciations of evils rather than remedies. Separate chapters are devoted to the topics of slavery, governmental violence, and environmental destruction. Originally writing shortly before the 1996 Presidential election, they asserted that political punitiveness has been worse in the 1990s than in previous decades. They did not mention evidence by deMause and others that children have been treated less punitively in recent years. Nor do the authors cite a popular book by Haim Ginott, *Between Parent and Child* (1961), which convincingly described the undesirable effects of spanking and emphasized advice on how parents can replace punishment with love, communication, and empathic understanding.

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Richard Milhous Nixon

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Review of Vamik D. Volkan, Norman Itzkowitz, and Andrew W. Dod, Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. ISBN 0231108540, xii, 190 pp., \$27.50.

As the first President to resign his office, Richard Nixon will always occupy a unique place in American history as one of the great tragic figures of our political tradition. He was a totally political man who lived for the arena of political action, yet at the height of his career he resigned his office, consigning himself to a kind of death in life until he actually died. Nixon was a man who people either loved or hated; there was seldom any middle ground of feeling about him. He has been the subject of many biographies of varying quality in the last 35 years. The public record about every phase of his life, especially his life in politics, is immense. Yet, there remains a sense of mystery about the man. Why was he the way he was? Why did this most political of men destroy himself politically and shut himself off from that for which he lived? What drove him to such ignominious disgrace? Even though we have ideas, the full truth may never be known. Scholars continue to write and try to understand.

Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography, one of the most recent efforts to comprehend this man, is both illuminating and disappointing. The authors profitably bring psychoanalytic sophistication to their subject. In their research the authors went on "the premise that, just as in the clinical situation or with a creative endeavor, the psychobiographical subject has 'products' and creations that are available for examination." This is a nice way to put it. "In Richard Nixon's case, we looked at his political thinking, decisions, and actions as his

'products' and creations and we selected certain ones for closer examination" (p. 18). This is fine as far as it goes, but in giving less attention to his childhood and family relationships they limit the quality of their and our insights into this man.

They are especially insightful on the narcissistic aspects of Nixon's personality (something I had not thought of when I first wrote about him some 25 years ago).

With Richard Nixon we see exaggerated narcissism, but *not* malignant narcissism. Nixon organized his personality at such a level that he had an exaggerated need to be 'number one' in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of others.... His need to be 'number one' found an echo in reality since he was in fact successful most of the time. It is this congruence with reality that ultimately differentiates successful people with narcissistic personality organization from those who, having such an organization, try to maintain their grandiose selves in the absence of realistic validation (p. 91).

For me, their insights on this aspect of Nixon was the best part of the book.

This book would have been far better if the authors had devoted more attention to Nixon's childhood and family relations. What they do give us is fine but there needs to be more. There is a huge, readily available public record plus extensive oral history materials in the Nixon Library. By not looking enough at this material the authors miss some important aspects of Nixon's emotional dynamics.

It is clear that Nixon's father, Frank, was an angry, contentious man, who could certainly be scary to his children. But what of the mother Nixon often called a "saint"? Her discipline lacked the physical brutality of the father, but the children dreaded lectures from her more than punishment from Frank because she could evoke tremendous emotional guilt in them. Thus, Nixon and his siblings lacked consistent nurturance from either parent. While the authors note the tragic losses and separations Nixon endured in his youth, they do not really discuss the emotional effect of these experiences on him. His mother noted that after the death of his two brothers he tried to be three sons-in-one to help make up for their loss.

Perhaps the authors' major omission has to do with the persistent pattern of crisis and resurrection that is one of the hallmarks of Nixon's

life. The authors allude to it here and there but always as an isolated phenomenon. For example, "Not having had a 'good enough' mother most likely contributed to Nixon's need to resurrect himself from the disgrace and humiliation of his resignation from the presidency" (p. 144). But why did he have to take it to the point of having to resign? In his *Memoirs* (1978) he admits that he set himself up for his fall via a number of poor decisions. Getting into crises and successfully surmounting them had been an aspect of his emotional life at least since high school. As he grew older the crises became increasingly extreme, and the narcissistic gratification of resurrecting himself greater and greater. When he lost the governor's race in California and made his famous "you won't have Nixon to kick around anymore" speech, it was widely regarded as an act of political suicide. Winning the Presidency a few years later was felt by many to be one of the greatest political comebacks ever. He went on to win a second term by the biggest vote margin in American history and then resigned, turning success into disgrace and failure. All things considered, his comeback after the resignation was indeed remarkable. While the authors are quite correct that, as part of this, we need to understand "Americans' perceptions of a fallen 'hero'," we also need to understand that Nixon had been locked into a progressively more destructive pattern of crisis and resurrection since childhood.

