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# Clio's Psyche

Understanding the "Why" of Culture, Current Events, History, and Society

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## Psychology of Religious Experience Special Issue

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### Celibacy Symposium The Psychological Damage of Forced Celibacy

Anthony T. Massimini

When the Roman persecution of Christians ended in the fourth century, some Christian men began looking for a new way to "take up their cross" and live the harsh life they had experienced under the Roman death threat. They went out into the desert and adopted an ascetic regimen of life. In time, women did the same thing. As others followed, monasteries and convents were founded, and the gift of celibacy became established in the Christian church. Celibacy is a gift given to a few Christians whereby they can live psychologically

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### Islam: Imitation of Judaism? Psychoanalytic Food for Thought

Nancy Hartevelt Kobrin  
Hennepin-Regions Psychiatry Training Program  
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When Moses received the Law at Sinai, for believers, divine will was made manifest in human discourse. (Nancy Hartevelt Kobrin, *Moses on the Margin*, 2 vols., PhD thesis, 1984) It was the most important moment for Judaism's identity. Like a ladder song, with a new round being added with each verse, Christianity accepted the Mosaic Law but sought to climb above Judaism by adding the

*(Continued on page 65)*

### A Biographer and His Subject: Ralph Colp and Charles Darwin

Paul H. Elovitz

The Psychohistory Forum and Ramapo College

*Ralph Colp, Jr., was born October 12, 1924, in New York City. He received his MD from Columbia in 1948 and was an active surgeon for five years before becoming a Diplomate, American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology (Psychiatry) in 1965. As Attending Psychiatrist at Columbia University Health Services from 1960-1993, Dr. Colp performed diagnostic evaluation and psychotherapy with graduate students as well as workshops on identity formation. He also supervised the psy-*

*(Continued on page 114)*

### Psychological Light on the Religious Landscape

Michael E. Nielsen  
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When 39 members of the Heaven's Gate group committed suicide because of their religious beliefs, many people asked themselves, "Why?" How could apparently intelligent people be convinced that in order to reach the next level of existence, they must euphemistically "shed their earthly vehicles" so that they could then travel on a spaceship hidden behind a comet? Similar questions arise when we learn of significant changes in people's religious life, as when actress Jane Fonda's search for significance led her to adopt evangelical Christianity or when former Black

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### Celibacy Symposium

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Panther activist Eldridge Cleaver stated, "[I] want someplace to fit in.... I just feel at home in the [Mormon] church." (Newell Bringhurst, "Eldridge Cleaver's Passage Through Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History*, 28:1, 2002, p. 90) Clearly, religion can have a tremendous impact on people, resulting in great extremes in behavior and identity. Its influence on culture shapes our surroundings and it is a focal point for individuals' psychological hopes, dreams, and fears.

Several important themes recur throughout psychology and religion today, such as the function of religion in an individual's self-concept and the role of women in religion. By identifying with a religious group, one gains a sense of belonging and "place" in the world. Surveys comparing rates of church membership and attendance in the U.S. with those of other countries find higher rates in the U.S. Concomitantly, belief in God or a universal spirit is markedly higher in the U.S. (96 per-

cent) than in other countries (for example, 70 percent in Canada and 61 percent in Great Britain). (George Gallup, Jr., and D. Michael Lindsay, *Surveying the Religious Landscape*, 1999, p. 122) At least one factor in this pattern is the vibrant "religious marketplace" in which religious affiliation is, at some level, a choice that becomes part of one's identity. It announces one's aims and allegiances, and even one's effort to deal with mortality. As with other aspects of identity, the individual finds comfort, a sense of belonging, and a social support network through the religious group.

There is variation in this pattern, of course, among men and women. For years, sociologists and psychologists have recognized an apparent contradiction in comparisons of men and women's religiousness: even though women are traditionally less likely than men to have positions of leadership

in religious groups, they are more likely to be involved in religious activity. Changing social mores highlight the conservative and patriarchal nature of many religious organizations. Illustrative examples come from the two largest religious denominations in the U.S. For instance, despite clear statements from Rome that the Catholic Church's position on women's ordination is not open for debate, two-thirds of U.S. Roman Catholics favor it. Similarly, when the 1998 Southern Baptist Convention adopted a statement on gender roles, *The New York Times* carried the front-page headline: "Southern Baptists Declare Wife Should 'Submit' to Her Husband."

Yet, women are more likely than men to state that religion is very or fairly important; be members of a church or synagogue; believe that religion can answer most of today's problems; and believe that religion's influence in society is increasing. (Gallup, *Religious Landscape*, pp. 10&11, 13, 20) Why this pattern? One factor is that women are gaining leadership positions in many religions, not only serving in pastoral roles in progressive Christianity and Judaism but also heading significant service or missionary committees in some more conservative Christian denominations. By breaking the social and psychological strictures limiting their involvement in institutions, women are able to realize their hopes and achieve a measure of power over their world. Indeed, American religious history is incomplete without recognizing the contributions of women such as Mary Baker Eddy (Christian Science) and Ellen G. White (Seventh-day Adventism), who used spirituality to transcend their physical illnesses and in so doing gained followers seeking to transcend their mortality.

Another important explanation is more analytically oriented, emphasizing the role of religious figures in filling psychological needs, as when a deified personage represents an idealized feminine figure. In Christianity, Mary, mother of Jesus, serves as an obvious example as a woman who is essentially deified. It is important to recognize that other religions frequently have female deities who represent the ideal feminine, the perfect mother. Such deified female images enable women to identify with that which is most holy, giving them power over life, the most sacred of gifts. The divine woman also gives men a perfect mother, a figure who has not failed them as their own mother undoubtedly has failed them.

The most noteworthy trend in the U.S. reli-

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gious landscape is that membership in mainline liberal, liturgical Christianity is on the decline. As the mainline Protestant churches have incorporated the mainstream culture and reduced their distinctiveness from other social institutions, they have lost membership. For example, between 1965 and 1992, the Episcopal Church lost 28 percent of its membership, the Presbyterians lost 32 percent, and the United Church of Christ lost 23 percent. Meanwhile, conservative or evangelical Protestant denominations which have accentuated their distinctiveness from secular society have either maintained or increased their membership. (Dean R. Hoge, "Religion in America," Edward P. Shafranske, ed., *Religion and the Clinical Practice of Psychology*, 1996) David Wulff interprets these patterns as stemming from a declining sense of transcendence. (*The Psychology of Religion*, 1992, p. 639) Although this might appear to bode well for conservative denominations such as the Pentecostals and the Southern Baptists, current research indicates a growing number of people who claim to be spiritual but not religious. (Ralph W. Hood, Jr., et al., *The Psychology of Religion*, 2nd ed., 1996, p. 115) This is attributable, at least in part, to dissatisfaction with evangelical Christianity leaders' increased involvement in right-wing politics. Consequently, some state Baptist conventions are considering withholding their funds from their national organization. Likewise, rates of participation at the Southern Baptist annual national convention have plummeted from a high of 45,000 conferees in 1985, when conservatives orchestrated a takeover of the organization, to only 9,500 in 2002. (Allen Breed, "Baptist Leader Sees New Day," *Boston Globe Online*, June 13, 2002)

Some of the most fascinating trends concern the content of people's beliefs. About a quarter of the population believe in astrology; 17 percent have consulted a fortuneteller; 24 percent believe in reincarnation; and 30 percent believe in ghosts. More surprising, the Gallup data indicate that "born again" Christians are more likely than other Christians (by 17 percent to 9 percent) to believe in the New Age practice of "channeling," in which it is thought that a deceased person takes control of a living person's body in order to communicate with the living. (Gallup, *Religious Landscape*, p. 40) Although there are few reliable figures available regarding involvement in New Age religion, data such as these suggest that these forms of "spirituality" are gaining prominence in the American religious landscape, as people seek transcendence over their mortality but are not finding it

in traditional theological beliefs.

Another change is the influence of the Internet, which has acted as something of an equalizer among religious groups. Although religion has a reputation in some circles as being opposed to modernity, most religious groups have actually adopted this new technology in order to communicate their message to interested people, whether active followers or prospective members. The Internet can be the site of intense conflict, as pro- and anti-Scientology battles have demonstrated. It may even be playing a part in the formation of a new religion. For example, in the United Kingdom the upstart "Jedi Religion" ([www.jediism.org](http://www.jediism.org)), expressing messages of spirituality presented in Star Wars films and present in New Age and Eastern religious traditions, gained enough support via the Internet that it was placed as a religion option on the most recent national census. Although it is too early to tell exactly how seriously to view Jedism, this marks the first time that an Internet-based movement has garnered sufficient support to be included in a national survey, listed neatly before the options for Heathen, Atheist, and None. ([www.sltrib.com/2002/jun/06012002/Saturday/741596.htm](http://www.sltrib.com/2002/jun/06012002/Saturday/741596.htm))

We have examined some important developments in religion but what of psychology and religion? How do these two disciplines interact? Adherents of psychology and those of religion share a desire to understand unseen, inner experiences, but are their explanations conflicting or compatible? Historians of psychology often point to psychologists' therapeutic role, supplanting the clergy in the confessional, as illustrative of a basic conflict between psychology and religion. Psychology and religion compete for "the right to exercise influence over someone's inner life." (Patrick Vandermeersch, "Psychotherapeutic and Religious Rituals," Hans-Gunter Heimbrock and Barbara Brudewijnse, eds., *Current Studies on Rituals*, 1990, p. 153) Yet, the contents of the religious message frequently include themes, concepts, and terminology borrowed directly from psychology and psychoanalysis. For instance, the notion of catharsis is used extensively in Midrash lessons available at Yeshivat Har Etzion (for example, [www.vbm-torah.org/archive/rav/rav07.htm](http://www.vbm-torah.org/archive/rav/rav07.htm)). Another example is the work of Robert Schuller, whose ministry focuses on matters of self. His book *Self-Esteem: The New Reformation* (1990) includes the idea that poor self-esteem lies at the core of sin (p. 98), a notion quite contrary to orthodox Christian theology. A more feminist-oriented

psychology prompts Mary Daly to write, "To put it bluntly, I propose that Christianity itself should be castrated.... I am suggesting that the idea of salvation uniquely by a male savior perpetuates the problem of patriarchal oppression." ([www.leaderu.com/orgs/probe/docs/goddchu.html](http://www.leaderu.com/orgs/probe/docs/goddchu.html)) These examples have spurred conservative Christians to denounce psychology's infiltration into religion. (For example, see [www.psychoheresy-aware.org](http://www.psychoheresy-aware.org).) In one interesting and self-serving twist, the Church of Scientology decries what it considers to be an increasing and negative impact of psychology and psychiatry on Christian seminary curricula. ([www.cchr.org/religion/indexpr.htm](http://www.cchr.org/religion/indexpr.htm))

Psychology and mental health have also become causes taken up by religious organizations. Indeed, Schuller's Crystal Cathedral even offers live, online counseling to adults and teens by volunteers supervised by a licensed psychologist. ([www.newopenow.com/counseling/liveperson.html](http://www.newopenow.com/counseling/liveperson.html)) One may question the quality and legitimacy of such efforts, but that they are addressing the needs of certain segments of the population is undeniable. Nowhere is psychology's effect more noticeable, however, than in the New Age religious movement. New Age spirituality, according to G. William Barnard ("Diving into the Depths," Diane Jonte-Pace and William Parsons, eds., *Religion and Psychology*, 2001), shares William James' rejection of institutions; Jung's interest in spirituality; and the experiential focus of transpersonal psychology. Underlying New Age religion and its neo-Platonic philosophy is a reaction against modern life and its accompanying problems of technology and bureaucracy.

The relationship between the two disciplines is not unidirectional, however. Religion has affected an untold number of psychologists, from Freud, who resented the mistreatment he and his family received as religious minorities, and who himself suggested his Jewish identity contributed to the techniques he developed (Wulff, *Psychology of Religion*, pp. 255, 260); to Skinner, whose disdain for punishment may be rooted in his grandmother's reliance on hellfire and its accompanying sense of sin (Wulff, *Psychology of Religion*, p. 127); to Rogers, who recalled feeling "wicked" when he "drank [his] first bottle of 'pop'" and reacted to his rigid upbringing first by studying for the ministry and then abandoning it (James Goodwin, *A History of Modern Psychology*, 1999, p. 392). Religion has become an object of study, as

organizations such as the American Psychological Association's Division 36, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Jewish Issues suggest. Members of other organizations, such as the Christian Association for Psychological Studies, readily acknowledge the pre-eminent role of religion in shaping their practice of psychology. In addition, with little effort one may find elaborate formal statements regarding the use of religion in therapy in books such as P. Scott Richards and Allen E. Bergin, *A Spiritual Strategy for Counseling and Psychotherapy* (1997), which was among the best-selling books published by the American Psychological Association that year. Perhaps most extreme in this regard is the position taken by scholars who see psychology as a sub-discipline of religion or theology, rather than as independent or intersecting disciplines. (Bonnie Miller-McLemore, "Feminist Transformations in Pastoral Theology," Jonte-Pace, *Religion and Psychology*)

Discussions of psychology and religion may seem to imply an inverse relationship between the two. Such a conclusion, however, frequently assumes simple definitions of psychology and/or religion. Both fields are too multifaceted for such simplicity to do them justice. Even within a single religion, religious belief may range from literal to metaphorical, and from orthodox to heretical, just as there are many different orientations within psychology and psychoanalysis. In recognizing the complexity and the nuances within each domain and by noting areas of constancy or change, we gain a better understanding of psychology, religion, and, ultimately, of people.

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## Islam: Imitation of Judaism? Psychoanalytic Food for Thought

(Continued from front page)

New Testament to proclaim Jesus the Messiah. Then Islam also accepted the Mosaic Law as well as the New Testament with Jesus as a prophet of Islam and precursor of Muhammad but then added the Prophecy of Muhammad, yielding the Koran. (Muhammad 'Ata UrRahim, *Jesus: Prophet of Is-*

lam, 1992) Islam tried to claim the Truth over Christianity and Judaism by reopening revelation with the Prophet of the Seal. Moses' Law initiates the particular shaping of each respective group's sacred scriptures: the Hebrew Torah, the Christian New Testament, and the Muslim Koran. Psychoanalytically, each scripture serves as a distinct self-object for the group self of the faith community.

Besides Moses, Abraham is also a figure of authority. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are referred to as "the children of Abraham" (F.E. Peters, *The Children of Abraham*, 1984; R. Firestone, *Children of Abraham*, 2001) while Judaism and Christianity have often viewed themselves as the "parents" of Islam (Rabbi Daniel Polis, "Who Owns the Soul of Jerusalem?", <[www.uahc.org/rjmag/601dp.html](http://www.uahc.org/rjmag/601dp.html)>, July 7, 2002). Each has an ongoing relationship in real time with each other. While Freud described authority as paternal/Oedipal, contemporary psychoanalysis understands that often the father is a stand-in for the "Early Mother" because the infant's first power struggle in life is with the mother. (R. Abraham, "Freud's Mother Conflict and the Formulation of the Oedipal Father," *Psychoanalytic Review* 69, 1982, pp. 441-453; A. Falk, "Political Assassination and Personality Disorder," *Mind and Human Interaction*, 12, 2002, pp. 1, 2-34) Man created religion in order to fill a painful void left by the inability to mourn the loss of the Early Mother. (D. Capps, *Men, Religion, and Melancholia*, 1997; A. Falk, *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews*, 1996) While Judaism is accepted as temporally the first Abrahamic faith by Christianity, Islam rejects this through the belief (*fitra* in Arabic) that Abraham was never a Jew. (Sura 3:58-60) Islam's goal is to usurp Abraham's authority and thereby to claim the ultimate authority. This is understandable given the hurt that Muhammad must have experienced when the Jews of Medina did not accept him as Prophet. However, this belief (*fitra*) cannot hide the fact that in historical time as opposed to religious/mythic time, Judaism occurred first.

Let me speculate that being "first" may be the fundamental psychoanalytic reason why Judaism and Jews are so hated, why anti-Semitism is so pervasive and persistent. Judaism may be identified unconsciously with the Early Mother. At times Judaism is venerated and at times reviled. This is splitting which also occurs with the Early Mother because she is the first who is experienced intimately by the infant -- both blissful eros and miserable terror. The Early Mother is the first Other.

Underlying the idea of *first* is the concept of *one*. The ordinal equivalent of counting 1, 2, 3, 4 is 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th. *First* and the number *one* are inextricably linked semantically in the unconscious.

This connection is of no small consequence when considering the fact that the idea of monotheism (Greek, *monos*, alone or singular) is also grounded in the notion of *oneness*, i.e., one God. Oneness is the essence of the maternal symbiosis. Monotheism is obsessively preoccupied with one God. Psychoanalytically, this has signaled a reference to the unity as represented by the maternal symbiosis of mother and infant. An image held sacred by Christianity and Islam (even though graven images are forbidden) is that of the Virgin Mary and Baby Jesus. I have named it the "maternal cameo" and it represents graphically the idea that the psychological birth of the infant equals the maternal symbiosis. (Kobrin, 2002 in press)

Space does not permit me to examine the Abrahamic familial relations in depth nor to explore how Judaism has borrowed from Islam, especially from the seventh century to the fifteenth century. (Though, regarding the latter, Judaism borrowed heavily in poetic, grammatical, and literary forms; scientific learning; architecture; and even women's head covering from Islam. More than just a list of items, Jews and Muslims often intermarried, especially during the eighth century, resulting in mutual borrowing. "Many present-day Israeli Jews who came from Muslim countries resemble the Muslims of their countries of origin in looks, speech, food, and habits more than they do their fellow Jews from Western countries." [Falk, *Psychoanalytic History*, p. 381]) My remarks are limited to an assertion that Islam is an "imitation" of Judaism -- an assertion made by Thomas Patrick Hughes and Sigmund Freud.

In *A Dictionary of Islam*, published in 1885 in London, Hughes wrote:

Many of the doctrines and social precepts of the Qur'an are also from Judaism.... Whilst, therefore, Muhammad took little of his religious system from Christianity, he was vastly indebted to Judaism both for his historical narratives and his doctrines and precepts. Islam is nothing more nor less than Judaism plus the Apostleship of Muhammad. The teachings of Jesus form no part of his religious system. (p. 236)

Hughes spent 20 years as a Christian missionary in Peshawar, Pakistan, composing the dictionary for scholars of comparative religion, British colonial administrators, and travelers. He disingenuously claims that it was not meant as a weapon against Islam. Furthermore, Hughes misleads the reader by claiming that Jesus plays no important role in Islam. He contradicts himself because not only is the Koran replete with verses about Jesus but his own dictionary cites them. It is a curious comment which signals his own unconscious distancing from both of the Semitic peoples and their scriptures, with Christianity coming out on top! Hughes' *Dictionary* is still in print to this day, remaining a critical reference for many scholars.

In *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), Freud wrote: "The founding of the Mahomedan religion seems to me like an abbreviated repetition of the Jewish one, of which it emerged as an *imitation* [emphasis mine]." (*S.E.*, 23, p. 92) This reference to Islam is a *hapax legomenon*, the only time that Islam is ever mentioned in all of Freud's scientific writings. Lost in Strachey's sanitized translation is not just a specific gesture to both Luther and Erasmus (F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 1975, p. 499; N. Kobrin, "Freud's Concept of Autonomy and Strachey's Translation," *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, 21, 1992, pp. 201-223) but that *Nachahmung* connotes a *counterfeit* or *bad imitation* (*Capitol's Concise Dictionary*, 1978, p. 69)

Was Freud anxious when he wrote this? Did he displace his mounting fears? On the preceding page Freud pondered the haunting eternal question as to why the Jews, his people, are so hated. His reply is simple -- they were the "first-born" of God. (*S.E.*, 23, p. 91) Is it possible that Freud dreaded the maternal presence lurking behind the chosen son theme? His mother called him "*mein goldener Sigi*" and she made it known that he was her favorite son. Nonetheless, Freud's anxieties about Islam were, in part, reality-based because the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was busy forming an alliance with the Nazis. (Z. Elpeleg, *The Grand Mufti*, 1993) In turn, they were breathing down Freud's neck in Vienna while he labored over this very manuscript. Ultimately he was forced to flee to England for his life. His three sisters were not as fortunate as they were murdered in German concentration camps. It is a complicated psychohistorical picture.

Strikingly similar accusations of Islam as

an imitation raise the issue of whether Freud had access to Hughes' *Dictionary*. A cursory review of his library does not confirm an instance of source-influence (personal communication with Freud Library, London), though this does not rule out the possibility that he unconsciously drew upon a 19th-century Orientalist stereotype of Islam or was acquainted with Abraham Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume auf genommen?* (literally, *What Has Mohammed Taken [or Borrowed] from Judaism?*).

What is also so startling is that during this same time frame, Helene Deutsche, one of Freud's disciples, described a personality type which she deemed imitative, called the "as-if" personality. (H. Deutsch, "Some Forms of Emotional Disturbance and Their Relationship to Schizophrenia," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 11, 1934, pp. 301-322) The designation describes an individual who has a weak sense of self though he creates a convincing illusion of having a solid identity which masks the fact that he is dependent on others in a parasitic way in order to facilitate a temporary persona of what to do and how to be moment to moment -- the *tendency to imitate is pervasive* and at first not noticeable. "Imitation" in this discussion certainly has a pejorative meaning.

It is *as if* Islam is an "as-if" religion. But is this not defensive on Freud and Hughes' part, who represent Judaism and Christianity by proxy? Is it not a means by which Freud and Hughes could dismiss the need to have to deal with the reality of Islam in a mature manner? A way of relegating Islam to the realm of fantasy through denial? Would it not also be offensive to Muslims? Such stereotyping does not promote peaceful coexistence nor does it act as a deterrence to violence.

Perhaps Judaism and Jews have not been able to deal with their pain of watching the Holy Torah being tampered with, taken over by Islam as Muhammad "amended" it with further revelations. Could it be that even today Jews continue to feel "shadowed" by Islam because of irrational fears and unarticulated fantasies that Islam will steal even more of their identity? Such unidentified fantasies may have inadvertently caused Judaism and Jews to cling to the idea of "chosenness," which can easily become confused with the grandiosity of being special. Poorly understood even among Jews, chosenness or "electedness" is not supposed to be an exclusionary doctrine. Anyone can convert to Judaism should he or she desire to do so, provided they study and accept the Covenant.

Could Judaism inadvertently be pouring oil on Islamic flames of rage by inferring that it is a counterfeit imitation? By not consciously knowing its fear and dread of being overwhelmed and engulfed by Islam, Judaism resides in a psychohistorical blind spot. However, all fear is in part reality-based. Judaism's fear becomes clearer when one considers world demographics of religious adherents. There are approximately 1.2 billion Muslims in comparison to 12 to 14 million Jews -- a ratio of about 100 to 1. ([www.adherents.com/Religions\\_By\\_Adherents.html](http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html)) The disparity in numbers suggests engulfment.

Imitation or copy can also suggest a double, almost a twin. Having a double helps and hinders. On the one hand, it protects the self from isolation and loneliness. (R. Ullman and D. Brothers, *The Shattered Self*, 1993) On the other, the double can be split off, projected on to the other and then attacked. A person or a group never has to learn how to contain aggression and rage because they can simply blame and attack the other. Could this be the case for Judaism and Islam who have a long-standing ambivalent, bloody relationship (as well as times of peaceful coexistence, for example, in medieval Spain and the Ottoman Empire) because they are so close in sacred Semitic languages, customs, law, and geography? They are nearly doubles in some key respects.

Islam is not without its problems, which may be detected in its globalizing tendency to lay claim to everything and everyone from the moment of Creation as mentioned above, as it asserts its legitimacy, claiming to be the first of the monotheisms. Take for example, the belief (*fitra*) that Abraham was a Muslim not a Jew. Another retrospective belief is that Allah created Islam at the beginning of time with Adam as the first Muslim. Yet a third claims that every human being is born Muslim but that it is only parental ignorance which has led the child away from the true religion, Islam. Even the Islamic creation of *Dhimmeh*, (Ar., protectorate status for the People of the Book, i.e., Jews and Christians) is patronizing. (B. Ye'or, *The Dhimmi*, 1985) Ironically, these beliefs begin to show how Islam differs from Judaism.

The idea of imitation itself is part of the source-influence conundrum; under other conditions, imitation is said to be the highest form of flattery. Borrowing goes on all the time, yet no group owns language nor even has exclusive rights to sacred writings.

The Five Pillars of Islam is an example of

borrowing where each Pillar can be traced back to Judaism: the Arabic *Shahadah*, bearing witness to the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad, and the Hebrew *Shm'a*, affirmation of faith in one God; *Salat* (Ar.), prayer five times a day, and *Tefilah* (Heb.), prayer three times a day; *Tsawm* (Ar.), fasting from dawn to dusk during the month of Ramadan, and *Tsom* (Heb.), fasting generally from sunset to sundown (both deriving from the same proto-Semitic root); *Zakat* (Ar.), the giving of alms, and *Tsedaka* (Heb.), the giving of alms (again the Arabic and Hebrew terms are cognates); and, finally, *Haj* (Ar.), the pilgrimage to Mecca, and *Aliyah* (Heb.), pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times a year as cited in the Bible.

Could unacknowledged indebtedness on the part of Islam to Judaism be another part of the problem? Debt is a reminder of maternal dependency. (M. Dimen, "Money, Love and Hate," *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 4, 1994, pp. 69-100) Is Judaism asking too much of Islam to acknowledge its Judaic roots? Allow me to extend the metaphor of mother-son for the sake of argument: Should the Judaic mother demand of her Muslim son such gratitude? But gratitude can never be coerced; it must be of one's own volition. Cast as the Early Mother and blind to it, Judaism may be looking for recognition in all the wrong places.