Though this book has its limitations, psychohistorians interested in Nixon can learn from it and should read it closely. But they should not stop with it since Nixon is a complex man and a challenging historical figure who does not lend himself to easy understanding. Because he has been so much a part of American political life in the last half of this century, it is important that we continue to work to know what he is about.

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Analysts on the Couch Part I: Donald W. Winnicott

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Review of Brett Kahr, D.W. Winnicott: A Biographical Portrait. Madison, CT.: International Universities Press, 1996. ISBN 0823666840, xxix, 189 pp., \$40.

There is a growing literature of the biography of psychoanalysts by analytically trained psychobiographers. J.D. Sutherland, *Fairbairn's Journey into the Interior* (1989); Jeremy Hazell, *H.J.S. Guntrip: A Psychoanalytical Biography* (1996); and Brett Kahr, *D.W. Winnicott: A Biographical Portrait* (1996) set a standard of insight that will affect future literary attempts at interpreting personality. The combination of analyst subject and analyst biographer makes for a clarity of vision rarely encountered in biography. The material is uncommonly rich. Two of the analysts, Ronald Fairbairn and Harry Guntrip, kept journals of their subjective lives, while Donald Winnicott left extensive correspondence and personal papers. Guntrip and Winnicott were prolific writers, and Fairbairn, while more parsimonious with words, fully articulated his pioneering object relations theory of the personality.

Brett Kahr's relationship with his subject is more distant than Hazell's and Sutherland's with their subjects, as he did not know Winnicott personally, instead reconstructing his subject's life story from interviews and from unpublished writings to which he had full access. Kahr, an American by birth and education, is Senior Lecturer in Psychotherapy at Regents College, London, and Visiting Staff Member, Child and Family Department of the Tavistock Clinic. John D. Sutherland, Fairbairn's biographer, became an elder statement of British psychoanalysis, having served as Medical Director of the Tavistock Clinic and having done extensive editorial duties including editing the *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*. Sutherland knew Fairbairn well throughout his working life and had a five-year personal analysis with him. Jeremy Hazell, a psychoanalytic psychotherapist, had a five-year training analysis with Harry Guntrip. His is the most detailed and harrowing account of the three; Sutherland's is necessarily the most speculative, while Kahr disarmingly calls his study of Winnicott "a mere sketch" towards a comprehensive biography. Together they deliver a force of insight hardly imaginable from non-analytically trained writers. This first part of my essay will focus on Kahr's Winnicott and the subsequent part (in the next issue of **Clio's**

Psyche) will be on the books by Sutherland and Hazell.

Brett Kahr's *D.W. Winnicott* is a brief, pungent summary of the psychological development and career of Britain's most influential child analyst. Winnicott (1896-1971) did more to reform authoritarian child rearing than anyone in his generation, apart from Benjamin Spock in America. A leader in the "Independent" group of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Winnicott not only wrote many papers now regarded as classic, he also lectured, taught, and gave radio broadcasts advocating humane parenting. Legendary in his lifetime, he extended his remarkable gift for communicating with mothers and children to an evergrowing appreciative audience. Yet Winnicott's was a complicated and, in some respects, lastingly troubled personality of whom Kahr accounts with admirable clarity and balance. Though this is not a detailed life, all the essential considerations for a full psychobiography are present.

Kahr's combination of directness and tact in dealing with Winnicott's psychopathology comes through especially in the passages on his reason for entering analysis with James Strachey in London. The young Cambridge and St. Bartholomew's Hospital-trained pediatrician first consulted Dr. Ernest Jones who sent him on to Strachey in 1924 for analysis that lasted ten years. As Winnicott put it, "Through personal difficulties I came into psychoanalysis at an early stage in my work as a children's doctor" (p. 44). Psychobiographers will do well to watch Kahr as he moves through the sensitive territory opened by Winnicott's admission that he was "ill." Using evidence that Winnicott was more than just "inhibited," as could be true of any late Victorian, he skillfully moves to the specifics, first conceding that there is "no concrete evidence whatsoever on which to base any hypotheses," then going on to examine the hearsay evidence for Winnicott's psychosexual conflicts (p. 45). In early life, Winnicott's dominant heterosexuality, accompanied by impotence, could well have led to emotional suffering he called "illness." Corroboration is locked up in the Strachey case notes.

Winnicott's first marriage to a disturbed woman compounded difficulties for which analysis with Strachey was helpful, but Strachey's own sexual ambiguity leads Kahr to wonder whether, long-term, he was the right analyst for Winnicott.

Although married, Strachey's preference was homosexual, probably causing Winnicott "considerable homosexual anxiety in the first months of intimate treatment with Strachey" (p. 51). Kahr suggests that Strachey neglected to analyze Winnicott's insecure sexual orientation due to "malignant countertransference" (pp. 51-2). Yet he thinks that Strachey was genuinely sustaining through difficult events, despite Winnicott's final judgement that while Strachey adhered to classical technique, making "practically no mistakes," the treatment results were disappointing (pp. 54-5). A further five years of treatment with Melanie Klein's follower Joan Riviere confirmed the direction of Winnicott's search but left him no further ahead with his own difficulty. Altogether, negative experiences with classical Freudian analysis, and its variant in Kleinianism, turned Winnicott towards the heresy of environmental studies of mothers and infants -- aligning him with Fairbairn, despite a reluctance to acknowledge it.

The picture of Winnicott's childhood is consistent with lifelong psychosexual difficulties. Viewed superficially, Winnicott's upper middle class upbringing in a large Victorian house in Plymouth, Devon, looks ideal. He enjoyed all the privileges of an established and affluent merchant family headed by his father, Sir Frederick Winnicott, sometime mayor of the city. His schooling and university were accordingly privileged, but Kahr sees the developmental drawbacks of a dominantly female household for what they were. While there is no evidence for dramatic impingements or abuses, and no losses by death, Winnicott's caregivers were too overwhelmingly female for him to acquire secure maleness. His father, a liberal-minded Methodist, was largely unavailable to his son, although he exemplified free religious enquiry. Winnicott's notable open-mindedness in the disputatious days of psychoanalytic controversy in London may well trace to the religious toleration taught by his father. But as to real companionship, there was a lack. As Kahr writes, "Father Winnicott dedicated so much of his time to the city that he seems to have spent very few hours at home, leaving his son surrounded by [a] bevy of women: mother, sisters, aunts, nanny, governess, cook, [and] maids as well as the many female relations who lived across the road...." (p. 5). The result was a "powerful female identification" and "an extreme fascination with the inner world of the female -- an interest that eventually became his life's work ... the exploration of the essence of motherhood and ... examination

of the child's relationship with the mother" (p. 6). But why was female identification so intense, and why was it so fraught with ambivalence?

There is evidence in a childhood doll-bashing incident of envious rivalry with Winnicott's elder sisters, but more important are his feelings about his depressed mother, Elizabeth. As Winnicott himself wrote, his father "left me too much to all my mothers. Things never quite righted themselves" (p. 10); but, more fatefully, Sir Frederick delegated his only son to be his depressed wife's caregiver -- a task he perhaps too conscientiously fulfilled.

Even lacking a detailed account of Winnicott's relations with his depressed mother and the many females in his childhood, we can see that Kahr's emphasis is right. Winnicott was devoted to women in the most chaste and caring way possible, able to engage with them in therapy because he was sexually avoidant. He is surely unique in ability to expound the power and intricacy of what goes on between mother and infant. This led to the most startlingly original papers on development, creativity, and unconscious fantasy in our era, "The Use of An Object" (1969) foremost among them. It was this paper that got Winnicott in such trouble with New York Freudians because it insisted on a degree of mother-infant interaction hitherto absent from theory. On the sexual margin, freed of inhibitions, and quirky in his use of language, Winnicott was unafraid to say what he thought much as he thought it. He devised his own 'poetic' style to say the nearly unsayable, never very systematically, but with a liberating influence for those dealing with children at all levels. Winnicott himself is remembered as "an eternal child" (p.133), who loved to invent games, especially the famed "Squiggle Game." He was not a Rousseau-like believer in primitive goodness, insisting upon the paradox of loving empathy and unavoidable hostility in human relations. Kahr's shrewd biographical portrait greatly improves the intelligibility of Winnicott's unique contribution to human understanding.

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relations" theorists and the durability of their ideas about personality formation and psychopathology. His most recent work is The Creative Matrix: Anxiety and the Origin of Creativity, the first attempt to apply John Bowlby's work in attachment theory to understanding artistic creativity. □

Painting William James With a Fine Pencil

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Review of Linda Simon, Genuine Reality: A Life of William James. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998. ISBN 0151930988, xxiii, 467 pp., \$35.

Linda Simon does not situate her biography in relation to previous work on William James (1842-1910), and only two of her notes allude to any other scholarship on James. Nevertheless, her portrait is not inconsistent with the one Dr. Howard Feinstein and I discovered in 1968 when we collaborated in research on the identity crisis of James. She believes (as we did) that his intellectual career required a sense of liberation from his father's control. She also sees that his father's disparagement of work contaminated the son's ability to persist in commitment to it, though she doesn't make explicit the link between the father's and son's similar episodes of panic fear: the context of a crisis of vocational choice.