By way of conclusion, there is one recent development that might be food for thought: the commonality of Jewish and Islamic dietary laws known respectively as *Kashrut* (Heb., allowed) and *Halal* (Ar., lawful). At a growing number of universities, such as Mount Holyoke and Dartmouth, an effort has emerged to meet the dietary needs of Jewish and Muslim students by providing Kosher and Halal food service. While Middle East politics may be too sensitive an issue to discuss at the table, Jewish and Muslim students are sharing the same food, though reciting different blessings over it according to their respective traditions. Sitting together they make manifest the etymological meaning of *companion* (literally, *com-* or with + *panis* or bread), breaking bread together. Explicitly maternal, dietary laws articulate a safe frame around food that nurtures. Whoever sits at the dinner table should always be counted as a full-fledged member in a family. The fact that Islamic law allows the eating of *Kashrut* as *Halal* for its adherents is also an unconscious gesture recognizing its Jewish mother.

However, for Jews *Halal* does not equate with *Kashrut*. It is a reminder of difference *and*



that the metaphor of familial relations has its limitations. In reality, Judaism is not Islam's mother, nor is Islam Judaism's son. As metaphors, though, they create and shape powerful unconscious wishes and fantasies in the psychodynamics of the Abrahamic family. In the end, Judaism and Islam are religious systems tied to cultures, languages, and geography that are very similar but also different. Therefore, they should not fear and dread each other the way that they do.

It is when Jews and Muslims attempt to work out their respective unconscious issues with their own parents in the public arena of inter-religious warfare that they have problems. By recognizing and containing one's own feelings of shame, humiliation, and rage, rather than experiencing these internal persecutory feelings as veridical and equal to external reality, there exists the real possibility to avoid war. War is the misrecognition of the Other as feared when, in fact, the Other is familiar *and* legitimate. The language of metaphor locks-in projective identifications about family issues that belong in their respective families but, even more importantly, the rageful feelings need to be contained within the self and not projected even onto one's own family members. (J.H. Berke et al., eds., *Even Paranoids Have Enemies*, 1998) Admittedly this is a tall order. However, pondering the dilemma may clear the ground to identify more islands of coexistence from which to build a more viable peace. This little table talk in **Clio's Psyche** is offered as psychoanalytic food for thought. Consider it a Kosher-Halal snack.

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## Religious Behavior and the Oedipus Complex

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The traditional venue for testing psycho-

analytic concepts has been psychoanalytic treatment with its dreams, free associations, resistances, and symptoms. This assumption cannot be taken for granted; in actuality, psychoanalytic theorizing has never relied only on data collected in treatment. Freud himself used literary materials, historical data, anthropological reports, and observations of everyday behavior in children and adults. I suggest the study of religion as the royal road to testing psychoanalytic theories. Religious behavior, which is natural and collective rather than clinical and individual, and involves a variety of beliefs and rituals, provides us with considerable information for validating the ideas of classical psychoanalysis.

Religion is a belief system based on the notion of a supernatural invisible world, inhabited by souls, divine beings, and other "spiritual" entities. Our connection to these entities derives from a belief in revelation. (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Prolegomena to the Psychological Study of Religion*, 1989) Every religion is a collection of group fantasies, produced with the help of projection, condensation, displacement, and symbolism, offering respite from existential anxieties and mundane difficulties. As such, they become the focus of social identity, attached to claims of uniqueness and superiority. Interpreting religion is similar to the analysis of literature or art but the behavioral consequences in response to sacred fantasies may be dramatic, momentous, and, at times, even quite lethal. A salient cultural or universal fantasy raises the question of its special power over a substantial number of individual minds, beyond its contribution, if any, to individual self-esteem. Rituals that are public and involve millions are not "clinical data" that are impossible to verify and replicate. Basic religious fantasies persist and survive over time -- the essence of religious ritual and belief has not changed over the last 10,000 years. So the behavioral information involved is uniquely relevant to a theory that claims universal and supra-historical validity.

Freud's writings offer a rich variety of specific hypotheses regarding various religious beliefs and practices, and they have been expanded and elaborated over the years. (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Psychoanalytic Studies of Religion: Critical Assessment and Annotated Bibliography*, 1996) Some of the better known hypotheses derived from psychoanalytic theory are the father-projection and the super-ego projection. It is assumed that the Oedipal master narrative will play a

central role in all cultures and all cultural products. Assessing the frequency and prevalence of patterns repeatedly found in religious traditions can test this.

It was Otto Rank (*The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, 1914) who pointed to the prevalence of Oedipal mythology and connected it to a more general theme of the life of the hero, which fits the well-known myths of Krishna, Moses, Isaac, Oedipus, and Jesus. Rank's contribution, however, is not in discovering the general pattern but rather in offering a psychoanalytic interpretation in terms of early childhood experiences. It is the family romance of neurotics, common to all cultures, which is the root of this myth pattern. In this fantasy, the child gets rid of his parents and is adopted by others of much higher status. The hostility towards the father is projected onto him in the myth, where the child is always the victim. Fifty years after Rank, Clyde Kluckhohn ("Recurrent Themes in Myths and Mythmaking," H.A. Murray, ed., *Myth and Mythmaking*, 1968) presented, at the center of his summary of cross-cultural data, what he calls "Oedipus-type myths" as a universal pattern combining themes found in most mythologies, with especially vivid myths tied to the fantasy figures of Jesus, Krishna, and Moses.

The expression of the Oedipal template in religious traditions is sometimes quite striking even to those who do not easily accept psychoanalytic ideas. Adolf Grunbaum has been a well-known, methodical critic of classical psychoanalysis, who has dissected every one of its traditional claims and found almost all inadequate because of the lack of clear empirical evidence. The one clear exception he makes is the classical treatment of religion. In particular, he uses examples such as the doctrines surrounding the Virgin Birth and is forced to conclude that Freud's notion of repressed Oedipal conflicts is much more plausible than any conscious explanations offered to justify these beliefs. (Adolf Grunbaum, *Validation in the Clinical Theory of Psychoanalysis: A Study in the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis*, 1993, p. 297)

The Oedipal template is relevant not only to mythology but also to some rituals. Genital mutilation, part of initiation rites for about 20 percent of humanity, is consciously interpreted in various cultures as completing the process of gaining a full sexual identity. Genital mutilation rituals are central to Judaism and Islam, and prevalent in some versions of African Christianity. The mutilation of males is performed by father figures and of fe-

males, by mother figures.

Among the findings on religiosity around the world, women show a stronger commitment to religion than men do. (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi and Michael Argyle, *The Psychology of Religious Behaviour, Belief, and Experience*, 1997, p. 139) This comes as a surprise to many who rightly consider all religions to be not only patriarchal but also misogynistic. Further, among Christian denominations, the Roman Catholic Church attracts more men while all Protestant denominations enjoy the support of significantly more women. To explain these differences we can use the pantheon hypothesis, a derivative of parental projection. Images of God are similar to images of parents, particularly to opposite-sex parents. (Beit-Hallahmi, *Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 106) For women, the image of God and attitudes to God are more similar to those towards the father, and for men, to those towards the mother. If a tradition offers an image of God as an adult male, as in Protestantism where the main object of worship is Jesus, this image will appeal more to women. The Virgin Mary and some female saints are very prominent in Catholic worship. This produces a stronger religious response from males.

Since the middle of the 20th century, there have been various failed attempts by feminists to develop Goddess religions, designed to serve the special needs of women. Goddess religions fail to attract women because the pantheon must be headed by a true and natural (Oedipal) love object. Further, from Freud's account in "A Religious Conversion" (*S.E.*, 21, 1928, pp. 167-174), problems within the relations with one's father (including absence and loss) will increase the likelihood of involvement in religious conversions and a heightened commitment to a religious career (as monks or clergy). This general prediction is supported by observations from various cultures and settings, including Indian ascetics and Western converts to Iskon ("Hare Krishna"). (Beit-Hallahmi, *Psychology of Religious Behaviour*, p. 118)

The observations presented here seem to indicate that some classical Freudian ideas, almost 100 years old, seem still more than relevant and better than adequate. They are still quite young compared to religion. Early experience within the human family is the key to myth and ritual, both ontogenetically and phylogenetically. The Oedipal template is supposed to be out of fashion and obsolete, replaced by a variety of newer concepts. But

for understanding the behavior of billions of believers in the real world, this template is still highly relevant.

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## The Psycho-Theological Work of W.W. Meissner: Charting a Course Between *Charybdis* and *Scylla*

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Readers of Greek mythology are well familiar with the tale of *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, the two monsters whose positions on opposite sides of the Strait of Messina threatened passing navigators. This image may be helpful in characterizing the skilled scholarship required to engage the oft-tumultuous controversies between psychoanalysis and religion. Those who have followed the dialogue are well acquainted with the work of William W. Meissner (1931-), who has at times employed the image of *Charybdis* and *Scylla* to describe some of the careful nuances required to handle the conflicting tensions involved in his work. Certainly, in more than 40 years of research and dozens of publications, Meissner has been influential in forging the dialogue between the domains of psychology and theology. He has done so by maneuvering between the *Charybdis* of psychoanalytic formulations and the *Scylla* of theological technicalities. This essay will present examples of the principles and themes whereby Meissner has created new understandings relevant to both domains, showing how Meissner as a priest and a psychiatrist, a Jesuit and a psychoanalyst, has proved himself an able navigator.

Meissner first entered the seas of psycho-

theological dialogue in his *Annotated Bibliography in Religion and Psychology* (1961). Developed when he was just a Jesuit scholastic at Woodstock College in Maryland, the bibliography offers an exhaustive compilation consisting of more than 2,900 articles published between 1900-1960 from more than 300 journals in English and in French. Organized into some 40 sections, the bibliography established points of dialogue among various pastoral and psychological domains, and equipped the young Jesuit with the resources needed to sail through the precarious straits of future scholarship.

Interestingly enough, as Meissner reported to me in an interview, his earlier intention as a Jesuit was to concentrate his studies in biology. During his Jesuit formation, however, his superiors approached him to consider pursuing work in psychiatry. Such a suggestion went against the view of many Catholic leaders, among them Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, who were suspicious of a psychiatry heavily influenced by a psychoanalytic theory whose Freudian principles tended to be hostile toward religion. However, during the late 1950s there were increasing indications of growing cooperation and less antagonism between the two disciplines, with major conferences on psychology and religion beginning to take place on an annual basis at such Catholic institutions as Fordham University and St. John's College in Minnesota. Meissner's mentors no doubt saw the significance of these conferences and the need for more Catholic psychoanalysts.

It was during his theological studies that Meissner began to integrate psychology and theology in a modern-day version of the medieval scholastic enterprise of integrating reason and faith. Unlike scholasticism, however, the reason component was often an articulation of unconscious and irrational structures. The faith component would soon have some of its traditional structures challenged and changed through the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

Following his ordination in 1961, Meissner entered medical school and later psychoanalytic training, and so became personally and professionally engaged with the question of how to relate psychological with spiritual identity. He found a helpful approach in Thomas Aquinas's axiom, *gratia perficit naturam* (grace perfects nature). For Aquinas and then for Meissner there is a basic correlation between the motivations of one's psychological identity with the movements of one's spiritual nature. First formulated in works such as

*Foundations for a Psychology of Grace* (1964), Meissner has carried this principle forward throughout subsequent writings. Guided by the psychoanalytic formulations of Erikson, Mahler, Rizzuto, and Winnicott, Meissner developed innovative understandings through which he has articulated his psycho-theological correlations.

In *Life and Faith* (1987), Meissner demonstrates his method by articulating three principles that can be used to correlate the psychological with the spiritual. First, there is the principle of *reciprocal influence* by which Meissner means that for grace to be operative with the ego, it depends upon the functioning of the ego to produce a desired effect. That is to say, spiritual movements build upon psychological capacities and conditions.

As a second principle, Meissner presents *compensatory activation* whereby the movements of God's grace energize ego-functions. Such energizing serves as a sanative function, which allows psychological healing to take place. The energizing of the ego, however, cannot force healing for it cannot violate the functions of one's ego.

Meissner sees *epigenesis* as a third principle. Simply put, the psychological and the spiritual interrelate developmentally through the course of a lifetime. Using Erikson's eight stages of development he postulates that ego strengths, especially earned through crisis, can be considered virtuous, implying a spiritual growth. He goes on to postulate psychospiritual virtues or correlates with each one of Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial crises, for example, Identity/Humility and Intimacy/Love of Neighbor.

Earlier, in perhaps his most influential work, *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (1984), for which he won the prestigious Oscar Pfister Award of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Meissner works out a relationship between psychoanalysis and religion through the work of the object relations theorists Donald Winnicott and Ana-Maria Rizzuto. Winnicott's concept of transitional phenomena became the lynchpin for Meissner's formulations. With Winnicott, Meissner asserts that illusions, rather than necessarily constituting pathological phenomena, could also be conceived as sources of creativity and play. Supported by Rizzuto's application of Winnicott's construct in her *Birth of the Living God* (1979), Meissner shows how illusions can lead to the transitional phenomena necessary to face rather than to avoid reality, for instance, a blanket or a teddy bear acts as a replacement for a mother's presence and

soothing touch. Such phenomena, in turn, are often the means whereby representations of God and hence religious beliefs are developed as a means of facing reality.

By incorporating the work of Winnicott and Rizzuto, Meissner goes on to state a case against Freud's position that religious belief is illusory and avoidant of reality. He argues that what Freud saw as pathological in religion can really be healthy and helpful. For Meissner, some sharing of illusion is necessary for individuation as well as a sense of sharing in community. Meissner further suggests that religions employ symbols as transitional objects so as to keep the God representation alive, for example, the cross for Christians, the Star of David for Jews. While he would agree with Freud that such use of symbols fosters an illusory world, Meissner would concur with Winnicott that this illusory world is what makes us most human. Meissner's reinterpretation of one of the central tenets of Freud's psychoanalytic critique of religion serves to establish a bridge over which other forms of dialogue and understandings between psychoanalysis and religion may flow.

Meissner's study of the case of the founder of his Jesuit order, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), employs material from the saint's biographies and the more than 7000 letters that Ignatius wrote in his capacity as the founder of the Society of Jesus. In *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint* (1992), Meissner presents what he views as a demonstration of how the conditions of nature and the movements of grace are evident in the life of Loyola.

As a psychoanalyst, of course, Meissner sees great significance in the fact that Ignatius's mother died shortly after she brought him into the world and that his father and brothers exemplified the gallantry, at times chauvinism, common to Spanish *hidalgos* (lower nobility) of the time. When a cannonball in battle broke Ignatius's leg his career as a cavalier was shattered, but Meissner saw the more important blow as that suffered by Ignatius' phallic narcissistic self. He suggests that such a loss of self led Ignatius into a depression that bordered on the suicidal. Subsequently, Ignatius underwent a religious conversion, a process that Meissner sees psychologically as transvaluation and theologically as prompted by the healing energies of grace. Such a process became internalized when Ignatius saw in the person of Christ an identity fulfillment that was once sought in battles and bosoms.

Meissner proceeds to trace, through psy-

choanalytic formulations, some of the unconscious movements and motivations found in Ignatius's ego, relating how Ignatius moves from being a "pilgrim" to the founder of what was to become the largest religious order of the Catholic Church. Meissner, for example, finds evidence that Ignatius struggled with a self-punitive superego and displayed such defense mechanisms as isolation, intellectualization, and reaction formation. He goes on to describe how such mechanisms tended to become sublimated through the mystical movements and spiritual disciplines that Ignatius experienced through his conversion process.

A final example of Meissner's ability to navigate the currents of psycho-theological controversies may be found in *The Cultic Origins of Christianity: The Dynamics of Religious Development* (2000), where he describes the early Christian communities as exhibiting cultic processes. Given their periodic persecution and their marginalized status from the economic and political structures of imperial Rome and the spiritual systems of Judaism, these communities as cults tended to emerge through a paranoid process that was not necessarily pathological. For Meissner, such a process involved the mechanisms of introjection and projection, which were maintained and reinforced through paranoid construction. He asserts that such psychodynamics were to be theologically expressed in the Christian assimilation of the Apocalypticism and Gnosticism of the period.

Meissner's psycho-theological understandings are not without controversy. Psychoanalysts and theologians alike question his theoretical excursions into history and the conclusions that he draws for both fields. Yet, as I have attempted to show, his scholarship has helped to shape the dialogue between psychoanalysts and theologians alike. The fact that he has been engaged in such an enterprise for so long and performed so well suggests that W.W. Meissner is an accomplished navigator whose writings continue as important charts that may guide readers through the turbulent currents between *Charybdis* and *Scylla*.

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## Luther and Freud on God

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It is difficult to imagine Martin Luther, 16th-century church reformer, and Sigmund Freud, father of 20th-century psychoanalysis, as respectful conversation partners. Given Luther's anti-Semitic views, it is easy to hear his condemnation of Freud as a heretic and as the personification of everything that is wrong with the Jews who have rejected God's gift of grace. From Freud's perspective of religion as infantile wish fulfillment, Luther would need long-term, intensive psychoanalysis to work through his obsessional neuroses. (Erik Erikson has already suggested conflicts Luther should face in analysis in *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*, 1962.) Despite the irresolvable conflict between Luther's devout theism and Freud's adamant atheism, I propose that there is a basis for conversation: Luther and Freud were actually arguing against comparable ideas of God (although their subsequent re-creations were radically different).

How can there be similarities between the unquestionable ontological reality of Luther's God and the projected, non-existent God of Freud? To discern them necessitates circumventing any discussion of the reality of God and attending instead to perceptions of God. Ana-Maria Rizzuto's idea of "God representation" is central to this project. She argues that "no child in the Western world, brought up in ordinary circumstances, completes the Oedipal cycle without forming at least a rudimentary God representation, which he may use for belief or not." (Rizzuto, *The Birth of the Living God: A Psychoanalytic Study*, 1979, p. 48) Rizzuto differentiates between "concepts of God" which are generally seen to result from intentional, intellectual, theological processes, and which may preclude any emotional engagement or acceptance, and "God representations" which include a concept of God but require its integration with images and sources of the representation, which "requires a persistent psychic work of soul searching, self-scrutiny, and internal re-elaboration of the representation." (Rizzuto, *Birth*, pp. 47&48)

The impetus for much of the work of Luther and Freud was their perceptions of God, based

on their emotional and experiential struggles with the prevailing concepts of God, rather than merely on intellectual ideas. Freud, despite his denial of the existence of a divine being, held an identifiable God representation, which was surprisingly similar to the understanding of God against which Luther struggled. Both men were concerned about human suffering, both believed that prevailing understandings of God were implicated in suffering, and both presented alternative concepts of God that were intended to help alleviate suffering.

The concept of God dominant in Luther's (1483-1546) context is easily discerned by looking at his life, beginning with the infamous thunderstorm vow he made when lightning struck too close: "Help me, St. Anne, I will become a monk!" (Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 1950, p. 25) In our time it is almost impossible to imagine the devils, witches, evil spirits, and hell and damnation that, in Luther's milieu, threatened the Christian from all sides. A 1493 woodcut entitled *Christ the Judge Sitting Upon the Rainbow* (Bainton, *Here*, p. 31) illustrates the terror of death and judgment permeating his culture. A lily extending from Christ's right ear symbolizes the redeemed who are being ushered into paradise by angels. A sword protruding from his left ear symbolizes the "doom of the damned, whom the devils drag by their hair from the tombs and cast into the flames of hell." (Bainton, *Here*, p. 30) Everyone would one day rise from the dead and stand before the judgment seat to await the words "well done" or "depart from me into the everlasting fire." (Matthew 25:31-46 NRSV) Only the righteous could escape God's wrath.

In light of his context, it is clear that the question that drove the young Luther into a spiritual crisis was rooted in the belief that he needed to do something to earn salvation: 'How do I, a sinner, become acceptable in the eyes of a holy and righteous God?' The theology he had learned proclaimed Christ's work of atonement inadequate. Luther's overly-scrupulous self-examination constantly revealed his dilemma, that he could have done more:

...the fear of being damned led to the desire that God might not exist. Within him there grew up a hatred against this God who expects the impossible ... who ties his grace to the condition of accomplishing the impossible. (Bernhard Lohse, *A Short History of Christian Doctrine*, trans. F. Ernest Stoeffler, 1966, p. 103)

Admittedly, Luther's spiritual struggles were unusually intense. Yet they were rooted in a representation of God as an unforgiving and uncompassionate judge holding the promise of paradise in exchange for radical obedience to His indiscernible and seemingly capricious will. Driven by his own pain to struggle with this concept of God, Luther came to believe this concept was harmful, even damning, to all Christians.

The words "righteousness of God" (Romans 3:21, NRSV) terrified Luther. A righteous God must punish. In what Luther described as his "tower experience," it came to him that "the righteousness of God is his mercy, and that he makes us righteous through it." (*Luther's Works*, Vol. 54, 1999, p. 309) "By the righteousness of God we're justified and saved through Christ." (*Works*, 54, pp. 193&194) Christ -- God incarnate -- was seen as the one who carried the sin and suffering of humanity to the cross. Although simplistic, this description gives a sense of the shift in Luther's God representation from a transcendent, wrathful judge to one whose love for humanity is established in suffering and death on the cross and whose power is shown in the resurrection. In the process of this shift, Luther transformed the "abstract question of a just God into an *existential quest* that concerned the *whole* human being, encompassing thought and action, soul and body, love and suffering." (Heiko A. Obermann, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart, 1982, p. 151) Life, healing, and hope can be found in this God representation.

The depth of Freud's (1856-1939) atheism is obvious in his antagonism toward religion. Not only did he not believe in the existence of God, but he also diagnosed belief in God as pathological. In light of that, description of Freud's God representation can only be a description of his projection of a God representation onto believers. Freud saw God as the father figure onto which infantile wishes for protection are projected and for whom an individual has ambivalent, unresolved Oedipal feelings of fear and hatred. God is both loving father and angry judge, although the angry judge holds dominance. God's task is "to even out the defects and evils of civilization, to attend to the sufferings which men inflict on each other...." (Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, trans. James Strachey, 1961. p. 22) God is a controlling and punishing judge who demands and ultimately rewards appropriate behavior (control of sexual

and destructive instincts). God is also a protector -- although the reality of human suffering indicates a lack of effectiveness, maybe even a capriciousness, in that role.

Freud believed that there is no God and that civilization should abandon the illusions of religion, submit to fate, and face up to the ordinary unhappiness of a reasoned, scientific view of reality. However, using Luther's explanation of the first Commandment, "We are to fear, love and trust God above anything else" (Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, ed. T. G. Tappert, 1959, p. 347), it can be argued that because Freud placed his love of and trust in science above anything else, Reason (or Logos) can be named as his God representation. After acknowledging that Reason may only be able to fulfill a small part of what "God" had promised in the past, Freud maintained, "it is possible for scientific work (Logos) to gain some knowledge about the reality of the world, by means of which we can increase our power and in accordance with which we can arrange our life." (Freud, *Illusion*, p. 70)

Luther and Freud transformed surprisingly similar perceptions of God -- God representations they experienced as inadequate and harmful. Although their reconstructions are significantly different, each can contribute to a contemporary conversation. In a world that, since September 11, 2001, has lost a sense of safety, Luther's image of God's presence in the suffering of humanity offers comfort, just as Freud's vision of the power of human reason to decrease suffering offers hope. Conversation -- constructive conversation -- between their followers is possible.

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**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting  
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## **John Wesley and the Emergence of Methodism: The Need for a Self Psychological and Intersubjective Perspective**

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An often-overlooked aspect of the 18th-century "Age of Enlightenment" is the emergence of a powerful religious revival within Protestant Christianity, culminating in the rise of Methodism in England and the "Great Awakening" which swept through the Anglo-cultural world in this period. No individual played a greater role in this revitalization than the Anglican clergyman John Wesley (1703-1791), who remains in the words of a recent and definitive biography, "despite the large body of literature about him, an enigmatic personality." (Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 1992, p. 27) Although psychobiographers have illuminated much about the character of this man and the movement he founded, the insights of contemporary psychoanalysis -- especially those of self psychology and the intersubjective perspective -- are needed to reach a more complete understanding of this complex topic.

John Wesley, the son of a High Anglican clergyman and a fervent Puritan mother, arrived at age 17 at Oxford University with a yearning for an authentic and heartfelt spiritual experience. With his brother Charles, Wesley led a small group of students that met regularly to share their spiritual shortcomings and organize good works, calling themselves the "Holy Club." At this early date, they were already attacked by their critics, who derisively called them "Methodists" for their "rule and methods," a term which Wesley and his brother later embraced.

Wesley's life-long "journey of faith" was to be a difficult and arduous one. After leaving Oxford, he spent two unsuccessful years in the North American colony of Georgia as a missionary, writing in his journal upon his return to London that "I who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God." (Elisabeth Jay, ed.,

*Journal of John Wesley: A Selection*, 1987, p. 24) What Wesley lacked was an inner conviction of faith and salvation, and his entire theology centered on finding this for himself and others. About his famous Aldersgate conversion experience of 1738, Wesley described how, while reading Luther's preface to the New Testament book of Romans, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and me from the law of sin and death." (Jay, *Journal*, pp. 34&35) The decisive event in bringing about this assurance had been his encounter with Moravian German Pietists during his otherwise frustrating time in Georgia. Their simple and inspiring faith of Bible study and personal religious experience taught Wesley that reform of Christianity meant focusing on an inner moral and spiritual transformation that Wesley, quoting Paul in Galatians 5:6, called the "faith that worketh through love" (Sulu D. Kelley, ed., *Wesley's Notes on the Bible*, Internet version, 1997) -- not empty ritualism, slavish devotion to authority, or solitary and quiescent mysticism -- and that would bear fruit in a joyful active love of both God and the humanity which He created.

Psychobiographers of Wesley, such as Robert Moore (see below) have found a wealth of behavior and information that invites psychodynamic interpretation. Prominent in Wesley's life was a lifelong impairment in relationships with women, which included several mismanaged overtures for marriage and, at age 48, a disastrous misalliance to a pathologically jealous and physically abusive widow. Wesley had been raised under the strict religious supervision of his mother, Susanna, the pious daughter of a Puritan clergyman. A woman of no small talents and religious ambitions, she had given birth to 19 children (nine of whom lived to adulthood). Susanna Wesley's strict regimen stressed firmness rather than indulgence of children. "In order to form the minds of children," she wrote, "the first thing to be done is to conquer their will, and bring them to an obedient temper," with no crying allowed after the age of one. (John A. Newton, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism*, 1968, p. 114) At the same time, Wesley recalled his mother's "calm serenity" and her attentiveness to all her children's needs. She set aside a special time each week to provide spiritual guidance to each child, meeting with John on Thursday evenings and considering his spiritual development her special project. Wesley's scholarly father, on the other hand, though in many

ways idealizable, was a "volatile, unorganized and imminently unpredictable figure" whose Puritan harshness earned him the enmity of many in his parish. (Robert Moore, "Justification Without Joy: Psychohistorical Reflections on John Wesley's Childhood and Conversion," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1974, p. 36) Also of interest is Wesley's close but difficult relationship to his brother Charles, a theological and psychological (Kohutian) "twin" whose powerful hymns gave Methodism an emotive dimension that complemented John's more pragmatic and intellectual approach to the expression of faith.

The Eriksonian interpretation of Robert Moore ("Justification" and *John Wesley and Authority: A Psychological Perspective*, 1985) goes far in illuminating Wesley's creative development from the perspective of ego psychology. Yet his view that the "intrusive maternal authority" of Susanna Wesley was determinative of Wesley's theology and career offers only a partial understanding of this complicated individual. Wesley's key developmental task, Moore argues, was "to integrate into his mature identity the claims of the maternal authority while neutralizing the problematic potency of the capricious father." (Moore, "Justification," p. 36) Wesley's acceptance of the "providential role" which his mother chose for him allowed him to carry forward the "spiritual regime" of Susanna's nursery and to "initiate action without being immobilized by guilt." (Moore, *John Wesley*, p. 204) While Moore's analysis helps us understand how Wesley was able to function so effectively as a leader despite his inner conflicts, it neglects attention to what was new and innovative in Wesley's approach to Christian salvation.

At the core of the "Methodist Revolution" were two creative innovations: Wesley's vision of an empathic God and his use of small groups to consolidate and carry forward his vision. Wesley grew up immersed in the God of Puritanism: inscrutable, arbitrary, unyielding, and harsh. George Whitefield, Wesley's Calvinist associate and theological rival in the great revival of the 1740s, once wrote that "If I trace myself ... from my cradle to my manhood, I can see nothing in me but a fitness to be damned." (Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, Vol. 1, 1925, p. 35) Wesley came to strongly oppose the predestinarian image of the deity, offering instead to his followers the idea that no one will arbitrarily be left unsaved, once a sincere attempt to live "in the image" of God and Christ is



achieved:

If you walk by this rule, continually endeavoring to know and love and resemble and obey the great God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the God of love, of pardoning mercy; if from this principle of loving, obedient faith, you carefully abstain from all evil, and labor, as you have opportunity, to do good to all men, friends or enemies; if, lastly, you unite together, to encourage and help each other in thus working out your salvation, and for that end watch over one another in love, you are they whom I mean by Methodists. ("Advice to a People Called Methodist," Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of John Wesley*, 1872, VII, p. 351)

Going beyond the religion of his mother, Wesley forged an image of God as relational and empathic being, one who serves self-object needs and exists for the believer in a bond of accepting and mutual interconnectedness. (On the concept of *self-objects*, see Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 1971, and *The Restoration of the Self*, 1977.)

The turning point in Wesley's career was when he carried forward this vision of an experiential and empathic Christianity to those many who had been excluded by the rigid and archaic structures of the Anglican Church and English society. Beginning with the colliers of Kingswood and the coal miners of Newcastle and Lancashire, Wesley preached to outdoor crowds of several thousand at a time, traveling, in one estimate, over 200,000 miles and delivering over 40,000 sermons in his lifetime. (Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 535) As one hermeneutic study of Wesley's "seductive" leadership style shows, the key to his popularity was that he loved and was loved by those plebeians to whom he offered a free grace that was unknown to them before. (Henry Abelove, *The Evangelist of Desire: John Wesley and the Methodists*, 1990, pp. 32&33) In his prodigious efforts, Wesley showed to those in the "rude, populous north" where he preached that he "cared about them" (John Hagar, *John Wesley: A Biography*, 1961, p. 86), dovetailing, it could be argued, with a group fantasy amongst his followers of a new dispensation from above that would accept them as they remade themselves during the throes of the Industrial Revolution that was simultaneously transforming England.

More lasting was the success of Wesley's unique approach to the nurturing of faith, based

upon his early experience at Oxford and, as Moore points out, that of his childhood. He set up small groups, or classes, called "select bands," which, as with his special time with his mother as a child, met on Thursday evenings. Wesley later noted that in them, "many now happily experienced that Christian fellowship, of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to bear one another's burdens, and naturally to care for each other." (Southey, *Life of Wesley*, p. 286) This intimate fellowship, forged in small groups, where "at each sort of gathering they took turns talking of their experiences and feelings" (Abelove, *Evangelist of Desire*, p. 105), and modeled upon his affectionate connection with his closest followers, became a key element in the movement he founded.

Wesley's ability to construct an image of God that met the emotional needs of his followers fits Heinz Kohut's view of the positive role which religion can play in human life. What it provides, Kohut argued, is a unique and essential cultural function: "to shore up, to hold together, sustain and make harmonious, to strengthen man's self." (Charles Strozier, *Heinz Kohut: The Making of a Psychoanalyst*, 2001, p. 328) It does this by serving the primal developmental needs of idealization and mirroring, especially, Kohut noted, the concept of "grace" or "the idea that there is something given to you, some innate perception of our right to be here and to assert yourself, and that somebody will smile at you and will respond to you and will be in tune with your worthwhileness." (Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, p. 332)

The intersubjective dimension of psychoanalysis, as Stolorow and others have highlighted, directs attention to the mutual reciprocal and dialogic influence between individuals and the discerning of "intersubjective transactions" between child and caregivers as well as between analysand and analyst. (Robert Stolorow et al., *The Intersubjective Perspective*, 1994, p. 5) A promising "next assignment" in the psychobiography of John Wesley will be not only a self psychological approach to understanding his innovative vision of God but also an intersubjective analysis of his "subjective organizing principles" and of the mutual, reciprocal influence between Wesley and those he interacted with over his long and religiously productive life.

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## Reverse Conversion: From Mormon Devotion to Depth Inquiry of Joseph Smith

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There are contradictions in life when one is raised in a home of religious fundamentalism where there is also significant mental illness. Sometimes such clashes -- for mental illness is sometimes suspected to occur where there is inadequate devotion or faith in either the individual or family -- can result in new and unexpected creations. In devout Mormonism ("Mormon" is the nickname for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., with headquarters in Salt Lake City), I served as a missionary for two years in Great Britain, attended Brigham Young University, married in the Salt Lake Temple, and became more than just knowledgeable in Mormon teaching, doctrine, and history. I read the Old Testament completely through twice and the New Testament and *The Book of Mormon* perhaps 15 times. There was pride in having someone open a book of scripture and read a sentence and then in my being able to peg book, chapter, and, possibly, verse. The personal and very private and prayerful conviction of the validity of *The Book of Mormon* as divine authentic history following the family background had occurred in my bedroom in my early teens. I had some abilities at speaking and organization, and future local leadership in the Church was in my future.

Mormonism began around 1829, when its founder, Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805-1844), then a 23-year-old semi-educated farm boy living in upstate New York, dictated to scribes a 588-page book of 275,000 words containing a "divinely written" religious history of pre-Columbian America. He said he had been directed to this ancient text, written on gold plates and buried in a hill near his home, by an angel. "Spectacles" through which the ancient writings could be translated were supplied with the book, called *The Book of Mormon*. Today, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints accepts this young farm boy as its founding prophet and his account of this event (and other miracles) as

canonized scripture, and believes that he has done more for the salvation of the world than any other person except Jesus. The *Book* covers (mostly) a period from 600 B.C.E. to about 421 C.E., and contains prophets and prophecies, martyrs and missionaries, sovereigns and sermons, and waywardness and warfare. It ascends to high drama with a geophysical holocaust of earthquake, fire, and tidal waves which informed its few survivors of the crucifixion of Jesus in the land they had left and which shortly preceded his dramatic but brief visitation as the resurrected Christ to the New World. The last 200 years of this history descends into furious and all-consuming hatred of antagonistic societies resulting in the complete annihilation of what had been a higher civilization of metallurgy, art, culture, and Christian devotion. The "survivors" in this ethnic destruction became the ancestors of Native Americans, while the last righteous prophet of the destroyed society would become, 14 centuries later, the angel telling young Joseph Smith where he had buried the account. The Mormon Church now accepts this religious history as canonized scripture and views it as a companion book to the Bible. Two weeks after its publication (March 1830), Joseph Smith founded "The Church of Christ," now The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

I followed my father into medical training, and medical school brought some self-awareness that my view of the world seemed restricted. I won summer grants, including one to travel the United States and develop a slide collection on the history of medicine. I saw Eastern historical cities and almost lived inside the vaults of prestigious medical libraries, handling the rarest of manuscripts and incunabula. These works sometimes included the past absurdities of human belief and evidenced the progressive value of scientific thought. Everywhere I looked there were things to learn and questions to be investigated. Not everything seemed to fit into Mormon philosophy. I began to wonder if absolute conviction -- including mine -- about something -- *anything* -- could be a result of only cultural and psychological factors instead of rational thinking based on believable evidence.

Meanwhile, the mental illness in the family had been handled by institutionalization, every existing form of shock therapy, and then by frontal lobotomy. Surely there had to be a better way than cutting up a living brain. I told my father I wished to specialize in psychiatry. He objected, saying that I might lose my faith. I reassured him, "Mormons

sometimes need help for mental problems and I can possibly find ways to adapt psychological knowledge to the church system." I wondered what it would be like to work in a mental hygiene clinic at Brigham Young University. Because of what would come, there was some small good fortune in my father's early death just as I finished medical school. My mother lived for another decade as a practicing nurse struggling with chronic leukemia. With both their deaths, I was spared the conflict with parents over my developing religious doubt.

Psychiatric training did intensify the problem of doubt by an increasing awareness of psychological factors that affected or determined beliefs and life-orientation. Then the eccentric professor in the department said, "You are going to waste. What do you want to do?" I understood him to mean that I had special abilities to do research. I said that I wanted to return to the photographic work of medical history but with a focus solely on psychiatry. By this time I had a personal agenda that didn't need public discussion. I specifically was interested in the history of European witchcraft with the goal of understanding beliefs in demons, witches, and other related items such as possession by evil spirits. (The first healing miracle in Mormonism occurred when Joseph Smith reportedly cast a demon out of a twisted, contorted man who was being hurled around the room but then saw the commanded evil spirit leave his body and found himself floating in space up to the ceiling.) My travel time was three weeks but I read furiously before and after. The largest library on witchcraft in the United States -- perhaps the world -- is at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. As I had done in the previous travel, I took weekend side trips to the Mormon history route that began in upstate New York, crossed the United States through Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois (where Joseph Smith was murdered), and ended with the covered wagon trek into the Salt Lake Basin, led by Smith's devotee and successor, Brigham Young.

But now I sensed that my religious belief was in jeopardy, for my research led to two results. As I ended my psychiatric training, I presented a pictorial paper, "A Review of the History of Witchcraft with Some Psychiatric Comments," at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association. Karl Menninger sat in the front row - he was interested in and approved of my presentation -- and the paper was published in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*. The second result was that I believed that this European massive pogrom,

mostly against older women, was the result of a cultural delusion encouraged by corrupt religious men, and I began to wonder if I might be participating in a cultural delusion.

I continued in local leadership positions in the Mormon Church but historical discoveries enhanced my religious doubt. Beginning in the late 1960s, there was a significant upsurge in new factual documentation about Joseph Smith and the start of Mormonism. With studies led by the "New Mormon Historians" and now dubbed the period of "Mormon Historical Camelot," virtually every major supernatural claim made by Joseph Smith was challenged by very good, if not absolutely solid, opposing documentation that countered or changed his official and canonized story. Following this period of relative openness by the Mormon hierarchy -- a "brief shining moment" -- the leaders closed the doors to the archives, and condemned and excommunicated intellectuals within the Church. This not only left a bad taste about their anti-intellectual stance but also gave evidence of censorship and fabrication of Mormon history supported by every period of church leadership since Joseph Smith.

Partly to provide more professional quality in my treatment of patients, I entered psychoanalysis that allowed for a reworking of my childhood rearing and training. I took psychoanalytic institute courses, went through a divorce and successful remarriage, withdrew from religious participation, shied away from religious interest, and focused on private practice and building a new life without a supernatural substrate. This period lasted from 1970 to 1988, when William W. Meissner, SJ, MD, came to town to discuss his *Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience* (1984).

My psychoanalyst office partner would chair the meeting at the Jesuit University. Would I be part of the panel? No. Reconsider. No. Reconsider. Oh, all right. In the two months remaining, I read Meissner's book three times and then read 4000 pages on religion and on religion and psychiatry. All of my previous work on the history of medicine and psychiatry, the courses at the institute, as well as previous religious knowledge came into play for my four-minute discussion. I had some anticipatory anxiety about this program, for childhood training never fully goes away. I was entering the "enemy's lair." Mormon scripture declares that all other (Christian) religions are man-made with abominable creeds and corrupt leaders. *The Book of Mormon* singles out

Roman Catholicism as the worst, declaring it to be (in language paralleling early 19th-century Protestantism) founded by the devil, "most abominable above all other churches," slaying "the Saints of God," corrupting the Bible, and filled with gold and silver, silks and scarlets, fine linens and harlots -- all while seeking the "praise of the world." In reality, of course, all the participants in the discussion with Meissner were fine people.

I was the one panelist challenging and critical, for I labeled Meissner's book "scientific but not science," focusing on the basic religious assumptions inherent in the book. (Science and academic history exclude supernatural explanations from consideration, limiting themselves to "sense" data that can be replicated. Belief in the supernatural is non-"sense"ical.) I quoted an early 20th-century Catholic theologian who disagreed with a naturalistic history of the witchcraft craze because it was "based on a false supposition in denying the existence of evil spirits, and consequently leads to wrong conclusions." The tension in the air was palpable but Meissner defused it by a pleasant joke that brought relieving laughter from the audience.

What happened next changed my life. People, both known and unknown, told me I had "hit a home run," "rung a bell," and "dealt with the essentials." These comments were followed by telephone calls from acquaintances expressing a more sober appreciation for my comments. I wondered whether, because I had some awareness of basic issues in religion and psychiatry, I could apply these abilities in understanding *The Book of Mormon*. Could I re-read *The Book of Mormon* as if the book was a patient on the couch? By this time, it was clear to non-Mormon historians and some non-believing or doubting Mormons that all searches for external evidence for this "divinely written" pre-Columbian American religious history had failed. As decades had passed, the *Book* showed evidence of being only a product of the early 19th-century American frontier. Reflections of U.S. religious and political conflicts of that day seemed clear. But I knew from psychiatric knowledge and practice that the *Book* had to reflect Joseph Smith's personal experiences. And *that* had hardly been touched on by others. Further, the *Book* had to tell us something about his underlying personality. Was it a disguised autopsychobiography?

I took an explicitly naturalistic stance, discounted supernal claims, and set out to know who were the real-life persons behind the (fantasy) fig-

ures in the book. As has happened to others, a mental struggle suddenly gave way to stunning awareness and clarity. I not only realized from Joseph Smith's life who the remarkably evil person at the start of the *Book* was (a doctor who operated without anesthesia on seven-year-old Joseph Smith's leg became the drunk, thieving, and murderous sword-wielding Laban), I also realized, with much greater importance, the mental mechanisms and technique Joseph Smith used in changing his life story into *The Book of Mormon* stories. Now this hypothesis could be tested again and again throughout this book of 588 pages and 275,000 words covering a 1000-year period. It proved repeatedly valid. As one devout Mormon said to me, "It wasn't the first or second time you pointed this out but the 13th or 14th time that it became convincing." With awareness of Smith's mental mechanisms (along with information such as court records and his mother's biography of Joseph Smith) I could begin to understand him and place him into known psychiatric categories, particularly narcissism.

As my book progressed over a 10-year period and was published in 1999, I thought about my experiences with Meissner. In small dinner groups, as well as his writings, he had presented as a pleasant man of erudition, warmth, and excellent knowledge. I contacted him, asked for his review and help. He informed me of his forthcoming psychobiography of Ignatius (*Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint*, 1992), sent some of his 200 published papers along for assistance, read a preliminary draft of my book, and sent back a four-page single-spaced very useful critique. I was able to incorporate some of his suggestions as well as ideas and references from his book on Ignatius. When my book was published, he wrote a positive and insightful commentary for the back of the book.

*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and The Book of Mormon* can be read on three psychological levels. At the foundation level, allegory, simile, and metaphor are used to parallel *The Book of Mormon* stories with his life. It is at this level that Smith's mental techniques come into play and become the keys to unlock the parallels. These techniques are 1) reversal of misfortune and inferiority into the fantasy of conquest and superiority and 2) exaggeration of this fantasy into miracle.

For example, Joseph Smith was the fourth child of a man who claimed supernatural abilities

and whose dreams the family considered visions. By the time he dictated this story, Joseph Smith had superseded his father as a "visionary." But Joseph Smith and his family had been and were on the edge of poverty and sometimes hunger. They were viewed by their neighbors with amiable contempt as ineffectual and perhaps alcoholic. The Smith family had moved more than 10 times in a 16-year period, continually failing to find productive lives. Then they made one major move from New England to upstate New York in a wagon. At the time, 10-year-old Joseph was lame and weak from his previous leg surgery and treated in a contemptible and brutish fashion by others.

*The Book of Mormon* begins as if written by Nephi, the fourth child of a father with supernatural abilities and whose dreams are stated to be visions. Nephi is becoming a great prophet, even superseding his father. Similarly to the Smith family, *The Book of Mormon* family, under direction from God, had multiple small moves to and around the Red Sea extending over eight years (while living with miracles from God), and then one gigantic move by ship to the New World, all under divine guidance and emphasizing the spiritual righteous leadership, courage, and strength of Nephi in adversity.

At the second psychological level, Smith's mental processes can be fit into known psychiatric categories, and labels, modified to his unusual characteristics, can be discussed. The third and highest abstract level is the discussion from the psychoanalytic literature, found in brief discussions and epigraphs throughout the book, and then emphasized in the last chapter, "Diagnosis and Commentary."

*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith* has now gone through a second printing (2001) but it has not jarred the Mormon establishment. The few reviews have varied from mixed to positive. The largest gratifying response has been in letters, e-mails, and telephone calls from a level of Mormons who knew enough to be troubled over the problems in early Mormonism. They included professors of history, psychology, and sociology; physicians; attorneys; and former and present Mormon Bishops and High Councilmen. Most had some degree of conflict stirred by the book and wondered, "What do I do now?"

Indeed. The book is historically incomplete for it ends with Joseph Smith's life at the point *The Book of Mormon* was published. During the remaining 14 years of his life, he created the only

truly successful American religion, now growing like wildfire. With the contradictions between his supernatural claims and documented history, and the complete failure to find any external evidence for *The Book of Mormon*, one might wonder why. So my book, which only begins to deal with the acceptance of *The Book of Mormon* and the formation of a culture, is psychologically incomplete. These issues I have tried to address in other papers and forums. But, incomplete and faulty or not, a psychoanalytic evaluation of *The Book of Mormon* and Joseph Smith has now been done.

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## **Look Before You Leap, and Afterwards, Too: On Kierkegaard and Abraham**

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I've recently started going to church. As a child I was active in the church. Returning to the church after 40 years, whatever that means exactly, is no easy matter. One thing it means is that whatever I am returning to is not what I left. I've learned too much. I can't believe now as I did then. What does it mean to believe anyway? This is what I've been struggling with.

At first Søren Kierkegaard was a great help. "Subjectivity is truth," he says. In saying this he became the first existentialist. The way I interpret Kierkegaard's claim about truth is in terms of what are called "performatives," statements that create the reality they describe. "It is raining" is not a performative. "I promise" is a performative; the statement creates the reality it describes by the act of stating it. About some statements, such as "God exists," it makes the most sense to think about it as a performative truth: we make it true by believing and living as though it were. Everyone is always trying to stand outside, to take a God's eye view, says Kierkegaard. About some things this makes sense. About God it makes no sense at all. The only person who can have a

God's eye view is God. For the rest of us, whether God exists is a subjective truth, made true by our decision to believe it.

Not only does Kierkegaard make sense but also he fits my mood when I'm driving to church. Often I find I'm saying to myself something like "If God doesn't exist, then I had *really* better be a good Christian." That is, my fellow parishioners and I had better work even harder together to create a world in His image -- that is, the image we have of Him.

Kierkegaard and I got along fine until I read *Fear and Trembling*, where he discusses the famous story of Abraham and Isaac (Genesis 22), using it to illustrate the leap of faith. Abraham, says Kierkegaard, cannot be understood as a man of ethics and morality. He is something more, a knight of faith, a man who gives himself over to God without question or limit, doing something that would otherwise be not just irrational but immoral.

The standard psychoanalytic reading of Abraham and Isaac says that the myth represents progress in civilization, from human to animal sacrifice. One might even read the story of Abraham and Isaac in Kleinian terms. For Melanie Klein, one of the reasons we use symbols, such as names, is to protect the body of those we love and care about from our own aggression. The ram, in this story, would stand on the borderline between symbol and thing-in-itself, not the boy, but not quite yet the idea of sacrifice, but something in between.

Doesn't Kierkegaard's leap of faith have the quality of borderline thinking, marked by the inability to inhabit a location between all and nothing at all? Either one gives oneself over to one's belief utterly and so is willing to do anything God commands or one does not. There is nothing in between and no room for doubt, either. Faith has no more room for doubt than it does for rationality.

Borderline thinking reflects an inability to use what the analyst D.W. Winnicott calls transitional objects. By transitional object, Winnicott means an object that is neither me nor not me but both and neither. The teddy bear or favorite blanket is often the child's first transitional object but transitional objects are not just for children. Culture is the transitional object par excellence. Culture makes no sense if it is not part of me. But if it were only in me, culture would be no more than an illusion. Culture is me and not me at the same time, and sometimes it is best not to ask.

Illusion is the medium of transitional experience. Key to illusion is the way in which it resides in a realm between me and not me, neither inner nor outer. "I create it because it exists without me but I won't be able to sustain this illusion if you keep asking me about it." If the psycho-logic of transitional experience spoke in sentences, this would be one. Illusion connects and separates internal and external reality, reflecting a separation from reality that is also a fusion with it. In this way illusion buffers the swings between losing and fusing, the swings that -- when they are extreme -- mark borderline experience.

"Is it Teddy or Mommy?" "Is culture subjective or objective?" "Is God real or just a collective illusion?" Why do we have to know? Does not Kierkegaard, with his leap of faith, have to know just as much as the scientist of matter? Isn't subjective truth another way to destroy illusion, dividing the world into subjective and objective realms? To be sure, it is not quite this simple. Kierkegaard upsets the traditional way of thinking about truth as objective and so plays with the truth. Playing, as Winnicott tells us, belongs to the realm of transitional experience. Nevertheless, one wonders if Kierkegaard isn't making the divisions sharper than need be and so draining subjectivity of the power of illusion -- that is, the power to enchant the world.

Freud referred to religious belief as an illusion. Marx called religion an illusory sun. Neither of these great late Enlightenment thinkers meant the term "illusion" as a compliment. They should have. The alternative to illusion is not reality but reification, in which we no longer feel any connection to what we have made, as it becomes an alien thing. Marx had one or two words to say about this experience as far as labor is concerned. Kierkegaard's leap of faith, while fully aware of the way in which human labor (the performance that creates performative truth) creates subjective reality, is a little too eager to forget it once one has leapt. Look before you leap, and look afterwards, too.

Transitional experience has the quality of reverie, a state on the borderline between reality and fantasy. Which means that transitional experience is fragile and easily shattered. That's good. Had Abraham known God as part of a transitional experience, rather than a leap of faith, the command to sacrifice Isaac might have shattered his reverie, returning him to his human sensibility. In other words, some things, some experiences,

should shatter our belief, though even the term "shatter" is not quite right, suggesting a prior rigidity that is not appropriate to transitional experience. Transitional experience is not shattered as much as it is dispersed, so that it must be recreated anew every time. In other words, religious belief should be fragile.

At mass last Sunday, the sermon was about Doubting Thomas and how his doubt made his ultimate faith even stronger. It's okay to doubt but only so that one's faith may become stronger in the end. That's not right. We doubt because we do not know and we do not know because some things are unknowable. The question is how to live with this fact. Kierkegaard's answer is the leap of faith.

I recommend the attitude of not always asking and not always asking about not asking. I advise negative capability, as Keats called it, to abide in and with riddles and wonder. I suggest it not just as a good state to be in but a state from which one may be readily driven out by the inhuman command. That's good, too.

After all this, the reader may be asking him or herself the question, So why did he return to church? I returned to church to be what physicist Freeman Dyson calls a "practicing Christian," as opposed to a "believing Christian." I wanted the community of others. Through attending church (or rather, by thinking about my experiences attending church), I have learned that the distinction between practicing and believing is another false dichotomy, another attempt to split the world. To practice a religion with others is to create a world, a holding environment as Winnicott might call it, in which belief and practice become one, at least for a little while, at least while one is so involved in the practice that one forgets to ask whether it is practice or belief. Occasionally I do that and it pleases me.