Feinstein and I wanted to explain the long deferral of James's entry into teaching and writing about philosophy while he pursued the scientific career his father had expected him to follow, while at the same time disparaging it in comparison to metaphysics. We found ego psychology useful because of Erikson's focus on work as a locus of conflict. The James story fitted Erikson's idea of a parent precipitating a deeply disturbing identity crisis by selecting a child "who must justify the parent." Over-identification by the child with a disturbed and partially crippled parent, such as William's father, and over-commitment to a wrong choice, such as William's experience of medical school, fitted the Eriksonian picture.

Simon emphasizes that James lived alternately in two different worlds -- "one, unified and monistic, inherited from his father; the other, pluralistic and changeable, imagined by Darwin." There is a doubleness also in her use of his

photographs: the cover displays a cerebral thinker in a formal pose; the title page shows a much smaller photograph of him in a plaid shirt and casual pose as vacationer at Putnam Camp in the Adirondacks. Much of her book documents the more informal and less cerebral James.

She has her own psychological view of him as a person who feared that his public self hid "a repulsive inner self" and who found in his wife a person who was his "protector, nurturer, and nurse" and who saw his moods as transitory rather than evidence for a disassociated self. In this sense, his engagement to her was "the most crucial event in Williams's life." Simon also sees another woman as important to him, Minnie Temple (usually linked only to William's brother, the novelist Henry James), who loved him and died young. "Minnie would haunt him forever." Simon reveals better than anyone else how he was attracted to young women both when he was young and when he was in his fifties. At the latter age he was fascinated with women young enough to be his daughters, especially Pauline Goldmark, of whom he said he would "probably be deep in love" if he were a young bachelor.

Professor Simon finds her method in his idea that "life is in the transitions as much as in the terms connected." Her title points to his idea in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909) that "the word 'or' names a genuine reality." Her focus is therefore on the alternatives he saw to the paths "prescribed by his culture, his class, his father" at times when the word "or" did name "a desired reality." In this light "the single most important discovery of his life" was "the will to choose." Her considerable achievement is to focus his story through his own characteristic ideas. The result is the best biography we have for the general reader.

Simon's portrait situates him more thoroughly in the daily life of his family and the civic world of New England than in the currents of intellectual history. She begins her book with his public triumph of speaking on Decoration Day in 1897 at the unveiling of Saint-Gaudens' statue to the slain Union hero Robert Gould Shaw, who led black troops at the battle of Fort Wagner. Though she doesn't mention it, James's emphasis on Shaw's civic courage was a rebuke to Justice Holmes's enthusiasm in his public speeches for "The Soldier's Faith," a difference reflecting James's nonparticipation in the war and Holmes's experience of being wounded three times fighting for the Union.

She documents how much of his time James gave all his life to his unrealized hope that trance mediums would provide new physical facts and possibilities that could perhaps be the "chosen instruments for a new era of faith." She mentions the pertinent psychological fact that the death of the Jameses' son Herman animated the parents' hope that spiritualists might find proof that he was not forever lost to them. She also documents fully the extent of his experimenting with popular faddish remedies for neurasthenic symptoms by visiting "mind-cure" therapists.

Stronger on contexts than on texts, however, she devotes too little attention to the *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). Although she recognizes that James finds some value in the "once-born" optimism of "the healthy-minded" believers, she fails to see that for him "it is true that the outlook upon life of the twice-born - - holding as it does more of the element of evil in solution -- is the wider and completer." What gives bite to James's discussion of religion is his almost Calvinistic insistence (akin to his father's) that evil facts are not only "a genuine portion of reality" but may "after all be the best key to life's significance, and possibly the only openers of our eyes to the deepest levels of truth."

While she briefly mentions in her introduction James's public tribute to Emerson at Concord in 1903 on the centennial of his birth, rightly noting the context of James's worrying about getting his own philosophical message out, she ignores his preparation for the event by rereading Emerson's works and marking in the margins his affinities with and criticisms of Emerson's characteristic ideas. Emerson, he told his brother Henry, had thrown a "strong practical light on my own path." By exemplifying the wisdom of "the incorrigible way," Emerson had "followed his own vocation"; James was encouraged to go his own way by writing *Pragmatism* (1907). If it is the shadow of the elder Henry James' sense of sin and twice-bornness that falls on *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, it is Emersonian secular self-reliance (without his optimistic monism) that helps to animate James' *Pragmatism* with its buoyant but tough-minded acceptance of moral action in an uncertain universe in which there are genuine losses and "something permanently drastic and bitter always remains at the bottom of the cup." Perhaps my emphasis on this secular, confident side of James stems from my having read him when I was a young man,

recuperating in an army hospital from pneumonia, while I was moving from Kierkegaard's radical Protestantism to a more historical and secular outlook, a transition that James helped me make because he seemed to have a foot in both camps.