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## On the Resiliency of Religion

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I have spent much of my life studying American folk religion as manifested in the participants' practices, feelings, and beliefs. Four of my books -- *The Billy Graham Religion* (1972), *The New Birth* (1981) (co-authored with my wife, Mary Ann), *The Southern Baptist Holy War* (1986), and *Jim and Tammy* (1988) -- grew out of the folk religion of my youth and reflect a continuing interest in it. The writings of Weston La Barre have helped me understand my religious journey. Like most anthropologists, he implements a functionalist method that not only stresses our absolute need for culture (religions being the cultural manifestations of a terrible finite and desperate species -- biologically, cognitively, emotionally, and morally), but also investigates and explains those elements that contribute to a community's survival and ability to cope meaningfully with reality. His approach has allowed me to understand and better appreciate the supportive dimensions of the folk religion of my youth. At the same time, his psychoanalytic perspective has given me insight into some of its dysfunction.

While growing up in a moderately conservative Southern Baptist church in Knoxville, Tennessee, my religious life took two major turns. At the age of 16, I read a chapter in a book (the title of which I no longer remember) that made a case for "eternal security," a belief that Baptists sometimes refer to as "once saved always saved." When a child or adolescent grows up believing that damnation will surely come to the unsaved, gaining "blessed assurance" of salvation becomes imperative. When the book chapter, by a fundamentalist evangelist, introduced me to "justification by faith" rather than works, my problem was solved, bringing about a profound emotional change. Looking back, I can see that my religious tradition had cultivated ways to traumatize the young as a necessary step toward bringing them into "salvation's fold," including eternal security. Sensitive neighbors and parents who sincerely believed in damnation went along with the traumatizing process, often referred to as "being under conviction of one's alienation from God and goodness." The Baptist goal in the South was that of moving the candidates through the process as quickly as possible so that they would no longer have to suffer tormenting doubts about their salvation and could become responsible members of the church.

Ideally, the process subsequent to receiving justification (and a guaranteed place in heaven) did not discourage good works but rather cast them in

a new light. Instead of becoming risky stepping-stones to salvation, good works followed as the gift of the Spirit upon having been born again. Far from inflicting a neurotic perfectionism on the believer, the Baptist way ideally rendered good works as healthy manifestations (not obligations) of gratitude for the gift of amazing grace. At the same time, it acknowledged human imperfection and finitude as the lot of all mortals, saved and lost. Although sins, moral flaws, and failures could not push the born-again believer off the ship of salvation, they remained problems. Since the  *motive*  for overcoming moral failures was no longer to earn salvation, living a moderately good life opened the believer to the reward of goodness for its own sake along with the promise of community support, fellowship with God and others, and freedom from the overt consequences of a reckless life.

Years later, I would theorize that all psychology is social psychology. Freud saw that the social dynamics of family life created complex individuals with their special drives and complexes. My local church and denomination were a part of my expanded family. Its dynamics created in me special drives, complexes, solutions, interests, and crises.

At the age of 16, I became heavily interested also in the question of my religion's foundation. Borrowing from the insights of the psychoanalytic anthropologist Weston La Barre, I now offer the following conjecture as to what happened. If I had been a tribal member who had never come into contact with individuals from other tribes, I might never have raised the foundation question. By working as a waiter in my father's restaurant, however, I came into contact regularly with responsible, friendly people who did not share my religion. In the public schools, during the 1940s, I knew Jews, Catholics, and others whose religious views differed significantly from my own. According to my religion, Jews, Catholics, and all others who had not made a "decision for Christ" were among the damned.

Included among the "unsaved" was my father, whose love and commitment to my three siblings and me never came into question. By contrast, I had an uncle who, though a Baptist believer, seemed to lack the strong paternal commitment that my father exemplified. All this created for me additional cognitive dissonance. To complicate matters, this same uncle, though not a model father, was a kind and interesting uncle. Some of his

neighbors and relatives regarded him as a religious fanatic because he never ceased trying to convince them that Mussolini was the Antichrist. He even expected Mussolini to be resurrected. When he and I went fishing each morning, however, he became a different person. We focused exclusively on the joy of running the lines and hauling in the fish. Sometimes he would break out in song -- a secular song, never a hymn.

The foundation issue surfaced probably because I faced a dilemma that I could not then have put into words. I felt or sensed a need to justify my religion. There is irony in this. The very religion that had helped me believe and feel that I had been personally "justified by grace through faith" before God stood now itself in need of justification. It was at this point that a second major shift took place in my life.

In high school, while reading religion books, almost all by evangelicals, I came to believe that my religion was established on the Bible. If it was the word of God, how could it be riddled with errors and mistakes? Furthermore, as a finite mortal, how was I to know which passages, stories, and claims were trustworthy?  *I*  was not infallible. So, I adopted the view that all the books of the Bible in the  *original*  autographs were trustworthy and free of all errors and mistakes. This belief (or set of expectations) motivated me to take all the Greek courses available in the Baptist college that friends in my home church regarded as the ideal college. I wanted to read the New Testament in the original language. In seminary, while studying both Greek and Hebrew, I began to understand that translating the text itself required far more  *interpretation*  than I had expected. Slowly, I began to see that many streams had emptied into the Bible and indeed into the selection process that resulted in the canon and Christian theology.

Psychologically, we do not easily leave the emotional-intellectual "ship" on which we have been living for perhaps years. We try to move from one part of it to another. In some cases, we begin visiting, as it were, another ship that we discover to be meaningful and perhaps compelling. While in seminary and later while doing my PhD dissertation, I came to see more clearly that one can almost always keep one's original belief by making the necessary adjustments. Some Marxists today, for example, make adjustments and insist that true Marxism has never been tried, a move similar to Billy Graham's view regarding pure Christianity. For me, the move into another model or way



seemed more intellectually fruitful, morally acceptable, and emotionally satisfying. Far from missing the inerrancy theory, I have found the new ship of biblical criticism, and especially the new literary and feminist criticism, to be a cornucopia of insights. By viewing the Bible as a human book, I can appreciate the great skills of many of its authors and can often see how the authors and editors struggled with various crises they inherited from their tradition. Biblical criticism has provided me a new freedom for engaging the authors respectfully but not uncritically.

Years later, after working as a volunteer counselor in a state hospital near Boston and enjoying the unanticipated benefits of the hospital director's Monday afternoon seminars of 1960-1961, I began to see that my studies had functioned for me as something akin to psychoanalysis. Although Dr. Donald Kennefick, a remarkably compassionate psychoanalyst, called himself an "orthodox Freudian," he introduced the seminar members to the social class and tribal dimensions of psychiatry. Roughly 15 years later, upon studying the major works of Weston La Barre and interviewing him in his North Carolina home, I better appreciated Kennefick's point. A tribe or a tradition (religious or secular) is in some respects a family writ large. La Barre's *The Ghost Dance* (1972) and *Culture in Context* (1980) helped me to see that just as families can be greatly different from each other, so also cultures and traditions can differ markedly from each other. Meeting La Barre was another momentous experience for me. I sensed that he, too, was an orthodox Freudian when he asked me how I felt about my father. When he asked if I had undergone psychoanalysis, I asked him if psychoanalysis was anything like a shaman's journey. He, like Kennefick, proved to be a kind gentleman, and his sense of humor gave me a feeling of kinship.

It is impossible to communicate the degree to which I learned from La Barre and am still learning. To summarize *The Ghost Dance* is impossible. In this book of 637 pages, La Barre tends to see religion and anthropomorphism as the outgrowth of narcissism. From a psychoanalytic perspective, narcissism is an individual's arrested state. More sympathetic than La Barre toward my prehistoric forebears, I suggest that the species had no option but to begin with a bizarre anthropomorphic paradigm. The species then was not so much arrested as forced to live by trial and error. The anthropomorphic paradigm was the easiest to de-

velop by individuals and groups struggling sometimes heroically and desperately to survive and make their lives meaningful.

If prehistoric tribal members believed in the existence of ghouls, spirits, gods, demons, and deceased but returning ancestors, then they assumed they had to negotiate with them just as they had to negotiate with other tribes and with members inside the home tribe. As long as they continued to believe that preternatural beings controlled such things as weather, the hunt, pregnancy, life-giving blessings and life-threatening curses, they felt that they had to win their favor or to cushion their wrath. In time, the negotiation moves became somewhat stabilized and even ritualized. As an adolescent boy, I had been searching for a way to come to terms with the natural environment and the preternatural world as I perceived it.

My wife Mary Ann wrote a master's thesis on the sociology of religion, specifically Durkheim and Weber. She also earned a master's degree in counseling and became a practicing licensed professional counselor. In the 1970s and 1980s she helped me see that therapists were in some respects the heirs of the ancient shamans. Instead of guiding clients into the hinterland of spirits, therapists can sometimes guide them through their past encounters, victories, defeats, crises, loves, hates, misperceptions, and misconceptions. Indeed, these phenomena exist as though they were returning ancestors in the form of memories, conscious and unconscious. Mary Ann's job has been that of helping clients (and me) deal with the memories and their impact. In the words of Erving Goffman, she did and does "frame analysis." If, while asleep, a person hears a gunshot, the dreaming mind might "frame" the sound by incorporating it in the dream, thus protecting the dreamer from being awakened by an external disturbance. On the other hand, upon awakening, a child might still be disturbed by happenings in his or her dream. A parent might "frame" the happening by clarifying it as "merely a dream." Later, a therapist might "reframe" the dream by connecting it with the client's other experiences.

As a boy I saw a film, *The Smiling Ghost* (1941), which scared me more than had any other, including *Frankenstein*. Recently, I saw the film again, after perhaps 59 years, and was eager to locate the frightening scenes and analyze them. To my surprise, no such scenes appeared. Instead, the movie came close to being silly. In some respects, the modern shaman, taking us back to deal with

our personal "ghosts" (as Hamlet struggled with his father's ghost), helps us see the original scenes in an adult perspective. This, in turn, allows us to work through them more appropriately and rigorously. In an adult frame, one's father, for example, does not appear as either a god or a demon.

Religions have a better chance of surviving if they provide some sort of metaphysical view that gives believers a sense of orientation. Even though it might be thick with delusions (or the equivalent), it offers emotional identity, moral structure, cognitive satisfaction, and communal benefits. In a sensitive article about Nancy, a North Carolina child suffering from "an emotionally charged blindness," Maurine and Weston La Barre show how a psychiatric community and a holiness church "developed mutual trust" despite their different perceptions of the world. By focusing on the "compassionate love that underlies both religious faith and psychotherapy," they succeeded in helping the child and learning from each other. Weston La Barre, whom William James would doubtless have classified as a tough-minded philosopher, dared to portray the faith healing of emotional maladies "as a means of communicating to Nancy, by and through family culture, that her guilt impulses need not be overwhelming and could be forgiven." (Maurine and Weston La Barre, "A Child's Hysteria," Weston La Barre, *Culture in Context: Selected Writings of Weston La Barre*, 1980, pp. 250&251)

I have come to believe that within most worldviews East and West, believers generate wisdom, insight, and useful guidelines to help them survive and live reasonably well. At the same time, Weston La Barre is correct in suggesting that just as some individuals become deeply disturbed, so some traditions carry heavy strains of psychosocial pathology. Religions usually transmit both creativity and pathology. Some have perished, not because of their own undoing, but because their neighbors' religious pathology could not be restrained. During the current surge of pluralism (both as expanding secularism and thriving religions), keeping the civil peace and renewing the commitment to each person's dignity have become increasingly conspicuous moral and social imperatives. We exist, after all, by the grace, doings, and sufferings of the continuous human community (John Dewey). Having freely received much of this grace, we enjoy the freedom to embrace the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, improving, and expanding the heritage of values and insights so that those who come after us may partake

of this communal grace and generously share it with generations yet to be born.

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## William James, Carl Jung, and The Beginnings of Alcoholics Anonymous

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This year marks the 100th anniversary of the most important work on the topic of religious experience: *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902) by William James, the founder of the psychology of religion in America. James "perhaps first introduced the linkage of religion and experience in what has since become the study of *religious experience*." (Ralph W. Hood, Jr., ed., *Handbook of Religious Experience*, 1995, p. 3, emphasis in original) Thus, modern secular interest in experiences with the divine or transcendent, as well as the phrase used to describe such encounters, owes much to James. The following describes the fascinating nexus of religious experience, psychology, social networks, religious institutions, and individual agency that led to the creation of Alcoholics Anonymous, and eventually the literally dozens of similar twelve-step programs for which it has been a model.

In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* James directs a good deal of attention to what he calls "conversion," by which he means not adopting new religious beliefs but

the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities. This at least is what conversion signifies in general

terms. (1982 Penguin Books edition, p. 189)

As an example, he provides the lengthy, dramatic, and astonishing first-person account of S.H. Hadley, a man who felt "cornered" and suicidal:

"I sat in a saloon in Harlem, a homeless, friendless, dying drunkard. I had pawned or sold everything that would bring a drink. I could not sleep unless I was dead drunk. I had not eaten for days, and for four nights preceding I had suffered with delirium tremens." (p. 201)

Yet within a couple of days, Hadley had an experience that so radically transformed him that he later asserted, "From that moment till now I have never wanted a drink of whiskey." (p. 203) What happened? Hadley briefly recounts a series of important transcendent experiences, though the final transformation from "indescribable gloom" to "glorious brightness" came following a single culminating religious experience, which in turn followed a pleading prayer from the depths of ego collapse. Moments later, he says, "I felt I was a free man." (p. 203)

Just a few months before his death in 1961, Carl Jung wrote a private letter to Bill Wilson, the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), in which he confirmed his knowledge of such alcoholism-liberating spiritual experiences and his belief in their efficacy. He revealed his deep conviction that alcoholism is rooted in unmet spiritual needs but said he had learned to be very cautious in sharing this conviction because it was badly received by the many who accepted "the misleading platitudes one usually hears about alcoholism." Fortunately, however, Jung had suggested the hope of such deliverance to at least one patient in despair more than three decades before. The conversation "was to become the first link in the chain of events that led to the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous." ("The Bill W.-Carl Jung Letters," AA journal *Grapevine*, January 1963, pp. 2-7, <[www.aagrapevine.org/archive/billw/CJung.html](http://www.aagrapevine.org/archive/billw/CJung.html)>)

The patient was Roland Hazard. A successful businessman ruined by alcoholism, he unsuccessfully ran the gamut of treatments in the United States. Then as a last resort Hazard moved to Europe to become a patient of famed psychiatrist Jung. He stayed sober during his year with Jung but was drinking again within a month of leaving and so returned in despair. Jung made him aware

of the transformative spiritual experiences, declared such an experience might be his only hope, and suggested Hazard seek a religious atmosphere and hope to be the recipient of "this benign lightning." (Bill Wilson, "Bill W. At Guest House," address delivered about 1968/1969, <[www.interwham.com/aa/gsttalk.htm](http://www.interwham.com/aa/gsttalk.htm)>) Exactly what took place is unclear but Hazard followed Jung's advice, began associating with an evangelical assembly known as the "Oxford Groups," and lost his compulsion to drink.

Returning to America, Hazard shared the Oxford Groups' model with another chronic alcoholic named Ebby Thatcher. It included the religious principles that would become foundational to twelve-step programs: self-examination, confession, restitution, and selfless service to others. Thatcher applied the principles and was also released from his addiction. "And [release] was the word to use," said his friend Bill Wilson, whom Thatcher visited in the hospital. "He didn't say he was on the water-wagon; the obsession had just left him as soon as he became willing to try on the basis of these principles, and, indeed, as he became willing to appeal to whatever God there might be." (Wilson, "Bill W. At Guest House") In presenting these ideas to Wilson, Thatcher became the second degree of separation between Jung and the man who became the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous.

Space does not allow a recounting of Wilson's troubles with alcohol but a statement from his presentation to the New York City Medical Society on Alcoholism (April 28, 1958) suffices: "I had gone the familiar course. In the summer of 1934 my doctor ... had given up and had pronounced me hopeless." (Bill Wilson, "Alcoholics Anonymous In Its Third Decade," <[www.historyofaa.com/billw/med1958.htm](http://www.historyofaa.com/billw/med1958.htm)>) Thatcher visited Wilson in November 1934 and presented the religious angle, which Wilson took with a grain of salt. (It should be pointed out that for Hazard and Thatcher, the two intermediaries between Jung and Wilson, the perceived reason for "release" seems to have shifted from dramatic transcendent experience to the applied teachings of the evangelical movement.)

Nevertheless, following a second visit by Thatcher in December, as Wilson lay in a New York hospital experiencing "the blackest depression I had ever known," he cried out to God from the depths of ego collapse, as had Hadley in William James' classic, and Wilson, too, experienced

an ecstatic transformation:

The result was instant, electric, beyond description. The place seemed to light up, blinding white. I knew only ecstasy and seemed on a mountain. A great wind blew, enveloping and penetrating me. To me, it was not of air, but of Spirit. Blazing, there came the tremendous thought, 'You are a free man'. (Wilson, "Alcoholics Anonymous")

Like Hadley, who had used almost identical language, Bill Wilson never drank again. He went on to help found Alcoholics Anonymous, now with more than 2,000,000 members in 100,000 groups around the world ("Membership," <www.aa.org>), whose core remains a reliance on and expectation of divine help. Just last year, a friend of mine who had a similar religious experience that freed him from the grip of alcoholism shared this: "There is no question in my mind that without the spiritual component, people do not *heal* or truly get *well!* They might get sober but not well." (Personal correspondence, February 20, 2001)

Immediately after Bill Wilson's spiritual experience there were two things that convinced him that he wasn't crazy. One was the kind doctor to whom he related the experience, who assured him he wasn't mad and "had perhaps undergone a psychic experience which might solve my problem." (Wilson, "Alcoholics Anonymous") The other was a book he "devoured" that his friend Thatcher had brought him: *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James.

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[Editor's Note: *The religious quality of Alcoholics Anonymous and other twelve-step programs is so pronounced that many, who are uncomfortable with religion or religion in a non-denominational setting, refuse to attend these meetings. We hope that another article or two will be submitted to Clio, which will explain the psychological dynamics of religious experiences resulting in the renunciation of alcoholism.*] □

## Two Ordinary Deaths

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The experience of death is not at all a momentary awareness but is rather a dialogical sharing of a process of passing away. The familial experiences of death detailed in this article are those shared among family, relatives, and friends by a Roman Catholic priest. I have been a member of the Jesuit order for 57 years, an ordained priest for 44 years, and a professor of psychology for 38 years.

Among my duties as psychologist are my course in the psychology of religion and my research on dialogue and conversation. As a social scientist, I must consider the experience of death objectively. As a shared experience, it depends on the awareness of a number of people who are somehow present to one another. This presence is usually intermittent and recurrent, rather than continuous. It may be highly verbal and conversational or very intuitive and nonverbal. But it always has affective elements as well as thematic content. It involves listening, clarification, empathy, and reciprocity. This is my psychologist's terminology for dialogical sharing. As scientific analyst of the situation, I am removed from the experiences themselves of those involved.

My participant role as priest in these settings is radically different. Among my privileges as a priest is that of comforting many people as they go through the experience of dying or the death of a loved one. I am present as part of the family and as interlocutor in their intimate conversations. The two roles of psychologist and priest are very different from one another but are in no way in conflict.

Jim Sabin, a Missouri farmer and a convert to Catholicism, had been my brother-in-law, married to my sister Ginny, for a third of a century, when he was diagnosed with terminal pancreatic cancer in his mid-70s. He chose to forego palliative therapy and, on Easter Sunday, was at death's door. Since I was a thousand miles away, one of my fellow Jesuit priests was asked to offer the Mass of the Resurrection in Jim's bedroom, with Ginny, his son and daughter-in-law, and their five children ringed about the bed. The priest himself told me afterwards that it was one of the most gratifying Masses he had ever celebrated. On the evening of Easter Thursday, I received a phone call from Ginny: "Come; he won't last the night; the funeral will be Saturday." I booked a flight for Friday morning, rose very early, and offered a Mass for Jim at 6:00. Later that day, I learned that Jim had died at the very moment of the consecra-

tion of the Mass. But the way he died was even more striking: After an excruciating night ("gruesome" in the word of a physician cousin who was in attendance), family and friends, who had been watching through the night, bathed him one last time and put his head down on the pillow. Jim then looked at them all, smiled, said "Thank you," made the sign of the cross, closed his eyes, and died. I couldn't help thinking back many years to my sister Ginny's tears upon hearing a homily of mine in which I described St. Joseph as a simple man.

David Coolidge graduated from Georgetown University Law School in his mid-40s and went to work as a legal researcher for the Catholic Bishops of America. Within the same decade, brain surgery revealed an inoperable tumor. His wife Joan organized a team for home care so that he could continue to experience family life, for example, by listening to his three young children chattering at the supper table. His ability to communicate was gradually reduced to nods and hardly audible "Yes" and "No". A month before his death, we organized a home Mass at his bedside. His wife, his mother, the three children (Daniel, the oldest, is named after me), and other family members and friends were all there. After the Mass I spoke with him alone, administered the sacrament of Reconciliation to him, and then sat together with Joan and David to say good-bye (again, I lived a thousand miles away). A month later I was to disappear for eight days for my annual spiritual week of prayer. The night before, I phoned David and carried on a completely one-way conversation with him in which I said good-bye for good. Joan then took the receiver from him and said to me, "He nodded." Each day during the following week of prayer, David came to mind during the celebration of Mass. As I ended my retreat, the family began a round-the-clock deathwatch, with music and prayers, presence and touch. The next morning, as the three children sang (yes, in Latin) the *dona nobis pacem* (Give us peace) of the *Agnus Dei*, a tear rolled down David's cheek and he died. It was the day on which his fourth child, miscarried some months earlier, was to have been born. Reunions are happy occasions.

Neither of these two experiences of death fulfills the criteria of William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902/1985). For him, it is basic that "personal religious experience has its root and center in mystical states of consciousness." (p. 379) By that, he clearly intends the ex-

traordinary and unusual. But for all the impressiveness of his dramatic case histories, one must say that James simply missed the most important aspect of our religious experiences: ordinary, everyday life -- including familial experiences of death, not the unusual mystical occasion, is the primary locus of man's relationship to God.

Perhaps, too, it may be clear which hat this writer is wearing: analyst or compassionate participant, scientist or religionist, psychologist or priest.

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## The Problem of Evil in the Analytic Process

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America's catastrophic losses on September 11, 2001, turn my thoughts to the biblical book of Job, a religious myth about a person in a moral developmental process. As the story opens, Job's God is a giver of sons, daughters, flocks, and vineyards. Then suddenly, not unlike Othello testing Desdemona, Job's familiar God transforms into a jealous lover who contrives a series of mad challenges to Job's faithful devotion. Like Job, many Americans have been accustomed from childhood to interpret daily reality through a lens of belief in a benevolent God. But this worldview is strained by events such as the attack on the World Trade Center. The evil in the world weighs down the spirit; the youthful sense of invulnerability is gone; the bell tolls, not for another, but for the self. The biblical writer obviously has religious faith in mind but Job's (and our) suffering also tests what a number of writers have called "human faith," or a disposition toward meaning-making with regard to life events. For example, Winnicott speaks of the baby who is willing to go on living because of a (non-religious) faith in the mother's goodness.

Is a psychoanalytic viewpoint an acceptable way to deal with discouragement and alienation due to sin and evil in the world? At the beginning of my own psychoanalysis, my analyst said to me that analysis has only two rules: every-

thing has meaning and we always want to know more. This implies that the *evil which we perceive that we do and which we perceive that others do* has meaning for our self-analysis and that it does lie within the scope of psychoanalysis to deal with evil, sin, and moral alienation.

In the beginning, the analysand's faith is not in the self, or in the goodness of life, but only in the potential goodness of the psychoanalytic process. For a substantial period of time, the analysand is able to go on living through faith in the analyst and the analytic process, just as the baby is able to go on living through faith in the mother. But eventually, the analysand figuratively removes the self from the analyst's lap and sits companionably side by side with the analyst. From this position, the analysand poses to the analyst this conundrum: Do you see the evil that I see and what am I to make of it?

Most analysts consider it a strategic error to answer direct questions from the analysand about personal views. Yet for the analyst to remain both effective and mentally healthy, "being an observer/commentator" versus "being a participant" always remains in a dynamic tension. The observer/commentator analytic relationship is partly fictive: in truth, the analyst is also a fellow participant with the analysand in the struggle against evil. The analyst must always want to know more about his or her *own* intrapsychic processing of the evil in the self and in the world, as well as in the analysand's material. It is my perception that these internal tasks are sometimes avoided because of the analyst's fear of feeling helpless, of not having all the answers, or, at least, all the good theories.

Analysands often invoke defensively the great historical metaphors such as slavery, the Holocaust, or terrorism to keep the evil *out there*. Evil may also be recognized in known persons of current daily life but the analysand and analyst are perceived as personally free from it. However, as the process continues, attention turns to the evil within the analysand. In the immortal words of the comic strip character Pogo, "We have met the enemy and he is us." For some braver analysands, there is yet a third stage: attention turns to the potential for evil within the analyst. In reality, *all* human beings contain within them at least an attenuated potential for evil, for example, dissimulation or false altruism. The ability to tolerate the thought of evil in the analyst may be an achievement rather than an attack on the therapeutic process.

Whether or not the analysand reaches explicitly the question of the analyst's evil, such evil belongs in the self-analysis of any analyst who is realistic. For example, let us consider wishes to exploit the analysand's dependency by increasing sessions and income, or to use a talented or prominent analysand to build up the analyst's own self-esteem, or to prolong unnecessarily an interesting treatment. The wise analyst is not blind to his or her own potential to sin against the analysand. If we pursue our analytic stance faithfully, what we hope for is a more nuanced understanding of evil and sin in self and others. At this point it becomes bearable and therefore possible to assume true responsibility for our own actions.

It has been heartening to see Americans both wanting to know the worldviews of Arab extremists who attacked them *and* being able to weigh extremist charges thoughtfully against their own moral standards. We have not been afraid to listen but neither have we been frightened into abdicating our own moral discernment process, even in the light of continuing threats. We have been able to recognize that we, like all human communities, are capable of both good and evil, and that we ourselves bear the ultimate responsibility for determining our ongoing moral way of being in the world.

In the conclusion of the Book of Job, there is an intriguing literary device. This important story about radical belief in the meaning of life and in the meaning of suffering ends without an explanation of either life or suffering. It ends, instead, in a personal encounter between Job and God, in which God refuses to communicate to Job what, as the omniscient, omnipotent deity of this story, God certainly knows. I find myself left with the conclusion that "the medium *is* the message": that meaning-making resides within the struggle against evil, the refusal of each human spirit to succumb to the rule of evil, and not in a definitive explanation of evil, nor in the successful conquest of evil.

First we undertake to analyze ourselves by saying, "Everything has meaning and I always want to know more." Then we come to a place where we say, "I want to know more but I accept not knowing all I wish to know, at least at this time. And I go on in hope toward the unknowable future." From a psychoanalytic viewpoint, this stance is a healthy abdication of infantile omnipotence. In more theological terms, for the religious person, it is an expression of *pietas*, a reverent acceptance of God's incomprehensible Otherness.

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## Omnipotence, Religion, and 9/11 Terrorism

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Thoughts of omnipotence are a universal function of the human psyche. They include the power to do everything; the knowledge of everything (omniscience); and the presence everywhere at the same time (omnipresence). Children manifest this function in their love for cartoons where reality's limitations are ignored.

When people place the omnipotence function outside themselves and institutionalize it by means of dogmas, it becomes God and religion. When they place it inside themselves, they become all-powerful gods who know all and have the final word on events. The pathological use of this function can be easily identified even by non-experts, for instance, in cases of megalomania. It is very difficult for people to manage the omnipotence function with prudence and common sense.

Some people experience the good totally separated from the evil and both as omnipotence. They believe and work with concepts such as fairies and witches, God and the Devil. This is a primitive use of the omnipotence function that divides the personality and reality into completely good or completely evil.

The tragic events of September 11, 2001, lead some people to split humanity into all good and all bad with tragic consequences on some occasions. (For example, the belief that "All Muslims are terrorists," resulted in attacks on innocent Muslims in a few instances in the U.S. immediately after the suicide bombings.) Nevertheless, it is my belief that after September 11, the world has the opportunity to adopt a position where both good and bad aspects of nations can be integrated so that the bad aspects can be healed.

Certain groups and even some countries may misuse religion and God as arguments to

teach their people blind obedience and hatred of others. Islam, Judaism, and Christianity cannot be considered responsible for such political abuse, though these religions stimulate people to believe in the omnipotence of their version of the good and the ultimate truth. Why do people accept blind guidance? Omnipotence is taken as fact, not representation. Books such as the Bible and the Koran are read as if they had in them the omnipotence of truth and the omniscience of knowledge. Their teachings are considered literal, not symbolic, and thus not questioned. Some religious leaders take political advantage of the sacred scriptures and induce their followers to accept and enact a literal interpretation, as for instance, the story of Noah in the Bible.

Fanatic groups are not conscious of the fact that God is a cultural representation in the human mind, built by cultural interaction. When people believe in the omnipotence of good in their thoughts and behavior, they can kill thousands of people without a trace of remorse, just like the Nazis killed millions. They don't feel any guilt for their destructive behavior because they think they are following God or aiming towards perfection or a heavenly prize after death.

Fighting terrorist groups or countries by means of violence cannot work in the long term. Revenge does not neutralize revenge, just as fire cannot quench a fire. Terrorism is an ancient weapon that is updated and renewed everyday. It will continue to be used if etiologic measures are not taken.

In the first days after the tragic episode at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, American leaders spoke of the "infinite justice" they would make, a typical example of omnipotence and splitting. When leaders say they will make infinite justice, one can understand them to mean they will wage infinite revenge. Fortunately, those leaders changed their discourse to "lasting freedom," no doubt under the guidance of less emotional aides. (I believe these leaders would gain much if they were guided more by psychiatrists and psychologists, sociologists and theologians, and less by the military.) The United States used to live as if it was invincible, which is an omnipotence of the good. After September 11, Americans had to confront their vulnerability.

As a world leader, the United States needs to decide between a depressive and a schizoid-paranoid posture. If it assumes a depressive position in which both good and evil are mingled, the

country will be able to cure itself by working with other nations towards real common interests such as respect for human rights, democracy, ecology, sustainable development, and religious ecumenism. If it adopts a splitting posture, it will reinforce the notion that the world is divided into two sides: one omnipotently good and the other omnipotently evil. This is regression to a very primitive mind state that doesn't allow for human vulnerability. It makes use of omnipotence as an imaginary defense. Pursuit of unilateral interests by terrorism, violence, or war invites splitting into the all good or all bad of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence.

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## Two Forms of Transference: Implications for Religious Experience

James William Anderson  
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"You must think I'm a terrible human being," my patient Susan said to me. "You see me pretending that I'm a nice person but then look what really goes on in my mind. I'm selfish and awful. I'll bet you sit there and think, 'She deserves to burn in hell forever'."

The words a short time later from another patient, John, had a very different tone. "I feel so much better after I come here. I feel like, well, like you care for me. I know this must sound funny, since I'm older than you, but you're almost like a father to me. Or a father confessor. It's like you have faith in me and then I have more faith in myself."

Anyone who has done psychoanalytic therapy will find these patients to be familiar in that they exemplify two ways of relating to the therapist, that is, two types of transference. After describing these two types of transference, I will consider their relation to religious experience.

Surprisingly, given their many differences, a wide variety of psychoanalytic theorists recognize that there are two basic forms of transference. Although these theorists do not use the same terminology nor agree on the dynamic origins, they have reached similar conclusions about the main outlines of these two types of transference. (For the most in-depth discussion, see Steven Stern, "Needed Relationships and Repeated Relationships: An Integrated Perspective," *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 1994, 4, pp. 317-345.) I use the term *transference* in the sense of a patient's patterned way of relating to the therapist, a way of relating that has deeper, earlier origins. It reflects the patient's thought, feeling, and behavior toward caretakers in early childhood, and it also expresses yearnings, desires, and wishes that the patient had toward caretakers.

Susan's comments are an example of *replayed transference*. It did not take any leaps of fancy for me to see that she viewed me much as she had viewed her parents, particularly her mother. She was replaying with me the troublesome relationship she had had with her mother. Her parents were often critical of her and regularly accused her of being a selfish pest and a bad girl. She imagined that I saw her in much the same way.

John's words illustrate something very different, what I call the *need-fulfilling transference*. The individual mobilizes needs with the therapist, typically those of being accepted, loved, appreciated, and having one's growth nourished. John experienced these same needs with his parents but was usually frustrated. Earlier in therapy his transference was similar to Susan's, but after several years his usual stance was to visualize me as caring for him and helping him.

Although these two forms of transference appear dramatically different, the urge behind each of them is similar. In the need-fulfilling transference, the situation is simple: the individual is in touch with basic, legitimate needs and seeks, in therapy, to have these needs met. With the replayed transference, the individual repeats early relationship patterns with the (unconscious) hope that there will be a different outcome. She is familiar only with certain ways of being connected, ways she experienced with her parents. So she is drawn to people like them. She also is seeking to have her basic, legitimate needs fulfilled. She wants someone similar to her parent to treat her in the way she always wanted her parent to treat her. In therapy, she becomes convinced the therapist is



like her parent (as Susan did in imagining that I saw her as bad and a pest).

With both Susan and John, there was a religious aspect to their transference -- we could speak of both of them as having a transference to religion and to God. Susan feared that God would judge her harshly, much as her parents had, and would consign her to hell as a fitting punishment for the person she was. John could visualize a father confessor, God's representative on earth, as accepting him and nourishing him, much as he had hoped his parents would have done.

One advantage of my thesis is that it is usable by both those who have religious faith and those who do not. An atheist might conclude that religion is nothing but transference. A believing person might take the view that the urges behind transference -- to make connection with those who will love, accept, and nourish us -- result from an inherent, God-given receptivity to just that kind of relationship with the Deity.

To state my argument directly: religion, at its best, nourishes and satisfies the need-fulfilling transference, but many central patterns in religions developed on the basis of their ability to exploit the replayed transference.

An equivalent of the replayed transference takes place when religion offers a dead-ended repetition of typical parent-child relationship patterns. The chief disadvantage of this situation is that it tends to leave the individual locked into a non-nourishing, devitalizing cycle. Consider the following three examples.

Susan latched onto certain aspects of Catholicism that replicated her childhood situation. She took to heart the message she heard from the priests and nuns that we must search ourselves for our sins and confess them. She could regularly discover her misdeeds, such as defying, in small ways, her parents, acting selfishly, and harboring sexual thoughts. After unburdening herself in confession, she would feel temporary relief but then would commit "sins" again and would repeat the whole process. The net result is that she felt confirmed in her view of herself as evil but with the added burden that she felt eternal damnation was her ultimate fate.

An orthodox Jew, as a child, was held by both of his parents to exacting standards. His obsessive mother would have angry outbursts at him if he made the smallest mistakes, such as leaving his dirty socks on the floor or failing to clean off

the bathmat after taking a shower. His father was a perfectionist who expected him to be the best in his studies; for example, his father expressed severe disappointment once when he brought home a report card with one "B" and the rest "A"s. As an adult, he has emphasized the aspect of Orthodox Judaism that declares that a person is worthy to the extent that he is observant. He is preoccupied with adhering strictly to the many biblical injunctions. Since it is virtually impossible to be perfectly observant, he lives with a sense that God considers him to be not-good-enough and that he is someone who is forever inadequate to meet up to the highest standards.

A fundamentalist Christian grew up in a family which was organized around his parents' "us-them" approach. Their view was that the family was good, believing, and smart, while the outside world was filled with immoral infidels. The children felt constantly threatened by the possibility that they would be grouped with the despised outsiders. As an adult, the patient belonged to a conservative church that took much the same approach. The church members were considered to be saved, but constant vigilance had to be taken toward the people who did not belong to their denomination; those people were hopelessly tainted with promiscuity, cheating, feminism, divorce, and homosexuality. Yet he knew that he frequently felt temptations along the lines of how the sinful people acted, for example, he might think of a subtle way of shading the truth in a business transaction, or he might be attracted to a woman other than his wife. Hence he felt constantly on the verge of being categorized with the people who were evil. His denomination's emphasis on original sin and hell further aggravated the state of anxiety that regularly enveloped him.

Yet the equivalent of a need-fulfilling transference can also characterize a person's religious experience. In this situation the individual has a nourishing relationship with an image of God, with clergy, and with fellow believers such that he or she feels accepted, cherished, and part of a loving communion.

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## The Medical Ministry of a Secular Priest-in-Training

Geoffrey T. Hutchinson  
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As a psychologist-in-training, I find myself intrigued by the evolving nature of the science and art of psychotherapy and by my own personal development as a therapist. I also believe that religious issues can be unfortunately pathologized, just as biological problems can be minimized, by many psychotherapists today.

Initially trained at a university-based mental health clinic, I often observed (behind a one-way mirror) more-experienced students perform "therapy" with their clients who were from the surrounding community, which included campus students and rural middle-class whites. During group supervision, often called "team," I was impressed by the sense of confidence and poise displayed by my supervisors as they explained the nature and treatment of our clients' problems. I was a young apprentice ready to absorb each concept discussed during team. Each word, each analytical term, was sacred and I believed they were the keys to unlocking the kingdom of psychopathology. Terms like "dynamics," "projective identification," "corrective emotional experiences," and, best yet, "core ordering processes" fluttered in my head. I was on my way to becoming a healer of mental maladies myself, a secular priest. One day, I would comprehend these healing mysteries related to the psyche and release my magic on others.

During my second and third years of training, I provided psychological services to clients regularly and it was not uncommon for me to see them for more than six months, even up to one year. As a fervent disciple, I spent a significant amount of time in supervision reviewing my taped sessions each week. But as time passed, doubts began to enter my mind regarding the effectiveness of the approach I was being trained to take. Not only did the secular priests disagree with each other about how to treat these clients but also the "biological" and "spiritual" aspects of my clients' problems seemed to be neglected. As a scientist, I

knew that medications could help people with certain chemical imbalances. When I suggested that some clients might benefit from antidepressants, well-meaning authorities gave me the implicit message to "do more process-oriented work" and to "try therapy first and then medication if needed."

As a Christian, I knew that spiritual issues could play a major role in the life of human beings but felt the implicit message from the priests that these matters were not as important as "psychological" ones. During one session, I turned the video recorder off for five minutes so I could talk as a Christian to a client who had serious spiritual conflicts, for fear that doing so would be criticized during supervision time. Yet, when my "sin" came to light (through the graduate school grapevine), I was chastised for turning off the tape, not for wanting to help the client. This encouraged me that spirituality could be part of counseling.

At this time I stumbled upon the works of Viktor E. Frankl, such as *The Doctor and the Soul* and *The Will to Meaning*, and attended some meaning-centered Franklian conferences in Dallas. Curiously enough, Frankl was never mentioned in our core psychotherapy course at the university, although we did study other existential therapists. As a physician, Frankl emphasized the "whole" care of his patients. He contended that many times biological and psychological explanations of problems seem to contradict each other but can be understood more clearly once we embrace the spiritual aspect of human beings. He believed that conflicts in the spiritual dimension, such as a sense of meaninglessness, could contribute to depression, anxiety, and other mental maladies. Frankl also encouraged his patients to draw upon the spiritual part of themselves in order to develop powerful coping resources to face, or learn to accept, their conditions. His ideas resonated with some of my own. His theory gave me the freedom to address value conflicts and feelings of meaninglessness with my clients and to encourage them to develop and fulfill meaningful goals, as well as to advocate treatment with psychotropics. Frankl was the iconoclast I needed!

My transition into a medical clinic, where I saw mostly minority and indigent patients, validated and expanded this exciting, meaning-centered approach. I was introduced into a highly integrated biopsychosocial model of treatment. I focused more energy on my initial evaluations than before and I openly asked patients about their spiritual and cultural backgrounds. General practitio-

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ners, nutritionists, social workers, psychologists, and recently chaplains all treated the same patients in order to offer them the best total health care. For me, this echoed Frankl's concept of the "medical ministry," a comprehensive approach including the spiritual.

In a setting where each patient had a six-digit number, I actually began to value the uniqueness of each of my patients more than ever before. I varied my counseling approach to their specific situations. Some patients needed encouragement to "keep the faith," while others had to be challenged. Some greatly benefited from receiving information about their medications, others felt better after seeing a simple friendly smile. Some patients needed to be referred to other specialists immediately, while others agreed to be seen by me for a short while. I learned that as a secular priest, I needed to be flexible and open to each patient. I needed to become "all things to all people," a concept the Apostle Paul found essential to his "ministry" in the New Testament.

So where do I stand now as a psychologist-in-training? While I still think fondly of my earlier graduate student experiences, I have learned a tremendous amount about therapy from the experts *and* my patients. My medical ministry with minority and indigent populations has helped me realize what Frankl termed the "incredible resilience of the human spirit." I have heard countless reports of how patients have found comfort in their faith and family to face all manner of adversity. How many examples of the resilience of the human spirit will we encounter in the therapy room tomorrow?

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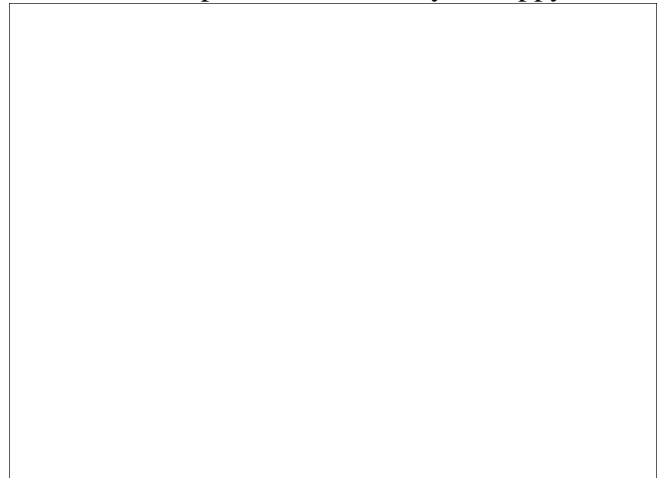
## Drawing on God: Psychotherapy and Images of God

Calvin Mercer  
East Carolina University

Drawings of God by psychotherapy clients can yield interesting and potentially valuable diagnostic and treatment planning information. The

following brief analyses of two drawings will serve as a preliminary report on a forthcoming extensive and systematic study. The dozens of drawings to be studied were collected in a variation of a projective test where clients were asked to draw a picture of God, in addition to the usual drawings of a house, tree, and person. Following completion of the drawing, I interviewed the client about his or her drawing of God. In the planned larger study, I intend to analyze the drawings using insights drawn from standard projective drawing interpretation.

The drawing of God in Figure 1 came from a 43-year-old white male professional with the diagnosis of recurrent Major Depressive Disorder (*DSM-IV*). On entering therapy the client reported classic depressive symptoms: depressed mood, marked loss of interest and pleasure in usual activities, weight loss, fatigue, and insomnia. The current episode of depression appeared to be at least somewhat related to and occasioned by marital conflict. He reported he was very unhappy in the



marriage but felt pressure to make it work in order to provide a stable home for the nine-year-old son. The man is a practicing Protestant Christian with a traditional theological belief system.

Figure 1

The drawing can be interpreted as reflecting the man's current feelings of depression and inadequacy, as well as his idealization of how he wants his life to be. With other bodily elements intact, the lack of distinctive facial features is remarkable. Facial features function as sources of sensory satisfaction or dissatisfaction and as means of communication. The dim facial features, especially in profile, suggest withdrawal tendencies as well as timidity and self-consciousness in interpersonal relations. All of these features are consistent with the client's verbal report of his situation.

The figure's arm, hanging limply at his side, probably suggests his felt weakness and current ineffectiveness. The infantile four fingers also express his feelings of inadequacy. The short legs, covered to a large degree by the deity's robe, are consistent with a sense of immobility and restriction. Emphasis on belts can suggest sexual preoccupation. In this case, the belt's tassels, hanging limp, can easily be related specifically to the man's report of temporary sexual dysfunction and generally to his feelings of inadequacy.

All of his other projective drawings were located on or close to the side edge of the paper, suggesting a feeling of constriction. The drawing of God, however, is located only slightly to the left of center. This placement, along with the sun, the rays emanating from the figure, and the slight upward direction of the path, suggest both the client's hope and his optimistic evaluation of the future. Other drawings were also embedded with signs of hope and determination but not to the extent of this God drawing.

The dark burden placed on the back of God is, of course, the burden the man currently feels. When discussing this aspect of the drawing, he had the insight that he did not have to carry his troubles by himself. Without prompting, the client indicated that he felt relieved, finally, to be discussing his troubles with someone. He expressed the expectation that therapy would help him work through his issues. The therapist in this case had a beard; note the beard drawn on the God figure.

When asked to imagine/fantasize about what was going to happen with this figure in the future, the man, collapsing himself into God in the fantasy, said that the figure would continue walking toward the sun (perhaps symbolizing Jesus at some level in the client's mind) and the burden would melt into the sun.

The drawing of God in Figure 2 came from a seven-year-old boy who was troubled because of the death of his grandfather and mildly anxious that some other "bad thing" was going to occur. The child lives in a Protestant Christian family with a traditional theological belief system.

The two most noticeable features of this drawing are the sun and the strong arms of God. The sun is personified with eyes and what the boy described as a "vampire" mouth. Strongly reinforced eyes, as in this picture, can suggest anxiety. This child said that the sun is usually shining happily but that he is somewhat afraid of this sun be-



cause it has a vampire mouth. Although he did not so verbalize, it is reasonable to conclude that the child has projected onto the sun his sadness and

Figure 2

anxieties and that the sun also symbolizes future threat.

When asked to explain the various features of his God figure, the boy focused on the arms, which he said were very strong. Strong arms, in both child and adult drawings, often indicate a perceived need for achievement and/or physical strength, and can indicate an active, even aggressive, contact with the environment. When asked why they were so strong, the child said God could take care of any bad thing that might happen and that was why God was smiling. He said God was also praying that nothing else bad would occur. The undefined hands and feet are age appropriate.

Both clients appear to project onto the drawings their current emotional situation (real self) and their hoped-for life situation (ideal self). My preliminary study suggests that in the God drawings extensive projection occurs, even more so than in standard projective drawings of houses, trees, and persons.

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religious experience and gender orientation. Dr. Mercer may be contacted at <mercerc@mail.ecu.edu>. □

## Bin Laden's Hopes and Fears: Dreams of the Future

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Many centuries before psychoanalysts attempted to make sense of dreams as symbols of a person's psychological life, the ancients understood dreams as nocturnal experiences in which God, the gods, or spirits would give advice or indicate what the future held. Religious and precognitive dreams stand together as the oldest dimensions of dream interpretation. Usama (aka Osama) bin Laden's conversation about dreams surrounding the catastrophic events of September 11, 2001, has reminded us how much these ancient intuitions about dreams continue to influence many in our multicultural world. Reports of precognitive dreams encouraged bin Laden to believe his scheme would succeed but at the same time caused him to worry that his secret might be discovered. I want to discuss his view of these dreams in light of the history of dream interpretation.

Bin Laden's interest in the dreams and visions surrounding September 11 is in accord with the Muslim tradition of honoring dreams. Islam, like virtually all the other major religions of the world, has valued dreams as a primary means of divine revelation and a potential form of religious experience. In fact, Toufy Fahd, Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of Strasbourg, maintains that Arab-Muslim dream interpretation reached heights known to no other civilization. ("The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society," G.E. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois, eds., *The Dream and Human Societies*, 1966, p. 36) Dreams hold a central place in the origins and history of Islam as much of the Koran, the sacred book of Islam, was revealed to Muhammad in dreams over several years. Muhammad regularly asked his disciples about their dreams and shared his own dreams with them. Muslims consider dream interpretation to be a great science that God taught Adam and passed down to Muhammad through successive generations. G.E. von Grunebaum, a noted Near East historian, states that there is hardly an aspect of Muslim individual and community life where dreams do not play a part.

("Introduction: The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam," Grunebaum, *The Dream*, p. 11)

To what degree bin Laden's ideas and actions can be seen to reflect the doctrines and values of Islam as a whole has been hotly debated since September 11. His discussion of dreams surrounding the terrorist attack indicates that some of his ideas, about dreams at least, are consistent with traditional views. The relevant segment of the videotape pertaining to dreams documents a courtesy visit by bin Laden to a *shaykh* (a leader in the mystical orders of Islam), apparently in a guest-house in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

On the tape, bin Laden says that Abu-Al-Hasan-(Masri) told him a year before September 11: "I saw in a dream, we were playing a soccer game against the Americans. When our team showed up in the field, they were all pilots. So I wondered if that was a soccer game or a pilot game? Our players were pilots." Further, he said the game went on and "we defeated them." Bin Laden adds, "That was a good omen for us," expressing optimism that the dream predicts victory for his side in the attack. Bin Laden states that Abu-Al-Hasan didn't know anything about the operation until he heard it on the radio, emphasizing the predictive character of the dream. This sequence reveals a crucial aspect of traditional beliefs about dreams, namely that they can show events in the future, either directly or symbolically.

Artemidorus' classic, *Oneirocritica* (Interpretation of Dreams), possibly the most widely known dream book of the ancient world and a strong influence on Muslim views, was translated into Arabic in 873, thereby stimulating dream classification in Islam. Artemidorus, one of history's most renowned dream analysts, distinguishes between dreams that predict future events exactly as they will happen (theorematic dreams) and those that represent the future in symbols requiring interpretation to discern their meaning (allegorical dreams). As an indication of how important dream precognition was in antiquity, Artemidorus states that he was late in finishing the *Oneirocritica* because he was trying to gather only those dreams that came true.

Abu-Al-Hasan's dream is an allegorical dream which occurs a year before the attack. Bin Laden has no difficulty recognizing the symbolism of the dream in which his side defeats the Americans in a soccer game or pilot game. Although Abu-Al-Hasan is unaware of the plan, he dreams of

its succeeding. This supports the dream's interpretation as involving either telepathy or precognition. The dream would be telepathic if it picked up on the plan as it existed in bin Laden's mind or precognitive if it anticipated the actual attack.

Bin Laden himself speaks of the dream as a good omen that leads us to believe that he interprets it as precognitive. From a traditional religious perspective on dreams, confidence in their predictive power stems from the belief that dreams are from God and that divine omniscience includes knowledge of the future. Because precognitive dreams have been ascribed to prophets, holy men and women, and shamans throughout religious history, many believe such dreams to be spiritual phenomena. Some have proposed the hypothesis of a spiritual network extended in time and space to account for these remarkable phenomena ascribed to religious seers. For example, John Sanford, an Episcopalian priest and well-known dream researcher, suggests that religious instincts may be partly founded on the unconscious perception of an invisible reality that underlies conscious existence, a reality accessible through dreams.