Linda Simon never glosses over James's periods of anxiety and depression, but her book is unusually free of psychological labeling, feminist polemics, and conservative moralizing. Evaluation is implicit in her narrating and describing, and it is characteristic that when she comes to the end of her story, there is no summation. Instead, she simply describes a contrasting symbolism in his death. For all his informality, James preferred "dignity" to "sincerity" in his funeral service and wanted both a cathedral and ritual, as his wife even more decidedly did. Yet James was not buried with Boston's worthies in the famous Mount Auburn cemetery but in a family plot at the rim of the "undistinguished Cambridge Cemetery," facing "towards the life of the city," the grave marked by "a simple, polished stone, unexpectedly small."

Henry Adams spoke of a biographer needing "a fine pencil," responsive to light and shadow, to make a portrait that would take account of the contradictions in Thomas Jefferson's character. Unlike the recent Jefferson revisionists, Simon has painted her portrait of William James by using just such a pencil. She regrets, nevertheless, that we cannot know what it was like to know him and, instead, "all we have, really, are a few pages of print." Perhaps that is why she edited an anthology of those who were acquainted with him. But their acquaintance-knowledge is, for the historian, only further evidence to be analyzed for its contribution to our knowledge about him. In the case of the James family, however, the abundant documentary evidence we have is very much greater than "a few pages of print." No one knows this better in practice, for all her regrets, than Linda Simon.

Cushing Strout is the Ernest I. White Professor of American Studies and Humane Letters-Emeritus, Cornell University. His work on William James includes "The Unfinished Arch: William James and the Idea of History" in Cushing Strout (ed.), The Veracious Imagination: Essays on American History, Literature, and Biography (1981); "William James and the Twice-born Sick Soul" in Dankwart A. Rustow (ed.), Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership (1970); and "The Pluralistic Identity of William James: A Psycho-historical Reading of The Varieties of Religious

Experience" in American Quarterly 23 (May, 1971), 135-52.

[Editor's Note: Professor Linda Simon of Skidmore College was one of the Psychohistory Forum's four March 7, 1998, presenters on the uses of empathy]. □

Reflections of David Bakan

Todd Dufresne

Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ont.

David Bakan is Professor of Psychology (Emeritus) at York University, Toronto. He specializes in the history and theory of psychology, the psychology of religion, the metaphysical grounds for human conduct, and the psychology of pain, and has been president of three divisions of the American Psychological Society. His major works include Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition (1958), The Duality of Human Existence (1966), and Slaughter of the Innocents: A Study of the Battered Child Phenomenon (1971).

Todd Dufresne (TD): Should we care about Freud today?

David Bakan (DB): Absolutely. I think he is one of the most important thinkers we have. Let's talk about Freud and Aristotle for a moment.

Primitive materialist determinists thought that matter was the cause of all things. But Aristotle investigated this idea and found that it was insufficient and wrong, and that the nature of causality was far more complicated. Aristotle went out of fashion with Augustine, and with the onset of the Dark Ages. In the seventh century, Islam came into being. The Arabs were enthusiastic for Aristotle and begin to develop Aristotelian thinking, which went on for several centuries. Then with the Crusades the two cultures met, and the Christians were reintroduced to Aristotle -- reading Latin translations of Aristotle from Arabic translations from the Greek. And thus we got the birth of scholasticism in the 13th century.

This new interest in Aristotle lasted another three or four centuries, until Galileo when we got the total rejection of Aristotelianism and the rehabilitation of materialist determinism. Basically the chief figure of this era was Thomas Hobbes, who visited Galileo, became enthusiastic, and subsequently developed his own notion of materialist determinism. We then had another

burst of materialism around the time of Freud, with all the work on physiology. Finally, though, we get Freud -- who was an Aristotelian.

The significance of Freud is that he begins to show that human beings are causal agents in-the-world. Almost as important for Freud is the role of negation for human voluntary conduct; negation in the sense that Freud is concerned with the pathologies of voluntary conduct. That is what he devotes his life to studying, and that is why he is important.

TD: How was Freud Aristotelian?