Another part of the videotaped discussion reveals bin Laden's fears about precognitive dreams and visions. If such imagery and ideas are out there in the "spiritual network," accessible through dreams and visions, his secret plan could be in jeopardy. A man off camera says that Abd Al Rahman Al-(Ghamri), who also knew nothing of the operation, says he saw a vision, before the attack, of a plane crashing into a tall building. The *shaykh* adds that prior to the event more than one person saw a plane crashing into the building. He tells of a person who told him a year before the attack of seeing people leaving for *jihad* and finding themselves in Washington and New York, and a plane hitting a building. He tells of another religious man who swore by Allah that his wife had seen a plane crashing into a building a week before it happened.

In response to these remarkable stories someone asks bin Laden to tell the *shaykh* about Abu-Da'ud's dream. Bin Laden explains to him that at a camp in Kandahar, Abu-Da'ud told him a dream in which he sees a tall building in America juxtaposed with a Muslim teaching how to do karate. "At that point I was worried that maybe the secret would be revealed if everyone starts seeing it in their dream," says bin Laden, and he tells Abu-Da'ud not to mention it to anybody if he has any more such dreams. This discussion of precog-

nitive dreams ends with another person recounting his dream about two planes hitting a big building.

This sequence foregrounds another aspect of precognitive dreams: they may warn of dangers. The idea of divine foreknowledge undergirds the traditional beliefs about God revealing important events before they occur as well as alerting people to potential catastrophes. Over the last century, the annals of the societies of psychical research in England, the United States, and Canada have been sources of evidence that dreams illuminate the future. Dr. Louisa Rhine, *Hidden Channels of the Mind* (1961), has collected over 400 anecdotal accounts of precognitive dreams. Respected dream researcher Robert Van de Castle's encyclopedic volume, *Our Dreaming Mind* (1995, pp. 405-438), provides a lengthy account of research in this area. In the psychotherapeutic context, Carl Jung, believed that precognitive and telepathic dreams are most likely to emerge where an important event such as an accident or death occurs and where there is a strong emotional tie between the dreamer and the persons or events dreamed about. (Herbert Read et al., eds., *Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, Collected Works, 2nd ed., Volume 8, 1981, p. 262)

While precognitive and telepathic dreams are difficult to comprehend from our current scientific perspectives on time and space, we still have to acknowledge that such dream experiences have been reported throughout history and in contemporary society. Clearly we are more likely to notice precognitive dreams if we attend to our dream life and record dreams regularly. Psychotherapy or dream groups are the usual arenas for focusing on dreams in the modern Western world. My own experience of working with dreams over the last 30 years in the context of psychotherapy and the psychology of religion leads me to believe that dream precognition is difficult to deny even if we presently lack an adequate theoretical framework to understand such phenomena. The dreams surrounding the events of September 11 remind us that a traditional religious worldview is the original context for appreciating the precognitive powers of the dream.

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## When Millennialism Fails: Cruelty to Slaves at Providence Plantation

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Below I discuss a failed millennial group whose members turned in frustration on their slaves whom they treated with unusual harshness. At the close of the 17th century in the colony of Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in northern South America, the Labadist settlers of Providence Plantation had a reputation worse than that of other plantation owners in the same area for extreme cruelty and harshness towards their slaves. Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), a French Protestant mystic and reformer, had founded a Pietist sect called the Labadists. These primitive Christians sought through contemplation, self-abnegation, and strict self-discipline, to hasten the "Second Coming" and the "End of Days." Most Labadists, when Jean de Labadie was forced to leave Amsterdam, relocated in Germany and gradually faded from the pages of history by the 1720s. Only a few went to Surinam with renewed hopes in the imminence of Christ's return to earth if the proper conditions could be pushed into place by pious works and prayers.

There are specific reasons for the contemporary blacks to single out the Providence Plantation Labadists as particularly merciless to their ancestors. Providence Plantation owners were known in the late 17th and early 18th centuries as crueler in their treatment of their black slaves than the other New World colonists. Sailors, soldiers, visiting plantation owners from other nearby colonies, as well as travelers from Europe, noted the pitiless violence inflicted on Surinam slaves. This perception from advocates of slavery who were not adverse to strict regimes of control and punishment, therefore indicates something distinct about the colony that was not normal elsewhere. The trauma at the very foundation of the colony would have a grave impact and shape the attitudes of continuing generations of Africans and Europeans. Let us look at the early situation in South America.

Though the weather was good for the growing of sugar and vanilla, two crops notorious

for their need for slave labor, the climate and soil of the region were particularly uncomfortable for European settlers. The Coramantee slaves brought from West Africa were famous for their fierce pride and resistance to enslavement. From the earliest days of European settlement and slavery, there were runaways who set up rebellious villages in the jungle and raided plantations to free their fellow slaves, especially women, and to capture goods they could not produce or manufacture for themselves. The Africans became an externalized projection of the Labadists' rage against former coreligionists who had departed from the order when it was forced out of Holland and later out of Germany. The tension between a precarious, unstable, and frightened European slave-owning caste on one side and a strong, intelligent, and violent black society on the other was an important cause for the merciless treatment in Surinam. These conditions explain the general harshness of slavery in the colony but do not fully clarify the particular cruelty of the Labadists.

The conscious and unconscious factors involved in the specific cruelty ascribed to the Labadist plantation were both the result of local conditions and brought with the members of the sect from Europe. Their disappointments in the closing years of the 17th century were of a piece with those of other frustrated millennialists: the Jews who saw their hopes for a messiah dashed in the false pretences of Shabbatai Tzvi, the English Puritans in the Restoration of Charles II and the end of the Commonwealth, and other religious enthusiasts watching the increasing dominance of rational philosophy and science in the Enlightenment. The peculiar motivations for the establishment of Providence Plantation and the specific qualities of the sectarians who ran it may have predisposed them to take a very harsh view of their slaves, partly as pagan savages in need of strict control and instruction, as well as rigorous punishment regimes to ensure the discipline of the enterprise. When faced both by the recalcitrance of the Coramantee slaves to European supervision and by the dangerous and bothersome raids by the runaways, the Labadists reacted with more exasperation and self-righteous anger than most other colonists. Because they were harsh on themselves, they were even more cut off to the feelings of their slaves and therefore blind to most of the emotional and physical consequences of their actions. Their sights were set, not on the day-to-day affairs of the colony, which served only to annoy and frustrate them further, but on the spiritual future, the

longed-for Second Coming. As the Labadist movement faded and suffered persecution in Europe after the death of the founder, and hence was unable to provide moral or other support for the plantation, the representatives in Surinam perceived in the behavior of their slaves manifestations of the Antichrist and the Devil. The punishment inflicted on the blacks would register in their minds as a battle against Satan and paganism, the role of the devil and his evil helpers acting as focal points for the deep hurts and frustrations active inside the psyches of the Labadists.

These religious idealists, suffering disappointment in their millenarian hopes and frustration with local conditions and the recalcitrance of their black/African slaves, which seemed a direct insult to them and their messianic ideals, and their isolation caused by the decline of their sect in Europe, projected their bad feelings, hurts, and pains on to the slaves working for them.

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## Gender Differences in Negotiating the Discipline of the Quakers

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I have worked with 18th- and 19th-century monthly meeting records of the Society of Friends (Quakers) for a number of years. Those records reveal the inner workings of the Society. Quakers came together to discuss marriages, recognize visitors, and, most often, hear complaints about members who had committed infractions against the Society. While the records can be frustratingly pithy, they offer a glimpse of the psyches of Friends who remained in the Society as well as of those who left the Society, either voluntarily or not.

When George Fox founded the Society of Friends in the 1640s, he wrote a series of over 500 letters instructing his followers on spiritual matters. Those early letters became the core of a code of behavior, the Discipline, of the Society. The

Discipline served in Fox's mind as a barrier of preservation against outside world temptations and dangers. Over time, the Discipline also became a way for members to measure who was and who was not a Quaker, and how well a member upheld the Discipline. Drawing its authority from biblical precedent, the Discipline helped Friends exercise control over any Friend who might stray from the flock in all aspects of their lives. For example, the Discipline expected Quakers to marry only other Quakers.

Thousands of Friends found it possible to live their daily life within the bounds of the Discipline and to submit themselves to the control of the meeting. Growing up under the Discipline, they were conditioned to know what was acceptable Quaker behavior. Members with strong faith believed that by living their lives according to the Discipline they were nurturing "the light," which meant opening themselves to being closer to God. They believed in the benefits of a faithful life, not only being better prepared for the afterlife but also accepting material advantages from the community for the here and now, for example, financial assistance, a ready-made market for goods, and help during harvest.

Still, the records reveal that each month a handful of Friends for a variety of reasons bristled at living under such strict guidelines and wandered from the Discipline. Neither faith alone nor the benefits of Quaker membership offered enough reason for some to refrain from committing infractions such as drinking too much at a party, attending another denomination's meeting, falling in love with a non-Quaker, or starting a pre-wedding pregnancy.

When a member violated any aspect of the Discipline, they received a visit -- oftentimes, multiple visits -- by two or three members of the meeting, known as "weighty Friends," to be counseled on their infractions. The goal of the visits (again based on biblical precedent) was to lead the "sinner" to publicly admit his or her wrongdoing, apologize, and ask to be taken back into the fold of the meeting. The initial encounters brought a good deal of stress to any wayward Quaker as the whole community was aware of the infraction and through the weighty Friends pressured the errant Quaker to repent. Violators of the Discipline were still expected to go to a meeting, stand before the membership, read a paper condemning their actions, and ask for forgiveness. If an apology was made, the repentant person most often was wel-



came back into the meeting. If an offender refused to take part in this public condemnation, then they faced disownment by the Society.

Those who had committed a one-time sin, such as drinking excessively, dancing, or fighting, had little trouble going to the meeting and admitting that they were wrong and would not do it again. Only in the rarest instances did the meeting move to disown someone for such infractions and then usually because other violations had been committed as well. On the other hand, condemning one's actions became very difficult for men and, especially, women who had to admit they were wrong to have married a non-Quaker or to have given birth to a baby outside of marriage. While it was possible to discontinue committing a lesser offense, it was quite obviously much harder to "stop being married" or impossible to not have had a child. It forced women and men to choose between their religious beliefs and their husbands or wives, or their child.

Quaker men had an easier time condemning their actions than women did. The public venue to stand up and admit their sins was easier for men, who had far more practice at public speaking. Many men rationalized their behavior by saying such things as "I needed to protect myself, so I hit the guy" or "It was a special occasion, so I had too much to drink." It was even easier for husbands to ask forgiveness for marriages to non-Quaker women, who were more likely to agree to join the Society than were non-Quaker husbands. For men to go before the men's meeting, knowing that they at another time might be in a position to make decisions about other men, and the other men's knowing that they might face the accused down the road for their own infraction, eased the process of apology.

Further, while the Society professed equality for both sexes in the eyes of God, reality showed that the men's meeting still had the last word on punishments. Women not only had to face the women's meeting's sanction, they then had to go before the men's meeting to apologize and ask forgiveness again. Thus, women often found themselves subjected to multiple humiliations: by the male members of their family, by their female peers, and, ultimately, by the men of the community. Consequently, reinstatements of men were greater than of women.

As the 18th century ended, the number of complaints and disownments continued to rise. This happened partly because some Friends recog-

nized that even if they committed violations, their ties in the community would not be severed completely. In addition, as the Quaker community dispersed through migration and as land in the west became more readily available, the need of young Quaker men and women to stay bound to their parents became less important. A young man no longer needed to please his parents to ensure a share of the family, and a young woman could marry a non-Quaker and know that her husband might find affordable property in the newly opened backcountry.

By the early 19th century, more Friends had begun to see the need for increased flexibility in the Discipline. With continued losses of young men and women from the Society, as well as more cases of Friends refusing to condemn their actions, many meetings began to look the other way on matters that only a few years earlier would have been brought before the meeting. By loosening the Discipline, the Friends provided more breathing space for young men and women to find a continued role in the Society.

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*[Editor's Note: It is worth commenting on the special role of members of the Society of Friends in improving the condition of humankind. With their emphasis on conscience rather than patriarchy, they allowed women to play a prominent role in the conduct of meetings. Quakers were pioneers in renouncing the following: killing, war, the manufacture of instruments of warfare, the slave trade, and slavery itself. Toleration of native Americans, African-Americans, and unpopular religions were other achievements of this tiny, though influential, group.] □*

## **Celibacy Symposium**

### **The Psychological Damage of Forced Celibacy**

*(Continued from front page)*

and spiritually fulfilling lives without being mar-

ried or being disposed to marry. Celibates are different from single people. Both are required to live chaste lives but singles are disposed to marriage. The celibate life is marked by two features: it is a freely chosen life of community and service without marriage, and it results in a well-integrated ego that is capable of universal love for self, others, nature, and God.

In 1139, mostly for reasons of money and property, Church leaders of the Latin Rite imposed celibacy on all priests whether they had the gift of celibacy or not. Priests' marriages were broken up and their wives and children put out into the street. Far from the truth of celibacy, this legal policy is marked by: an obsessive mindset of power and control over the lives, welfare, and careers of clerics; a pagan, dualistic view that sees sex as evil; and a denigration of women and marriage that goes back to the story that blames Eve for the fall of the human community. In this mindset, St. Augustine had taught that marital intercourse is a sin, caused by the woman.

As a resigned and married Catholic priest, I know firsthand the psychological and spiritual damage done by a church that has forced celibacy upon priests who were called by God to be married. In fact, this damage has been hidden for centuries. Unhappily, there is much to cover up. A.W. Richard Sipe, a resigned priest and a psychologist who has treated thousand of priests with sexual problems, reports that celibacy in the priesthood has been a large failure. (*Sex, Priests and Power*, 1995) He estimates that two percent of priests (including bishops) have the gift of celibacy while eight percent have willed themselves into having the character traits that permit them to live a celibate life. Forty percent are trying to practice celibacy but fail from time to time, and fifty percent are living active sexual lives, either heterosexually or homosexually. Some of these are involved in secret civil marriages and some have children. Church officials question Sipe's estimates on the grounds that his experience is limited to troubled priests. However accurate his estimates may be, he is pointing to widespread psychological damage, beginning with the lie that so many priests are living and extending to the deep denial practiced by Church leaders who insist on proclaiming that celibacy is working well.

In the Catholic Church, the gift or the "call" or vocation to celibacy (or marriage) is determined by a person's personality, talents, and desires, and more deeply, by their own developing

discernment as to what path of life will best fulfill and integrate them in their relationships with themselves, others, and God. My own experience and that of my colleagues shows that while most clerical priests are doing a "good job" of ministering to their people, those who do not have a celibate personality suffer from various forms of ego disintegration. Celibacy is an exception to the ordinary way to individual and social fulfillment that God built into our very creation: "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and they will become one flesh." (Genesis 2:24, NIV) Forced celibates are therefore isolated from their true path to fulfillment and are thus isolated both from themselves and from society. Unable to develop as their own person, they suffer from severe loneliness, depression, alcoholism, materialism, or personality disorders. Regarding materialism, while religious priests, for example, Jesuits and Franciscans, take a vow of poverty, diocesan priests do not, yet often their level of living is a scandal to ordinary Catholics. Many priests will justify their materialism as "compensation" for their celibacy. The disorders also include adjustment problems, immaturity, narcissism, and arrested sexual development. Any expectation that such men could sublimate their sexual drive is a cruel distortion of psychological and spiritual understanding. This misrepresentation shows up in many ways.

Typically, such priests' sermons are replete with boyish references to their mothers. Their relationships with women tend to be shallow and immature, and those who are sexually active tend to relate to their partners at the level of adolescent experimentation. Living in denial, these priests persist in believing they are celibate and that their lapses are simply signs of human weakness, rather than of the absence of celibacy and the concomitant absence of development and ego integration. The clerical culture in which they live routinely forgives them and then rewards them for staying loyal to the "club," while paying little or no attention to their disintegration or to the damage done to the women involved -- and to themselves. Such priests can get trapped in the clergy the way addicts get trapped in their addiction: they are trapped in a state of life for which they are not psychologically or spiritually fit and which is therefore causing them to suffer psychological and spiritual deterioration.

The dysfunction of non-celibate priests and of those who cover up their suffering can explode

into vile reactions. For example, as an officially resigned priest who is validly married in the Catholic Church, I have at times provided baptisms and marriages for people who felt unable to approach clerical priests. (Church law can be interpreted to permit such ministry, though Church authorities deny it is possible.) While child-abusing priests have been permitted to continue ministering, clerical reaction against me has been swift and sometimes vicious, going beyond excoriating me personally to the point of strongly implying that my wife is a whore. Other married priests have had the same experience.

Since true celibates are too few to fill the ranks of the priesthood, forced celibacy continues to dominate the mindset of seminary training. These days, psychologists test candidates for sexual conflicts, yet the seminary program itself is designed to interfere with the candidates' discernment of their true life path. Starting from day one, it molds them in the way of celibacy, for example, by isolating them from women and the everyday world, and by freeing them from the decisions and challenges of finding and holding a job, establishing a career, getting married, raising children, and paying a mortgage and taxes. Thus, the danger of producing mediocre, immature, narcissistic, and sexually arrested priests is built into the system. A married priest recently said on a television talk show, "When I entered the seminary I was 18; when I was ordained 10 years later, I was still 18."

Yet, in denial, the clerical culture can and does blame society for its faults and inadequacies. Church leaders have blamed American culture for priests' problems with celibacy -- and for the resignations of over 20,000 priests in America alone. They point to such things as "the sexual revolution," the rise of women's consciousness of their rightful place in society, and to confusion over the freedom of spirit expressed in the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Recently a priest publicly blamed Catholic parents for practicing birth control and having abortions, thus providing a smaller pool of young Catholic men and forcing bishops to select marginal candidates for the priesthood.

Another argument comes from Father Donald B. Cozzens. In his book, *The Changing Face of the Priesthood* (2000), he attacks society's "therapeutic mindset" for the problems with celibacy. "The shadow side of therapy's triumph," he states, "not surprisingly overlooks the emptying of self that is essential for authentic, graced human intimacy." He then says, "Happiness follows the

forgetting of one's desire to be happy and living in such a way as to foster the happiness of others." This skewed view of therapy and of psychological and spiritual fulfillment does not know that true celibacy, like marriage, is designed to bring about self-fulfillment. Forced celibacy, like forced marriage, calls for a self-emptying that is self-destructive, not self-fulfilling. Self-destructive self-emptying contradicts psychological and spiritual understanding. (Recently, Cozzens, speaking about the pedophilia scandal, showed a change of mind and openly called for a serious and honest review of the Church's teaching on celibacy for priests.)

One obvious solution to the psychopathology that exists within the priesthood is to make celibacy optional -- to remove it from its legal binds and set it psychologically and spiritually free. True celibacy and the integration and maturity that follow from it will then shine forth from the few priests who have the gift, while the majority will live fulfilling lives of joyful service in the married state.

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## Father Joseph Bosetti: Pioneer Priest in the Rockies

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Upon retiring from teaching in 1997, I decided to begin the biography of a man who had influenced my life in a much earlier decade. Father Joseph Julius ("Peppino") Bosetti (1886-1954) was a once prominent figure, who is veering toward historical oblivion unless my modest efforts should change this situation.

Fr. Bosetti was raised in a prosperous Milan, Italy, family before setting out in his 11th year to prepare for the priesthood in an obscure Swiss seminary. After receiving degrees in canon law and philosophy in Rome by age 17, he heard tales of missionaries in the American West converting the "red man" and arrived in 1911 in Denver at the moment its Cathedral was being dedicated. He

took over the musical program, composed music for the ceremonies, organized a vested choir and from it founded the Denver Grand Opera Company, the first of its kind in the West. He debuted it in 1915 with Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. An avid alpinist, he had earlier defrayed his seminary expenses by guiding climbers up the Matterhorn. Now, on an outing in the Rockies, his party spotted a meteorite descending beyond their campsite. Though their search was unavailing, he mounted a large ship rock around dawn and vowed to build a chapel on the rock next to the boys camp he was founding for his choirboys.

The sources of inspiration, creativity, talents, and energy of Fr. Bosetti are as striking as are his contradictions. His seminary was run by the Bethlehem Brothers and he composed "Bethlehem," an operetta for Cathedral students. He seems to have been led by a miraculous light beckoning from the sky. He organized over 40 grand operas, drawing on the talents of his friends from the Metropolitan Opera as well as his own protégés. He founded Camp St. Malo for boys and built the renowned Chapel-on-the-Rock. In the 1920s he taught Colorado University courses that included Darwin and Freud. As Vicar General and Chancellor, he wielded power in the archdiocese second only to the Archbishop. Withal a Renaissance man, he expounded Leonardo da Vinci's versatility from behind the wheel of his car on mountain roads between jests of his two-sided nature: Joseph (good) and Julius (not so good). His spiritual charisma was filtered through his foreign manners: he was humorous, unpredictable, aloof, charming, and mischievous. Fr. Bosetti was one of a kind in intriguing and complicated ways. He milked Denver cash cows relentlessly for his projects and ran his camp literally from a wad of bills he kept in his hip pocket. When his benefactors complained of the roughneck, untidy ambience of the camp, he resigned, only to be lured back on his own terms.

I knew Fr. Bosetti towards the end of his life and the beginning of mine. As a restless teenager fleeing Omaha, Nebraska, I had spent a few summers at his camp. Even after he stepped aside due to a series of strokes until his death in 1954, I continued to summer there and, at least partly under his spell, I spent a year or so in the Denver seminary that drew most of his camp counselors. A key mission of the camp was to promote vocations.

When I noted in 1997 that no one had yet

recorded his remarkable life, I set to work before his world completely vanished. He was rather short and stocky with straight black hair. Rimless spectacles added a scholarly aspect to his kindly, observant features. Dressed in plaids and cords in the mountains, he could be mistaken for a lumberjack. Though I am no longer actively religious, I cherish my contact with him as a source of seasoned humanism, culture, humor, and love of nature. Most likely, I absorbed his qualities as an ego ideal before I left the West and settled in New York and Virginia.

As I undertook his biography, I unequivocally wanted to celebrate his life, to "do right by him," and perhaps showcase him as an exemplar of a more abiding and tolerant faith. He was cheerful, outgoing, and tolerant, especially in contrast to Father Mac, the Cathedral rector he served many years with and often outwitted. Fr. Mac was a firebrand Irishman who lashed out from the pulpit at feminists, secularists, and Communists. Whereas Fr. Mac inveighed against boys' smoking, swearing, and drinking, Fr. Bosetti invited these immigrant sons, mostly Irish and German, up to his cabin or camp and allowed that as drinking is a young man's vice, better it be done under the proper auspices. So while Fr. Mac, with his siege mentality and realistically-grounded fears of attacks from the Ku Klux Klan, preached hellfire-and-brimstone and supported the various temperance societies, Fr. Bosetti with an old-world insouciance lectured even-handedly on Freud and modern psychology or taught high school French with his constant companion dog Shep curled asleep by his desk.

Putting together a life is like doing a picture puzzle with some pieces missing, which means that one must observe silence, extrapolate, or probe more intently the available pieces. Doing some of all three, I was fortunate in being able to retrieve an extensive written record from the chancery archives. This included letters, lecture notes, theatre programs, and clippings of reviews, all pasted in albums by devoted nuns.

Upon returning from his frequent trips abroad, Fr. Bosetti would be debriefed by the *Denver Catholic Register* as a sort of celebrity priest. It is here, along with some of his radio addresses on composers, that aspects of his personality emerged that I initially resisted. He had spoken favorably about Italian Fascism in its early days (even though the Pope, who had warmly received him, warned about loss of press freedom) as a po-

litical bulwark against Communism. At best, he advocated support of what he termed "conservative democracies." During World War II, he was dismayed to learn that his former choirboys were bombing or invading Italy. Even more unsettling was the establishment of an Italian prisoner of war camp outside of Denver. These prisoners, rather than the elusive red man who had first lured him to America, became his unsought mission. Along with his failing health, the defeat of Fascism and the Cold War impasse with Soviet Communism darkened the Bethlehem innocence he had felt in coming to America and diminished the pre-war optimism he had felt over a resurgent Europe. In this context, one of his final acts was to raise the glaring white monument of a triumphant Christ-the-King on a boulder outcropping at his camp. Today, this gesture of religious dominance looks desperately futile.

The summer following Fr. Bosetti's death, several of us were cleaning out his cabin, when suddenly a young priest from an earlier decade appeared in the doorway, sized up the situation, strode to the mantel over the fireplace, raised a large painting of the Matterhorn, and, after gazing around at us, defiantly strode out with it. That was Father Tom, Fr. Bosetti's earlier and most troubling protégé whose life serves as a counternarrative to the central story.

Fr. Tom's interruption was one of those odd pieces that did not fit into the puzzle, at least initially. His family had been one of the first in the parish that Fr. Bosetti had visited and struck up a lasting connection with. He would call Tom's grandmother "Mother" and pick up chili con carne for his mountain weekend, at a time when Tom was just starting school. Tom had a beautiful singing voice and sang in "Bethlehem," the first of many roles in the priest's productions. From early on, Tom was set apart, did not date in high school, and in 1927 accompanied the priest on a climb up the Matterhorn, followed by a visit with the Pope. Soon Tom was following in the priest's footsteps in other ways as well. He studied in Rome and upon his ordination was assigned Cathedral parish as Fr. Bosetti's assistant to help out with the operas and the camp.

Everything seemed to be proceeding according to an ideal, if not quite divine, plan except for one tiny knot of a problem: devoted as he was to his mentor, Fr. Tom was not cut out for clerical cloth. He did not want to be a priest. Above all, he did not want to live a celibate life. His immedi-

ate solution to this dilemma was to drink. He was a darkly handsome Irishman, charming, brilliant, and now out of control. The Bishop wanted him out, period. Fr. Bosetti intervened and a compromise was struck. Fr. Tom would be put out of sight, banished to a country parish in Platteville, about 40 miles northwest of Denver. Fr. Tom complied but he took with him his mistress, a very attractive young widow who had been a food caterer at the Cathedral. There he lived more or less openly with his "housekeeper" -- all of this mostly hushed up by those I spoke with who were around in those days and vehemently denied by his relatives.