DB: Because of the nomothetic causes. With Galileo the fundamental philosophy of science deems that all causation is a question of matter and its principles. This is the first of Aristotle's four causes, the Material cause. But it is the last three causes that are relevant for Freud: the Formal, Efficient, and Final causes. In business and industry they talk about management objectives, right? They *know* that unconscious mentation drives conduct. Anyone dealing with people knows this about human conduct. Freud is the beginning of the investigation of that truth. Science has systematically taken the opposite position.

TD: Is Freud important as a historical or a scientific figure?

DB: As a scientific figure. He is the beginning of psychology in the modern world. Someone like Gregory Kimble, the author of one of the most widely read textbooks in psychology, can still speak of what he calls a "fundamental attribution error" to characterize the attribution of causation in human mentation. That is my answer to your question about whether or not we need Freud. Freud is the main exponent of the human being as an agent, that unconscious mentation drives conduct. But in every university course in psychology, students are regularly told that mentation does not drive conduct. Universities are completely controlled by materialist determinism. There is no place where psychoanalysis is a serious component of a graduate psychology program. I remember having lunch with Rollo May, and his heart was full of grief. He had never been offered an appointment in any university. Rollo May! I could not get him appointed at York University, no matter how hard I tried.

I managed to get into the academy on the strength of my knowledge of statistics. I received my degree from Ohio State University, and was a

master of this new technique called "analysis of variance." And then I became interested in Freud. I was invited to Harvard on the basis of my research on Freud. At Harvard I associated with David McClelland, Harry Murray, and their colleagues, who were friendly to psychoanalysis. They were interested in my research, and since a faculty member was going on leave, there was a space for me as a visiting Professor and Research Associate at Harvard for two years. There I taught a seminar on Freud and the Jewish mystical tradition.

TD: In a psychology department?

DB: No, in the Department of Social Relations. There I was tolerated. The psychology department wouldn't have me. And then I left for the University of Chicago -- but again my appointment was made on the strength of my work on statistics. Statistics were the real bread and butter; psychoanalysis only made me interesting. I was invited to the Chicago Psychoanalytic group, where I spoke about my work. They were very polite, but the whole idea made them uncomfortable. Many of them were victims of Hitler and they needed distance between psychoanalysis and Judaism. But there is a reasonable amount of commentary available now about Freud's Jewish side.

TD: Could you tell me about some of your contacts. For instance, you record a personal communication with Theodor Reik in your Freud and Judaism book

DB: When I was doing my research I decided that I was going to speak with whomever I could. I went to visit Theodor Reik in New York. He was charming. I remember a beautiful comment he made about the Ernest Jones biography of Freud. He said, "It's a good book. But there are two things that Jones doesn't understand: the Jews and the Viennese." Reik made another memorable comment about Jones's biography. He said that "Jones is like a porter: he carries your bags but has no idea what's in them." I thought the Jones volumes were extremely helpful, and I couldn't have written my book without them.

TD: What is your reaction to the revisionist historical work on psychoanalysis that followed in the wake of the Jones biography?

DB: I mean, who cares? This work doesn't touch substantively upon Freud's work. Too much of it is gossip. I don't deny that I have

learnt a great deal from many biographical sources. For instance, Freud claimed that he did not know Hebrew, and biography can help shed light on this claim.

TD: You have written quite a bit about Freud's metapsychology.

DB: When reading Freud you have to recognize that he was a physician, and that his mode of discourse was essentially determined by his writing about disease. When Freud comes to *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), beginning with the first sentence of the Preface to the First Edition, he writes,

I have attempted to give an account of the interpretation of dreams; and in doing so I have not, I believe, trespassed beyond the sphere of interest covered by neuropathology. For psychological investigation shows that the dream is the first member of a class of abnormal psychical phenomena ...[which] are bound for practical reasons to be a matter of concern to physicians" (SE 4: xxiii).

Now, every doctor who writes about disease has, at the back of his mind, a concept of health. What Freud understood by this concept was basically autonomy, consciousness, and rationality. Accordingly, the loss of autonomy and consciousness enables sickness and the whole variety of things called neuroses. Neurosis is always characterized by the loss of voluntary control: for instance, the neurotic has involuntary compulsions, hysterical paralysis, hysterical blindness, obsession, etc. That Freud wrote about and recognized such disease conditions means that he recognized a normal condition of health.

Freud's social theory takes account of the fact that the human being begins with an over-endowment of reproductive capacity -- in contrast with other organisms for which sexuality is seasonal and highly patterned. The incest taboo has to be universal in the sense that you have to control sexual conduct among the most accessible people, for instance, your sister and your mother. Freud's heartache is this problem. But it is a life problem, a coping problem. You cannot discuss Freud's views on anything by leaving out the problem of incest, which is central to all of his theories. For Freud the sexual yearning or desire for close relatives, for the mother, for the mother's breast, is incestuous.

Todd Dufresne, PhD, was formerly a

Research Associate and SSHRC Post-Doctoral Fellow at The Psychoanalytic Thought Program, Trinity College, The University of Toronto. He is the editor of Returns of the "French Freud": Freud, Lacan, & Beyond (1997) and of Freud Under Analysis: History, Theory, Practice (1997). His new book, Beyond Beyond: Tales from the Freudian Crypt, will be published by Stanford University Press. □

Books Shaping Psychohistorians

Ralph Colp, Jr., Columbia University

Fifty years ago, at the time of graduating from medical school, I first read *My Past and Thoughts*, the memoirs of the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary, Alexander Herzen. That work described in a manner which was both fascinating and deeply moving the vivid and complex personalities of Russian and European revolutionaries, their prolonged emotional sufferings as a result of political defeats and exile, and their struggles to maintain their political hopes.

In my early years as an analytically oriented psychotherapist (treating graduate students at Columbia University), while undergoing a lengthy psychoanalysis and beginning to write biographical essays on scientists and revolutionaries, I was engrossed by books about the formation of identity that included Erik Erikson's *Childhood and Society* (1950); Allen Wheelis, *The Quest for Identity* (1958); and Daniel Levinson's *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (1978). Later books that stimulated my thinking on how to apply psychoanalytic insights to biography were Hanns Sachs, *Caligula* (1931); Eugene Victor Wolfenstein, *The Victims of Democracy: Malcolm X and the Black Revolution* (1981) (which was unusual among psychobiographies because it drew on both Freudian and Marxist theories); and Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (1982).

I have also frequently read, and reread, the writings of Freud. Among the many books about his life, and how he developed his ideas, I have been most stimulated by Max Schur, *Freud: Living and Dying* (1972); Leonard Shengold, *The Boy Will Come to Nothing: Freud's Ego Ideal and Freud as Ego Ideal* (1993); and Sander Gilman's two 1993 books, *Freud, Race, and Gender* and *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity* at

the Fin de Siècle.

J. Donald Hughes, University of Denver

The books I have found influential in my thought on psychohistory have not always been those I agreed with, but those that stimulated me to further thought. When I was an undergraduate, I read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*, probably because Freud's theory was supposed to have something to do with sex. As I recall, it had to be checked out from behind the desk at the library. As far as that goes, it was disappointing. Although it was not easy reading, it was my first key to the idea that dreams reveal unconscious motives. Also, I was bemused by the thought that dreams can tell puns.

In graduate school, I came across Jung's *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, and it opened to me the concept that dreams, carefully attended to, have a pivotal role in the course of a life. I have returned many times to Jung's encounter with the mysterious figure who was meditating *him*.

As a professor, I picked up Paul Shepard's *Nature and Madness* (1982), which has its obvious flaws in spite of the author's fine writing. His parallel between history and biography was interesting (sort of "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny"), although I could not agree with his simple periodization. More important for me was the idea that the human relationship to nature, the community of life, is of primary importance in psychological development. Suddenly I saw that my interests in psychology, ecology, and history could be combined.

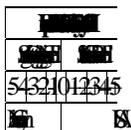
Then I must mention John M. O'Brien's *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy* (1992). Although I read it after I had published my article on the dreams of Alexander in *The Journal of Psychohistory*, I found it stimulating. I have used it as a text in my course on Alexander the Great several times, because it is the only recent biography that seriously tackles the question of his motivation. I hope my shadow boxing with O'Brien's provocative interpretations intrigue my students as they do me. □

Bulletin Board

Our **SATURDAY WORK-IN-PROGRESS WORKSHOPS** schedule includes **Eva Fogelman** (CUNY Graduate Center and private practice) on "The Rescuer Self in the Holocaust," **September 19**; **George Victor**