Fr. Bosetti was troubled by these events. He had suffered a stroke two-and-a-half years before and been forced to cancel his opera seasons as well as relinquish the running of the camp. As was their custom, Fr. Tom would help Fr. Bosetti celebrate his birthday on January 1 and combine it with New Year's Eve. Thus it was that during these festivities in Platteville that Fr. Bosetti suffered his final stroke. Along with fellow priests, Fr. Tom kept an around-the-clock vigil at the unconscious priest's bedside until he died several weeks later without regaining consciousness.

Fr. Tom thus had reasons for bursting in and retrieving the Matterhorn painting that puzzling day a few months later. He was, in fact, about to depart for California, where he would be released from his priestly vows, marry his mistress, have a son, and pursue an academic career in foreign languages. His key line was, "I left the priesthood but I never left the Church." Fr. Bosetti's key line was, "I can see his leaving the priesthood but not over a woman." So, the piece of the puzzle still missing relates to sexual orientation.

Though they are to neither marry nor beget children, Catholic priests are addressed as "Father" by reason of their pastoral and sacramental duties. Dressing in a cassock as well as trousers, they are expected to exercise compassion as well as authority. That Fr. Bosetti performed such maternal/paternal roles in orthodox as well as less orthodox ways is evident in collective recollections of his nighttime checking his boys in the camp dormitories to see they were tucked in. He was perceived by Fr. Tom's family as exercising a paternal role on the boy he seems to have adopted and who adopted him as his role model. Women, on the other hand, were not especially welcome at his camp where he wanted the boys to connect with nature and the spiritual life, free from worldly distractions. Many

did go on to become priests. Yet Fr. Bosetti associated with far more women than most priests. Those who knew him, for example, the nuns who were given off-season holidays at his camp and invited to dress rehearsals as well as the many women who sang in his shows, were all totally devoted to him. Nor was he oblivious to feminine charms. "Show that girl how to walk," he once told Maria, one of his seasoned singers, on the occasion of a stiff new actress on his stage. Maria strutted her stuff.

But was Fr. Bosetti tempted? And by what or whom? Can sexual orientation be inferred if one does not act on his sexual desires? Some light is cast on these quandaries by an extraordinary episode from the priest's seminary period. This was during his "Peppino" days when he was 16. Because he was studying in Rome when he learned of the scandalous behavior of a priestly faculty member who had been seen fondling a youth back in the infirmary in Switzerland, he responded in writing:

Reverend Father Superior, These lines will cause you pain, I'm sure. You know the affection I have for you and that I would not write without high motives and a sense of duty along with the love I have for my brothers and my sincere love of our work.

In closing, he offered to abandon his studies and return to assist in resolving the problem if that would help. It was apparently unnecessary because the derelict priest was dismissed.

While this episode refutes the excuse that pedophilia as a form of abuse by priests was not recognized until fairly recent times, there are more pertinent details. The person being addressed was Father Barral, founder of the Bethlehem Brothers and rector of the new seminary. Being French, he was a foreigner as well as a pioneer, a builder, and a proficient fund-raiser whose reckless practices drew sarcastic media attention. Eased out a few years later for "cooking" the books, he was also accused of "immorality," the coded euphemism for sexual "hanky-panky." One wonders how much Peppino knew of this man's dark side -- very little it seems. In America, Fr. Bosetti also proved himself an adept fundraiser and builder, so in certain respects Fr. Barral was a positive role model, but his protégé, who also cultivated protégés, knew better where to draw the line.

Biographers should also know where to draw the line. Certainly, Fr. Bosetti was possessed of great energies as evident from their manifold

cultural and spiritual outlets. In referring to nature, music, and religion, he often invoked the word "sublime." So it is not a great leap to term his many endeavors "sublimations." Were his most personal affections also successful sublimations? It seems likely. But whatever its elusive roots, sublimation -- when successful -- is a process ultimately known by its products.

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## Something Beautiful for God

**Daniel C. O'Connell**  
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I have been requested to submit a comment on the article by Massimini. I do so with a certain amount of reluctance: Nothing I can say will change the existential hurt reported by the author. Nonetheless, the reader has a right to a more balanced view of celibacy than he presents.

The most evident characteristic of the article is that, beneath the linguistic surface structure, it is autobiographical. The article tells us a great deal more about how one can be expected to write about experiences that have somehow been the source of great hurt in one's life than about anything else.

Massimini's concepts of "forced" celibacy and the "gift" of celibacy both warrant criticism and commentary. I have never in 57 years as a member of the Jesuit order or in 44 years as an ordained priest met a celibate who fits his description of the celibate as not "being disposed to marry." Further, there is a simple difficulty with the logic. "Forced celibacy" is a contradiction in terms. Celibacy is by definition an *interior attitude*, a virtuous stance of deliberate abstinence from sexual activity (and from a state of life that entails sexual activity, i.e., marriage). It is true that in the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church, one has to "buy the package," so to speak. But one is motivated to do it out of dedication to Christ even in that setting. Celibacy out of motivation to keep the rule, or because one hates women or is inhibited sexually, is not a virtue at all and defies the very concept of celibacy.

Christ was celibate according to all the traditions of Christendom. It's simply in imitation of Him and out of undivided dedication to Him that one can voluntarily dedicate his (or her) life in a celibate state.

Malcom Muggeridge's description of Mother Theresa's life as "Something Beautiful for God" (also the title of his 1971 book about her) expresses quite clearly the very foundation of the dedicated celibate life. One gives up something of great worth and beauty: husband or wife, children, grandchildren, in short, a hearth and home. This has been my life-long experience of very normal, loving, celibate women and men, and it is surely what the members of the mental health profession -- who have been screening candidates for the priesthood and religious orders for many decades now -- look for in young people who apply.

Yes, the glass is half empty: Every one of us fulfills *all* his or her obligations in life, including the ones we have voluntarily taken upon ourselves, imperfectly. But far more importantly, the glass is also half full: Hundreds of thousands of men and women throughout the world are living dedicated celibate lives, happily and normally, and most certainly not because they are not "disposed to marry," but simply because they have freely given something very beautiful back to their God out of unabashed love of God and His people.

*See profile of author on page 89.* □

## 1,001 Celibate Nights

**Christopher T. Burris**  
St. Jerome's University, Canada

As a psychologist of religion who is professedly committed to scientific objectivity, I cannot speak to claims regarding celibacy's divine origins. Perhaps it is, indeed, "a gift" to some, as Massimini suggests.

In the popular mind, celibacy is a Roman Catholic issue but nearly all faith traditions regulate sexual expression -- sometimes vigorously. Why? Sex can serve as a pathway to transcendence. Survey respondents list sex -- along with mind-altering substances, rhythms and dance, and nature -- as potent sources of blissful, even mystical, experience. Thus, we should not be surprised that zealous religious proponents sometimes label sex and drugs, rock 'n' roll, and pantheism as "evil" or "false gods." In effect, these alternate

pathways can be perceived as competitors in the transcendence marketplace and therefore as threats to religion.

In Massimini's religious framework, for example, celibacy is juxtaposed against sex, marriage, and family in an "all or nothing" sort of package. In contrast, in a secular framework, celibacy simply means "no sex." Marriage and family are afterthoughts -- although, curiously, one or both often get linked back to sex. Consider a couple in a committed, sexually expressive relationship, who choose neither marriage nor children. To many North American religious believers, this unmarried couple is "living in sin." To pro-family individuals, religious or secular, this childfree couple is branded either as an object of pity or as "selfish," no better than garden-variety fornicators. Both views tacitly acknowledge sex's power as a transformative agent.

Not all who abstain from sexual activity do so for explicitly religious reasons, however. The image -- magnified by the recent scandals -- of priests bursting at the libidinal seams from years of repressed sexual urges is a grossly selective one, at best. The urge to express oneself sexually, priest or not, falls under the same statistical bell curve as other psychological variables. Most of us are average, so individuals at both extremes catch our attention. Thus, "recovering sex addicts" are talk show guests, and the *DSM-IV* -- the bible of psychiatric diagnosis -- labels those who are either chronically uninterested in, or downright disgusted by, sex as "disordered." Celibacy, whether institutionalized or not, is likely perceived as a sanctuary by such persons.

I am reminded of a boy who once confided to me that he kept track of the number of days he went without masturbating as a gauge of personal piety. He could correctly label the sexual anatomy but would become nauseous and faint when sex education was presented in health class. Born into Catholicism, he never considered priesthood but rarely dated and remained a virgin well into his 20s.

There are, I would suggest, a "thousand little celibacies" in addition to the one reserved for Roman Catholic priests. Unless victims of psychological or physical coercion, all must choose whether and how to express themselves sexually. Celibacy can be embraced as a joyful calling, begrudgingly accepted as a job requirement, touted as holy glamour, or sought out as an ideological storm shelter.

Thus, instead of joining in the debate as to whether Fr. Bosetti's priestly achievements were the beneficent result of sexual sublimation, I will put forth an idea that is true to the spirit (if not the letter) of Freud: Anything can be a threat; anything can be a defense. Only when threats are defused and defenses dropped, when the mortal struggle to maintain the self-as-separate is no longer felt, do men and women -- celibate or not -- have hope of Massimini's "well-integrated ego that is capable of universal love for self, others, nature, and God."

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## Infinite Denial: Religious Celibacy and Priestly Repression

**Dereck Daschke**  
**Truman State University**

Celibacy is hardly a religious pursuit unique to the Catholic priesthood. It is an ascetic sacrifice akin to fasting, hair shirts, and other self-disciplinary techniques meant to rein in the worldly comforts and desires of the flesh and to open the individual up to greater pleasures, higher knowledge, or even a direct experience of the divine. While the slightest psychoanalytic glance reveals the severe instinctual renunciation inherent in these actions, it also recognizes that such renunciation can take two forms: repression, which, over an extended period of time, will erupt in socially disruptive forms ranging from slips of the tongue to neuroses, and sublimation, where the instinctual gratification is displaced into socially acceptable, even beneficial, activities. Celibacy as a religious virtue or duty clearly is meant to be an act of sublimation (hence its role in achieving the "sublime"), a sacrifice of the satisfaction of bodily pleasure in exchange for peace of mind, clarity of purpose, and purity of spirit.

Religious ideals such as these, however, must be experienced within certain psychosocial frameworks. Self-denial requires boundaries to be personally beneficial: celibacy, like fasting, must have some restrictions on it. Sometimes it is confined to a certain length of time before an encoun-

ter with the sacred -- for example, when God had the Israelite men abstain from sex for three days before giving the Law at Mt. Sinai. (Exodus 19:15) In other cases, celibates remove themselves from the normal order and temptations of everyday life, staying in a monastery, a convent, or the wilderness. Other traditions limit such asceticism to the end of one's life, as with the Hindu *sannyasin*, who has already fulfilled his duty to raise a family. Or, most remarkably, one may find religious ideals absolutely embodied in some saints, gurus, and adepts of all traditions, such as the Dalai Lama or Mother Theresa. These exemplars seem able to master any challenge, sacrifice all selfish desires, in exchange for their and the world's ongoing spiritual improvement. They are as unique in their capacity for ascetic denial as they are rare.

Sadly, it seems that with Catholic priests, celibacy is too often a forced repression of sexuality disguised by the veneer of sublimation. I have more than once heard Church officials argue that priests need to forgo the distractions of physical relationships, especially family demands, or their parish, their family in Christ, will suffer from neglect. Worse, there are no limits set on this sacrifice -- it is a lifelong commitment, essentially from adolescence to death. There is no cloister. The priest is in the world, mediating between the demands of the sacred and the profane for his congregation. There is, of course, a superb legacy of extraordinary, even saintly, priests in the life of the Church. So, too, are there likely always moments, even prolonged periods, of true sublimation, where the yearnings of a priest's sexual being are channeled into astonishing insight, imparting peace and wisdom not just to himself but to those around him.

Inevitably, these men and these moments are rare. The rest of the priesthood, the rest of the time, must grapple with desires they literally are not allowed to express, let alone satisfy. Any doubts or failure, the Church governing body says, requires only more fervent prayer and, where necessary, confession -- that is to say, more sublimation, transforming real needs and true conflicts into non-threatening, theologically approved solutions. The grace of God will in due course comfort the supplicant and grant him the peace that celibacy promised in the first place. Yet, many find, the peace never comes, the priest feels the shame of failure again, and the avenues of communication between priest and God, and priest and priest, become closed off as well. The repression of the



body and mind is now doubly reinforced, contributing to, if not directly creating, the whole range of pathologies that have plagued the modern priesthood, from depression to alcoholism to -- as we know all too well -- pedophilia. Astonishingly, it seems that Church leaders have been just as ignorant about the potential for spiritual damage from this perversion of celibacy's spiritual potential as they have been about its continued psychological damage, both on its most vulnerable priests and their young victims.

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## **Psyche's Mystery: A Reply to Dervin and Massimini on Celibacy**

**Joseph J. Guido  
Providence College**

The Roman Catholic discipline of clerical celibacy has long invited both admiration and abhorrence. In the wake of recent disclosures about the sexual abuse of minors by priests it is understandable that its supporters and detractors alike have been vocal. Some conservatives argue that the problem lies not in celibacy but in its breach, and are quick to blame liberals, homosexual priests, and a too ready and facile accommodation of the Church to secular culture in the years after the Second Vatican Council. Liberals view obligatory celibacy as pathogenic and as one aspect of a broader abuse of clerical power and a distorted understanding of human sexuality. Although research suggests that there is no credible evidence that sexual abuse of minors by priests has increased in recent years, that homosexuals abuse minors more often than do heterosexuals, or that there is a correlation between celibacy and the abuse of minors, legitimate questions remain about the nature and exercise of priestly celibacy. I submit that answers to these questions will require an appreciation for mystery in its truest sense.

In his article entitled "Father Joseph Bosetti: Pioneer Priest in the Rockies," Dan Dervin highlights the hidden and putatively unknowable aspects of a successful sublimation. He rightly contrasts the mystery of Fr. Bosetti's character with the transparency of that of Fr. Tom, a protégé of Fr. Bosetti. Whereas Fr. Tom's attempt at celibacy suffered from defenses against and temporizing of his sexuality, Fr. Bosetti's celibacy was marked not only by the complexity of his person but by a seemingly genuine and expansive delight in and generosity toward innumerable people. It is altogether easier to understand why Fr. Tom chose to leave the priesthood and marry than to understand how Fr. Bosetti came to be and remain the celibate that he was.

This is true to my experience as a priest and a psychologist. Having assessed applicants to the seminary and religious life, and having provided psychotherapy to a fair number of priests and seminarians, I think that a successful sublimation as a celibate is rather more over-determined than is a failed attempt at celibacy. To be sure, both successful and failed attempts at celibacy may be defensive in part and have elements of narcissism, obsessiveness, and the precipitates of trauma. Yet it remains harder to explain why this works for some than why it does not for many. This may be because so few successful celibates have been the subject of psychoanalytic study, a study that the late Stephen A. Mitchell described as attending to the "fine grained texture of individual human lives, in all their complexity and intensity." (*Can Love Last? The Fate of Romance Over Time*, 2002, p. 29) I expect that such a study would find that the path a man takes to celibacy is determined by the resources available to him -- temperamental, interpersonal, historical, and religious -- and the unique configurations and identifications of himself and others, including God, that he is able to confect because of them. Indeed, if there is a missing piece in the puzzle of Fr. Bosetti's success, it is his relationship with God, a relationship which might help explain and certainly would reflect his particular complexity. [Editor's Note: See the reply by Dervin at the conclusion of this article.]

A different kind of mystery is addressed in the article by Anthony T. Massimini. Although I think he oversimplifies a history of celibacy that Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, 1988, and Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, 2000, find complex and varied, I think he makes an

important distinction between grace, or gift, and obligation in the practice of celibacy. Theologically, he means that God freely bestows on some men the capacity to be celibate, something that from a psychoanalytic frame of reference we might render in terms of the congruence between the ego ideal and, depending on theoretical orientation, available ego resources, internalizations, or transitional phenomena. In this sense grace may be a mystery but a necessary condition if the celibate life is to be lived well. Accordingly, it is not surprising that a man who did not think he had the gift of celibacy would suffer from the obligation to be celibate and that many would fulfill such an obligation only imperfectly. Yet it is interesting that many who to outward appearances have failed at celibacy remain priests, and that among those who have left the active priesthood and married, some have brought to their marriages and parenting the narcissism and immaturity that formerly marred their ministry.

In my experience, the reasons why a man first becomes celibate are rarely those which can sustain him as such and the celibate life, like the married life, entails a progressive invitation to divest oneself of narcissism and to acquire the capacity for true love of others. This is not easy or automatic for either celibates or married people, and few achieve it perfectly in either state of life. But it is possible, and its possibility invites us to consider whether the grace that is necessary is a grace that is given if not in the beginning then in the course of the life chosen. One might well choose the celibate life poorly, defensively, and with little recognition of its implications beyond the pragmatic, and certainly one can suffer as a result of such a choice, but this does not mean that the celibate life cannot serve as the crucible of reality that Freud found necessary for the transition from narcissism to object love. Here as elsewhere, one must be wary of falling prey to the fallacy of origins, that is, to assuming that the discovery of the defensive origins of behavior implicates the integrity of the behavior itself, the truth that it portends, or the possibility of its development.

In his First Letter to the Corinthians (15:51), the Apostle Paul uses the Greek word *mysterion* in the sense both of something hidden as if buried in the ground and as something to be revealed. From a psychoanalytic point of view, clerical celibacy can be understood from both perspectives. When it succeeds it invites consideration of how complex and particular is the course of human

sexuality as an element of an individual's psychic economy. When it stumbles and apparently fails it suggests that even in unwelcome circumstances there may be yet a grace, heretofore unsuspected, to impel us to the growth and maturity that will be required in any circumstance.

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**Dan Dervin** replies: About the deeply personal dimension of Fr. Bosetti's personal relationship to God, one can only draw inferences from the evidence. For several of his fellow priests, for example, he once made up a small photo album on whose cover he inscribed "A Sacred Tryst." It recorded an ascent of Mt. Holy Cross in the remote Colorado wilderness on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee in the priesthood. Similar to practices he conducted at his Camp, the goal was to mount the peak in the dark and offer sunrise Mass on the summit, although this climb took up most of the morning. Normally, however, the purpose was to extend the consecrated Host at the moment of the sun's emergence, thereby restoring all things to Christ, as fellow alpinist Pope Pius X had advocated. The party of 25, including fellow priests and seminarians, plus friends of both sexes, garnered full media coverage. Emanating from a Renaissance culture that excelled in dramatic representations of a symbolic nature as well as from the city where Leonardo's *Last Supper* was painted, Fr. Bosetti made the Eucharistic banquet rather than Good Friday the core of his ministry: Holy Communion was distributed atop Mt. Holy Cross. His Jubilee ascent also combined an active masculine position with a maternal nurturing one -- both of these in symbolic and sublimated forms. The word-choice of "Sacred Tryst" meanwhile hints at deeper -- but nonspecific -- emotional currents. □

## Celibacy and the Child Sexual Abuse Crisis

Thomas G. Plante

### Santa Clara University and Stanford University School of Medicine

Celibacy has received a great deal of media attention recently due to the well-publicized sexual abuse crisis in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church. The *Boston Globe* reported in January 2002 that a Roman Catholic priest had sexually abused 138 children over 30 years as a parish priest and that religious superiors including Cardinal Bernard Law knew about the sexual abuse allegations and did nothing to stop them. After national and international media began to investigate these and other allegations of child sexual abuse committed by priests, within just a few months approximately 255 American priests including several bishops were accused of child sexual abuse and volunteered, or were forced, to resign. The Church has paid almost a billion dollars in legal settlements regarding child abuse allegations during the past 20 years.

In trying to understand the child sexual abuse crisis in the Roman Catholic Church, many people, both within and outside of the church, have wondered if the celibacy vow required of priests might contribute to or even cause the sexual victimization of children, might force these men to develop sexual perversions and disorders such as pedophilia.

It is difficult for most people to understand celibacy. Engaging in sexual activity with others seems to be a basic and universal human need such as the need for eating and drinking. Sexual freedoms are highly valued in the United States and Western culture as well. The average American finds it "weird" to voluntarily give up their rights to be sexually active. Furthermore, many believe that anyone who does voluntarily give up their rights to be sexually active must be "weird" or psychologically "sick" to begin with.

I have evaluated or treated in psychotherapy approximately 150 Roman Catholic priests, nuns, and applicants to Catholic religious life during the past 14 years. I edited a book on sex-offending priests, *Bless Me Father For I Have Sinned: Perspectives on Sexual Abuse Committed by Roman Catholic Priests* (1999), and collaborated with colleagues from across North America on this topic. Finally, I have evaluated or treated about 40 priests accused of sexual involvement with minors as well as about a dozen victims of priestly sexual abuse.

Celibacy does not, in and of itself, put

someone at higher risk to sexually abuse children. The best available data suggests that approximately only two to five percent of male clergy, regardless of religious tradition, can be expected to sexually engage with minors below the age of 18 while approximately eight percent of adult men in general have had a sexual experience with a minor. (This data comes from numerous sources including published research, police records, and data collected from treatment facilities that specialize in this area.) If someone cannot have sex for reasons such as an inability to secure a suitable sexual partner, a marital or other relational conflict, or religious reasons, young children do not become the object of their sexual desire. Further, no research exists to support the notion that applicants to the priesthood are more sexually disturbed than others.

There may be a variety of reasons to criticize the celibacy requirement for Catholic priests and nuns. These are well articulated in the article by Massimini. However, sexual abuse of children is not one of them.

If not celibacy, then what might contribute to sexual crimes against minors committed by priests? Two-thirds of sex-offending priests were sexually abused as children. Most experience other severe psychiatric problems such as alcoholism, mood disorders, personality disorders, and even brain damage. Most are unable to maintain satisfying adult relationships. Most of these men entered seminary as teenagers 30 or more years ago. Few if any psychological evaluations were conducted for clergy applicants and little if any training was offered for managing sexual impulses and needs.

If sexual abuse of minors by priests is less common than abuse by men in general and on par with abuse by male clergy from other religious traditions, then why does the Catholic Church get so much media attention about this topic? Mostly this is due to ineffective leadership that has allowed a small number of priests to continue abusing children over many years. While most religious traditions have checks and balances through lay boards of directors who hire, fire, and evaluate their clergy, the hierarchical and patriarchal Catholic Church does not. While the celibacy vow may not put a priest at higher risk for sexual crimes against children, it does lend itself to more media interest when the vow is violated.

The Catholic Church is the largest continuously operating organization in the world, representing 20 percent of the planet's six billion people. It has tried to be *the* moral authority for 2000

years. The Church's often unpopular position and standards on sexual behavior associated with contraception use, unmarried people, homosexuality, and divorce make sex crimes committed by priests even more scandalous. When they err, or sin and fall from grace, it is a bigger drop than for ministers from other religious traditions who are more like us, who are married with children and mortgages. Many of the 25 percent of Americans who identify themselves as Catholic have mixed feelings about the Church. Millions who experienced Catholic education have stories about priests and nuns who were demanding; many felt they couldn't measure up to the impossibly high standards. The current media attention is a way to get back at the church organization and clergy that contributed to the public's feeling sinful or inadequate. Perhaps the gospel verse attributed to Jesus, "He who is without sin may cast the first stone," is a poignant perspective of the media and public's view on clergy sexual abuse.

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## Celibacy, Marriage, and Generativity

**Kathy Overturf**  
Villanova University

My clearest memory of wanting to be a nun is from when I was four years old. My five-year-old sister Mary and I were in our parents' bedroom. On the right of mother's vanity, wedged between mirror and frame, was a holy card of St. Therese Martin of Lisieux. Mary took the card down and began to teach me about this French Carmelite who at the age of 15 entered a cloistered convent and made her goal in life to pray for missionaries and priests. The saint would have liked to have been both priest and missionary but felt the contemplative life, a life devoted to prayer for the whole world, was the most inclusive path to love God and serve others. Thus, I learned the best way to be close to God was to be a nun. I believed there was no more compelling or radical path. Thus was the beginning of my idealized self.

My spiritual life was nurtured by immi-

grant parents in a noisy but loving Irish Catholic family where knowledge, truth, service, friendship, and laughter were valued. My five siblings and I went to Catholic schools and were taught to respect our elders but none of us were taught to blindly hand over our will to any authority figure, including priests and nuns. Our will was to be consistent with the will of God for us, as discerned in the events and challenges that life offered.

Soon after my 19th birthday in August 1966, I became a Missionary Sister of the Holy Rosary and remained with this community for nine years. Along with six other candidates, I had undergone a battery of psychological testing before acceptance into the community. Three years of formation or training included theological course work and the study of the spiritual life that borrowed much from psychology. Holiness was considered to be a balanced life that integrates thought, word, and actions. Nuns and priests who were psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, or counselors were available as consultants.

During my years as a vowed religious (nun), I developed my own definition of what it meant to become a woman: to be strong, independent, interdependent, smart, resourceful, and generous. Poverty led to a simpler life not only materially but also spiritually. Beauty was found in the creation that surrounded me: the polka-dotted ladybug, the masculine oak, and the fickle sky. Obedience was not simple submission but *response-ability*, which meant owning my actions and the consequences. An example of the difference is my choice of a major in college. My preference was English, the community's was social work. There was a lengthy and respectful discussion between myself and the Mother General of the community about the need in the missions for social workers rather than English teachers. We agreed that my outgoing personality and practicality supported such a choice. My response-ability to study and do social work was consistent with my desire to do God's will as discerned by the representative of the community and myself in concert with the needs of the missions. It was not mere submission; it was a well thought out, give-and-take, back-and-forth "Yes."