(psychologist in private practice and Psychohistory Forum Research Associate), **Nobuko Meaders** (psychoanalyst in private practice) and others, "From Japanese Mythology to the Origins of World War II, November 7"; and **Charles Strozier** (Center on Violence and Human Survival, CUNY Graduate Center, and private practice) on "Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut" on **January 30, 1999**. **CONFERENCES:** At the American Historical Association's Pacific Coast Branch Meeting in August, **Don Hughes** chaired a session on environmentalism, **Richard Weiss** presented on Alfred Adler, and **Paul Elovitz** presented "Sulloway's Flawed Study of Birth Order." Among the Forum members who presented at the **International Psychohistorical Association (IPA)** Conference at Fordham Law School in New York City on June 3-5 were **Herbert Barry**, **David Beisel**, **Brian D'Agostino**, **Paul Elovitz**, **Michael Hirohama**, and **David Lotto**. At the **International Society for Political Psychology (ISPP)** meeting July 12-15, 1998, in Montreal **Herbert Barry**, **Peter Loewenberg** ("The Bauhaus as a Creative Institution"), and **Jacques Szaluta** were among the presenters. This July, Ramapo College hosted the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA) conference. **IPA AWARDS:** 1998 Committee Chair Paul H. Elovitz announced the following recipients: Roger Lorenz Graduate Student Award to **Ruth Dale** of England, teacher and graduate student; Evelyn Bauer Award for Women's Studies to **Andrew Brink** of Ontario; Casper Schmidt Award for Fantasy Analysis to **Kenneth Alan Adams** of the University of Alabama; Emilio Bernabei Undergraduate Student Award shared for separate presentations by Laura Burgoyne (Ramapo College) and Richard Kotchmer (RCC of SUNY). **Albert Schmidt** won a 1998-1999 dissertation fellowship at Brandeis University and **David Lee**, who is in the final stages of completing his doctoral dissertation for the UCLA History Department, has a four-year fellowship at the Netherlands' University of Groningen's Psychology Department. **JOBS:** Congratulations to **Todd Dufresne** on his new position in the Philosophy Department at Lakehead University. **NEW PUBLICATIONS:** Another new publication announced, which will do some psychohistory, is *Psychoanalytic Studies*, Geraldine Shipton, Editor, University of Sheffield, 16 Claremont Crescent, Sheffield S10 2TA, UK. **TRAVEL:** **Herbert Barry** spent much of August at the American

Psychological Association conference in San Francisco and a second conference in Portland, Oregon, while **David Beisel** spent two weeks touring Ireland. In July, **Rudolph Binion** was in Sydney, Australia, addressing a conference, while currently he is a fellow of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques in Paris to conduct research on the French introduction of birth control in marriage, 1780-1830. **Flora Hogman** has been bicycling in France while **Don Hughes** has traveled to Alaska and to a UNESCO conference in Paris. **GRANT SUPPORT:** The Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) of the American Psychoanalytic Association (APA) announces two new research training grants of \$10,000 each for CORST candidates as well as two \$5,000 training grants to be matched by local institutes. The purpose of the four grants is to train academics in psychoanalysis. Contact Professor Paul Schwaber, 258 Bradley Street, New Haven, CT 06511. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and friends for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry and Ralph Colp; Patron Jerome Wolf; Sustaining Member Jacques Szaluta; Supporting Members Rudolph Binion and Margaret McLaughlin; and Contributing Members Suzanne Adrion, David Felix, Geraldine Pauling, Lee Shneidman, and Richard Weiss. Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to David Bakan, Herbert Barry, Andrew Brink, Kelly Bulkeley, Ralph Colp, Todd Dufresne, Don Hughes, Henry Lawton, John Rogers, Robert Rousselle, Cushing Strout, and Montague Ullman. Thanks to Michele O'Donnell for scanning and to Jeanne Richardson for proofreading. □



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Letters to the Editor

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians have grown into a full-fledged study of the pioneers and history of our field. Psychohistory as an organized field is less than 25 years old, so most of the innovators are available to tell their stories and give their insights. Last March, the Forum formally launched the Makers of the Psychohistorical Paradigm Research Project to systematically gather material to write the history of psychohistory. We

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 19, 1998
Eva Fogelman
"The Rescuer Self in the Holocaust"

Some Forthcoming Features

Interview with **Lynn Hunt**, author of *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*

Awards and Honors

CORST Essay Prize • Professor Janice M. Coco, Art History, University of California-Davis, winner of the First Annual American Psychoanalytic Association Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) \$1,000 essay prize, will present her paper, "Exploring the Frontier from the Inside Out in John Sloan's Nude Studies," at a free public lecture at 12 noon, Saturday, December 20, Jade Room, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

Sidney Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical Idea • The Psychohistory Forum is granting an award of \$200 to Michael Hirohama of San Francisco for starting and maintaining the Psychohistory electronic mailing list (see page 98).

Psychohistory Forum Student Award • David Barry of Fair Lawn, New Jersey, has been awarded a year's Student Membership in the Forum, including a subscription to **Clio's Psyche**, for his contribution of a fine paper as part of the Makers of the Psychohistorical Paradigm Research Project

Psychohistory Forum Presentations

THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

<p>Free Subscription</p> <p>Independent Variable of Internal Stability – May, 1945</p> <p>Stagnant/Disintegrating Negative Trend</p> <p>Stable/Creative Positive Trend</p>											
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