Through vowed celibacy I came to understand that sexuality is more than who is lover and who is mother. I intended my sexuality to give birth to something greater than myself, to leave a legacy that was woven by Gospel values and the traditions of my community. Women who inspired

such surrounded me. My psychosocial development and worldview were enhanced by living in a community of women scholars, doctors, nurses, and educators of various ages, cultures, and experiences who had worked with the "poorest of the poor." Conversation was lively, worldly in the sense that discussion often centered on political policies that might enhance or deprive the most marginalized in our world. It was the revolutionary 1960s. Changes in the Church brought about by Vatican II and changes in society inaugurated by the feminist movement permeated our convent walls and only strengthened my resolve to make a difference in the world.

I graduated from Temple University in 1973 with a bachelor's degree in social work. Once in my Marriage and the Family class, the professor had announced that if we were 19 and still a virgin, it was okay and we need not feel uncomfortable. I was amused because at age 23 I was planning to be a lifelong virgin. I saw my countercultural stance of vowed celibacy and countercultural dress of veil and habit as consistent with a feminism that espoused that a woman had many options by which to make her way in the world.

To be celibate was not to be barren. To be a nun was not to be above the fray but to dive right in and sort things out. My affective self was diffused in the world for the sake of the world and my time was God's alone who returned it to me to give to others. Sexual expression was limited to a twinkle in the eye and warmth in manner and speech. Many times I was attracted to men and men were attracted to me. When the feelings were too strong, I remembered my priorities before nature took its course. I would avoid encounters with men who made my heart race and fortitude fizzle. Sexual energy was channeled toward the productive enterprises of church work. Prayer grounded my need for sexual intimacy and led to the development of an interior life that has served me well as a spouse, mother, grandmother, and campus minister. There came a knowing in prayer: God is deeply in love with me and will never abandon me.

The call to leave religious life was as compelling as was the call to enter. Perhaps the call was less "to leave" and more "not to stay." The life that had provided solitude and spiritual sustenance as well as a support system and structure in my journey towards God, also demanded more independence and more ego strength than I could muster. This became obvious to me in my work in Zambia. All of what I had dreamt to do I did but

found the dream itself disintegrating. My spirit drooped as I went from thatched hut to thatched hut facing hunger or death at the door, feeling powerless to teach others how to help themselves and at the same time being respectful of their culture and tradition. I found myself caught in the need to be empowered as I failed to empower others.

Leaving Zambia helped clarify my own identity. Before, I had thought that to be me, to be Kathy, was to be a nun. Slowly, through self-reflection and in conversation with trusted friends, I came to realize that to be me was to be a spiritual person, a good friend, a lover of God, and a woman of faith who found meaning in service. This was my essence. Being a nun was a map for such expression, a map that for me had reached a dead end. Others in my community could live creative and fruitful lives, I no longer could. I thought there must be another way to express my essence. I left my community on a crisp and clear sunny October day in 1975. A rainy foggy night might have suited me better since I felt sad, alone, and without direction -- I loved those women.

Less than a year later I met Michael, my life partner. Fortunately, he had similar values and helped me dream a new dream. Consciously, I had not left the convent to get married. However, my marriage to Michael empowers me daily through word and touch, and I think that was what was missing for me as a nun. The person I am with helps clarify the person I wish to be. My ideal self is reflected back to me through Michael's eyes.

I no longer have the benefits of vowed celibacy, the freedom to put my life at risk as I did when as a young nun who worked in gang conflict resolution in Philadelphia and preached in prisons in Zambia, nor am I free to serve as members of my former community now do in war torn countries in Africa. Michael knows too well the ramifications of such work and my four daughters would not "allow" such a challenge, and I do not wish to miss the excitement of watching my grandson grow up.

Vowed celibacy taught me to focus on the Other, to be generous, to empathize, and to provide emotional support. Celibacy in and of itself is not virtuous, but vowed celibacy lived in concert with others who share and shape a common vision provides the interior space to live out that vision. Celibacy kept that space silent for me and guarded against interruptions. That sacred space is now crowded by my family whose interruptions are

signposts in my journey towards God.

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## A Biographer and His Subject: Ralph Colp and Charles Darwin

(Continued from front page)

chotherapy of junior clinicians, continuing this after his formal retirement from Columbia. He continues in the private practice of psychiatry in Manhattan, with many of his patients coming for sex therapy -- in the 1970s, he became a senior associate, Program of Human Sexuality and Sex Therapy at the New York University Medical Center. Having made his scholarly reputation as an expert on Darwin's health and psychology, the interviewee is best known for To Be an Invalid: The Illness of Charles Darwin (1977), which is being revised substantially and expanded to include Darwin's "Diary of Health." Dr. Colp serves on the Editorial Board of **Clio's Psyche** and has written over 100 articles and book reviews on Darwin, William Halsted, medical history, Russian revolutionaries, and many other subjects, including the "History of Psychiatry" section for Sadock and Sadock, Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, since 1986. He became an early member of the Psychohistory Forum and has been a devoted member of the Forum's Communism: The God That Failed Research Group and its successor group on psychobiography. The interview was conducted in Dr. Colp's Manhattan office on East 79th Street on September 13, 2001. (A chapter closely related to this interview is "Living With Charles Darwin," Paul H. Elovitz, ed., Historical and Psychological Inquiry, 1990, pp. 219-235.)

**Paul H. Elovitz (PHE):** Please tell us about your family background and childhood.

**Ralph Colp (RC):** My parents were middle-class, of which my mother often spoke with pride. She, Miriam Mirsky, was a homemaker with a strong intellectual interest in biology. As a gradu-

ate student at Columbia she taught microscopic anatomy to medical students for one year and then stopped professional work altogether. Though she never attained her PhD, my mother maintained an intense intellectual life. She enjoyed conversing about biology and the history of science with scientists, academics, and physicians, who visited our home. In talks with her friends, my mother demonstrated the pleasures of the life of the mind, which has made a lasting impression on me. In fact, when I speak of the type of intellectual life she created in our home, several colleagues refer to it as a "salon." I think they are right. Through her I acquired an intellectual treasure early in my life.

There was a splendor about my father in his achieving prominence in surgery and setting an example of excellence. Growing up, after my parents divorced when I was four years old, I had a difficult time with my father whose house I would go to once a week. I did enjoy the marvelous dinners, although not the conversation there which paled in comparison to that my mother created in the milieu of our home. I was in awe of my father and afraid to be alone with him. I repeatedly turned down opportunities to travel alone with him in Europe, which I now regret, though I did go for a week's walking tour with him when I was 18 years old. Although I was separated and estranged from him, after his death I felt I had incorporated some of his better attributes.

The first loss I suffered in life followed from my parents' divorcing. This domestic struggle influenced my early interest in civil war, introducing the American (1861-1865) and Spanish (1936-1939) conflicts. The deaths of my parents were important to me. My mother died in 1967 when I was 43. I had a feeling of loss after her death as well as a loss of stimulus in work. Then I introjected her values and felt as if she was always an audience for me: as I wrote, I thought of how she would respond to my ideas. After my father's death when I was 50, I felt liberated from some of his criticisms of me and freer to identify with some of his best values. I felt freer to work on Darwin and added a great deal to what I wrote about Darwin based on my father's outlook. I do feel the loss of my parents freed me to work more and from being preoccupied with their lives and caring for them.

I was an only child, although when my mother remarried when I was five, I then had a three-year-older stepsister whose own mother had died in childbirth. We did not share activities and

she did not exert an influence on me. Later, I became an early critic of her pro-Communist position and tried without success to get her to read Trotsky's critique of Stalin. In retrospect, my mother strongly favored me, and my stepfather Mitchell (Itelson) favored his daughter, which was part of the reason for the mild estrangement between my stepsister and me. My mother's second husband was in commercial real estate and lacked the social prestige and money of my father, as well as my mother's cultural interests. All of our many social friends were acquired and cultivated by my mother. Mitchell was kind and sweet but detached from me, my friends, and my interests. He and I never did any activities together and he was not an influence in my life. He outlived my mother by seven years.

**PHE:** How did you feel about being a Jew?

**RC:** I am a non-observant Jew who has never been in a synagogue nor had any training or interest in the Jewish religion. I attended, as did my children, and my parents as children, Ethical Culture schools. Now I consider them to have been secular Jewish schools since the movement was started by a former rabbi (Felix Adler) and 80-90 percent of my classmates also came from Jewish homes. I was educated in Ethical Culture schools from elementary school through graduation from Fieldston High in 1942.

I felt ambivalent about my Jewishness. It was a really complex issue. My ideal was the socialist rejection of nationalism and religion, and belief in meritocracy. I was aware and afraid of anti-Semitism. (Indeed, my father always felt that he would have been the top surgeon in the country were it not for his Jewish origins and he was probably right.) Identification as a Jew felt constricting, so I did not acknowledge it. When almost all of the other Ethical Culture students were absent on Jewish holidays, I would be in school. We always had a Christmas tree and neither of my parents liked being a Jew, though most of their friends and associates were Jewish. The anti-Semitism in medical school was considerable. Because of the prominence of my father I was identified as being a Jew by my fellow medical students, about one-third of whom were Jewish themselves. Unlike most other colleges at the time, Columbia did not have a formal enrollment restriction on Jews. Of course, I was always fervently anti-Nazi and in favor of the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. In 1955, after I finished my military service in Europe and without acknowledging my Jewish-

ness, I traveled around Arab countries where I felt the people to be most friendly and hospitable. Yet, when I walked from Jordan into Israel, I suddenly felt I was at home and I remain profoundly pro-Israel today. So I had a Jewish identification of which I was not aware. When my wife Charlotte, who specializes in pulmonary medicine, and I were married, it was by a rabbi, in his office.

**PHE:** What psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic training did you have?

**RC:** I had considerable psychoanalytic supervision of psychotherapy cases: As a medical resident, I had two years at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center (Boston Psychopathic Hospital) and then one year at St. Luke's Hospital (Department of Psychiatry) here in New York City, and subsequently four years at Hillside Hospital on Long Island. Since then I've carried out the supervision, from a psychoanalytic perspective, of residents at the Mental Health Division, Columbia University Health Services.

**PHE:** Aside from personal psychoanalysis, I think supervision is where you learn the most about psychodynamics. I had close to 10 years of psychoanalytic supervision, though we called it "control analysis."

**RC:** Supervised casework is great. It makes you into a psychotherapist. It takes about five years to learn the craft of psychotherapy and supervision is a vital part of it.

I should include my psychoanalysis with Max Schur, who was Freud's last physician. That went on from November 1, 1959, which coincided with the birth of my daughter, until October 12, 1969, just coincidentally my birthday. That day Schur died rather suddenly after 10 years of my psychoanalysis, which was never less than four times a week. The analysis went deeply into all areas of my life. There were many important areas that I really had been unaware of, including the real nature of both of my parents.

**PHE:** You have had some wonderful training for the brilliant work you have done on Charles Darwin (1809-1882). Your ability to see him from your perspective as a medical doctor, psychoanalytic psychiatrist, and psychohistorian allows for a depth of insight that those non-psychoanalytically trained just don't have available to them.

**RC:** Before I went into psychiatry, under the influence of my father I performed surgery for three years at Mt. Sinai Hospital and then for two years in the Air Force. I think that gave me a feel-

ing for physically suffering people -- many of them had abdominal pains and complaints, which Darwin had, and so I had that perspective on him. As a psychotherapist, one thing I have learned is that the symptoms a patient suffers from, especially with severe depression and anxiety, are determined by several factors that overwhelm the ego for a time. That is what happened to Darwin but only for a time because he recovered from his illness and continued to go on with his work. With Darwin, I have been able to identify the psychological factors that caused his major illness (with Chagas' disease of the stomach making him more sensitive). At times the great naturalist feared he would die early. In 1848-1849 he thought he was dying. Five people he felt close to died of stomach problems so he was especially concerned about this. I wonder what Darwin was clinically like but no doctor who saw him has left a medical report.

**PHE:** So you had a full realization of just how much people could suffer, whether from the mind or the body, or both. You got to see both sources of pain, as opposed to those who want to put the etiology of suffering *all* in the body or *all* in the mind. I was a pre-medical student until I rebelled against my father's career plan for me, fearing I might inadvertently hurt or even kill patients. I'm curious as to what surgery didn't provide for you or if you had fears regarding it, such as the ones that influenced my decision.

**RC:** I could do the operations but I had too much psychic conflict about not being as good as my father -- I didn't have his innate talent and flare. Besides, I wasn't really that interested in operating -- I was interested in talking to the patients and finding out their life stories. My mother believed in the life of the mind but my father put it down. He said, "Look, if you can't answer why Hamlet delayed, so what! But if you can't answer what is wrong with a patient, it can be his life." He felt that surgery was superior to intellectual studies. [long pause]

**PHE:** He felt that surgery was a matter of life or death, and that intellectual activities were just talk.

**RC:** Yes!

**PHE:** Both your father and Darwin's father were prominent doctors who overpowered sons whose interests were less immediately practical than their own.

**RC:** There was always a tension between Darwin and his father, as there was between me

and mine. Darwin managed his father much more successfully than I did my own. While the tension persisted, he got income from his father, which I never received from my father, and he got his father to take care of him when he was sick, which was very important. I could not adapt my father to my purposes until after his death.

**PHE:** Could that have been an issue of the fathers far more than of the sons? Darwin's father was psychologically aware and empathetic with people, and yours was not. Dr. Robert Darwin practiced a type of psychological medicine partly because he hated the sight of blood, as did his son. Thus, he could help his patients with their symptoms at a time when bloodletting was the prime form of treatment -- and if you operated, the patient was inclined to die of either shock or infection. It was very good to have a father-doctor who was psychologically attuned to others, including his own son Charles and his needs. So even though the son was in awe of the father, the father helped the son to find his own way. Your surgeon father, by comparison, saw the issues in physical, medical, surgical terms. To him, things were much more a matter of right or wrong and black or white. Because of the residue of your parents' divorce, he was also a more distant force in your life than was Dr. Robert Darwin in the life of Charles, whose mother died when he was eight years old.

**RC:** Yes, that is true.

**PHE:** Thus, Dr. Robert Darwin could be more empathetic than was your father. What was his name? Oh! Of course. Ralph Colp, Senior! My embarrassing momentary denial of reality -- I know your name so well -- is based upon my never seeing you as "Junior." Yet you have always seen yourself as a junior. You always insisted on that for so many years in our conversations. Yet I always see you as a senior: you are such an accomplished intellectual, psychiatrist, psychohistorian, and psychotherapist.

**RC:** Yes, that's valid.

**PHE:** Your strength as a Darwin scholar is rooted in your incredible empathy for him. When did your lifelong interest in Darwin take on the form of scholarship?

**RC:** It really began in 1959 with the sense of my beginning to become my own person -- leaving surgery, marrying, beginning and finishing my psychiatric residency, and having my first child. Also, November 1959 was also the centenary of *The Origin of Species* and Darwin was much talked



about. It was in that year also that I read Erikson's *Young Man Luther*, which I think has influenced me perhaps more than any other book in psychohistory, despite my having serious reservations about it as a contribution to Luther studies.

*Young Man Luther* was invaluable to me as a way of doing psychobiography and of understanding the concept and imagery of identity and identity crisis. It was in the course of working with psychiatric patients that I first began, in the words of Erikson, to "detect some meaningful resemblance between what" I had come to see in myself and what I judged my patients, colleagues, and supervisors expected me to be. (*Young Man Luther*, p. 14) I was developing a sense of listening to patients, and by listening, making a difference to them, and learning the difference between being an investigator and being a therapist. In subsequently reading Erikson's biography (Lawrence J. Friedman, *Identity's Architect*, 1999), I came to realize how he formed his own identity out of his past and dreams. As fellow psychohistorian Dan Dervin has commented, it was Erikson's genius to push aside many aspects of his real life to invent his own identity. His psychotherapist daughter's article on him in the *Atlantic Monthly* points out how lacking he was in a sense of reality. [Sue Erikson Bloland, "Fame: The Power and Cast of a Fantasy," November 1999]

**PHE:** The spelling out of the method of inquiry, rather than the conclusion, is often what's really important. While I've disagreed with some conclusions of my fellow psychohistorians, I've been extremely impressed by the method they had been using. I remember reading *Young Man Luther* and being thrilled and inspired by it but unconvinced it was correct. Many of the right questions were being asked. However, I prefer Norman O. Brown's interpretation in *Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytic Meaning of History* (1959).

**RC:** The excremental vision.

**PHE:** Yes. Brown's scatological interpretation dealt more with the real situation. But it is so often the case that we find something enlightening even when we disagree. Returning to our interview questions, how do you define *psychohistory*?

**RC:** For me it is psychobiography. It involves a detection and delineation of emotions that individuals tend to deny or minimize. I have written on: Vanzetti's depression following the death of his mother and his life as a hobo in America; Halsted's intimate friendship with and perhaps

love for William Welch, and how it influenced his surgical career; Trotsky's failure to become Lenin's successor, explained by his fear of surpassing his father; and Stalin's sadism -- we need more explanation of his envy.

**PHE:** What brought you to psychohistory?

**RC:** I had three paths: my childhood historical interests, development of greater psychological insight into my biographical interests, and work with the Psychohistory Forum. First, when I was growing up, I had a passionate interest in a number of topics and the lives of individuals, including biographies of scientists and doctors. Two important early intellectual influences were my maternal uncle Alfred Mirsky, an eminent research scientist at the Rockefeller Institute, who talked with me about Darwin's life and work, and my maternal aunt Jeannette Mirsky, author of books on exploration and a biography of Eli Whitney, who talked to me about her research in writing biographies.

I had a tremendous interest in revolutions, specifically the French and the Russian Revolutions, as well as in ancient history, particularly that of Greece and Rome, including the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. My curiosity was whetted by the times in which I grew up, the 1930s and 1940s: the histories of Europe, the United States, and the Second World War. Some books that particularly influenced me include Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian Wars* and Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. Among the influential scientists and physicians were Pasteur, Darwin, Harvey, Osler, and Halsted, and among the military and political leaders were T.E. Lawrence, Lincoln, and Lenin. I had an unquenchable curiosity to know more about them and their times.

My second path to psychohistory began when I was in psychiatric training in 1956. I had a desire to further develop and elaborate on these biographical interests by adding psychological insights to them. (My desire to further understand was and still is very strong.) This led to my writing articles on English physiologist Ernest Starling, 1951; Vanzetti, 1959; and Halsted, 1959 and 1984 (which I dedicated to my father). "Trotsky's Dream of Lenin" (**Clio's Psyche**, September 1998, pp. 50-54) touches on why Trotsky didn't succeed Lenin. My views on Stalin's sadism are treated in "Why Stalin Couldn't Stop Laughing" (**Clio's Psyche**, September 1996, pp. 37-39) and on his envy as one of his strong motivating forces, in book reviews of new biographies of Sta-

lin in *The Psychohistory Review* (Winter 1990 and Winter 1993) and in "Stalin's Victims and Their Predator" (**Clio's Psyche**, December 1998, pp. 111-112).

The third path has been my work in the Psychohistory Forum, which is quite important to me. I have attended most of the Forum meetings, listened to the work presented, and formed intellectual friendships with the colleagues I have met. In becoming a scholar I was self-taught, without any psychohistorical mentors, but in a sense, the Psychohistory Forum has helped mentor me. At the Forum's Communism: The Dream that Failed Research Group meetings, this work on ideas of mutual interest continues even as the group has switched its focus to biography. Included in the intellectual friendships are those with Mary Lambert, Jay Gonen, and Mary Coleman. Mary Coleman really took an interest in my recent illness but, aside from that, she has a range of interest in ancient history. There are the friendships with David Felix, Connie and Lee Shneidman, Ben Brody, and you, though we really haven't had as much of a one-to-one relationship as I would like.

**PHE:** If you came out to New Jersey we could have that.

**RC:** [laughter] Sure! Sure! You notice I haven't really been that motivated to attend the yearly International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) meetings. I keep up with my membership but I prefer the Forum.

**PHE:** There's something about the smaller group format that I think fits nicely with being able to work in depth and to form the closer connections that I think work especially well for your personality.

**RC:** Yes, and I enjoy the lunches we have afterwards with the continued conversation there.

**PHE:** I certainly enjoy those as well. What training was most helpful in your doing psychohistorical work?

**RC:** A good beginning was Henry Lawton's *The Psychohistorian's Handbook* (1988), which conveys the range of psychohistory and gives the sense of its being an intellectual adventure (which Henry strongly feels and conveys in conversation). Reading reviews of psychohistorical and related books in the *Journal of Psychohistory* and **Clio's Psyche** was a good way of getting into the literature. Lee Shneidman's are unfailingly good.

**PHE:** What other books were important to your development?

**RC:** There are so many. If I focus on psychological books I would have to include: Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society*; Levinson, *The Seasons of a Man's Life*; Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (1983); Allen Wheelis, *The Quest for Identity* (1966); and Eugene Victor Wolfenstein, *The Victims of Democracy: Malcolm X and the Black Revolution* (1981).

**PHE:** What is the influence of your psychoanalytic experience on you as a psychohistorian?

**RC:** I am still in psychotherapy practice, and I frequently apply what I know about patients to my work as a biographer. It has involved separating psychological insights I have formed on current political leaders from their political ideas and their impact on politics.

**PHE:** Please list the five people who you think have made the greatest contribution to psychohistory in order of their contribution.

**RC:** I answer this not as a historian or psychohistorian but simply citing four books and an article I have especially enjoyed: Erikson, *Young Man Luther*; Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud* (1984), and Wolfenstein, *The Victims of Democracy*, are great books and I wrote this in my review of them in "Views of Psychohistory," (*Free Associations*, 14, 1989); I would now add George Victor, *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil* (1998), and Lee Shneidman, "Alienation in Marx" (**Clio's Psyche**, June 1994, pp. 4&5), to this list.

**PHE:** How do you see psychohistory developing in the next decade or two?

**RC:** Psychohistory will survive because psychoanalysis will survive. In my "History of Psychiatry" section in the *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*, I point out that while the influence of psychoanalysis on American psychiatry has declined because it is no longer used in formulating diagnoses and while there is intense controversy about its value and validity, Freud's place as one of the supreme makers of the 20th century alongside Darwin, Marx, and Einstein remains secure. Because of this continuing status, psychoanalysis will remain a source and inspiration for psychohistory.

**PHE:** What do we as psychohistorians need to do to strengthen our work and have more

influence?

**RC:** Many things. One is to write books that are both scholarly and talked about, and that become popular -- such as Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. In the reviews and letters to the editor in the *Times Literary Supplement* and the Sunday edition of *The New York Times*, there is a striking absence of references to psychohistory books. Despite being published by a well-known press -- New York University -- Mel Kalfus' biography, *Frederick Law Olmsted: The Passion of a Public Artist* (1991), was not reviewed in the *Times*, as were earlier Olmsted lives. To the best of my knowledge, Jay Gonen's brilliant book on Nazi psychology, *Roots of Nazi Psychology* (2000), has received little discussion outside of **Clio's Psyche**. But how many psychohistorians have achieved the fame of Erikson? Conversely, their work may be strengthened by accepting that they are fated to write for only a small audience. The limited readership for two superb books, Gonen's and Victor's *Hitler*, are examples.

Perhaps most important is the encouragement of small groups -- such as the Psychohistory Forum and its research groups -- where work is discussed and individual intellectual friendships are formed and continued outside of the group.

**PHE:** What is your primary affiliation?

**RC:** I have two identities: one as a psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapist and another as a Darwin scholar. This shows in my office where every day I see patients and do work on Darwin. On one side of this room there are books on Darwin and Victorian times and on the other side there are books on Freud and psychiatry.

**PHE:** Of which of your works are you most proud?

**RC:** *To Be an Invalid: The Illness of Charles Darwin* and "Charles Darwin's 'Insufferable Grief'" (*Free Associations*, 9, 1987, pp. 7-44). Both delineated important but neglected areas in Darwin's biography. "Darwin's 'Insufferable Grief'" recounted Darwin's grief over the death of his daughter Annie -- the most emotional event in his life. It was a pioneering work and has led to the recent, much more extended study of Darwin and his daughter, *Annie's Box (Darwin, His Daughter and Human Evolution)* is the title of the American edition) by Randal Keynes.

There are two other articles I'd like to mention. "'Confessing a Murder': Darwin's First Revelations about Transmutation" (*Isis*, 77, 1986, pp. 9-

32) is about Darwin's guilt over his having unpopular ideas. It showed how he persevered and began to form an identity of the "Devil's Chaplain." I am reminded of his 1856 remark in a letter, "What a book a Devil's Chaplain might write on the clumsy, wasteful, blundering, low & horribly cruel works of nature." Darwin's clerical training at Cambridge had a profound impact on him, and he rightfully feared the clergy's reaction to his theories. Then there's the history of the contacts between Darwin and Marx. This is interesting for demonstrating what the actual contacts were, how letters can be misleading, and what really took place in the discovery of the real nature of the contacts because one participant had written an account of the history, which omitted several of the participants for several reasons. ("The Myth of the Darwin-Marx Letter," *History of Political Economy*, 14:4, 1982, pp. 461-482)

**PHE:** For those of our readers who are not familiar with *To Be an Invalid*, what are its main points?

**RC:** When I first began to think about writing on Darwin in 1959, I noticed that the many biographies of him had little to say about the causes and nature of the illness that dominated his life. There was, for instance, no delineation of what his clinical symptoms were. After I decided to write on his illness, I spent many years researching unpublished Darwin documents. (It took me several years to learn to decipher his handwriting.) In *To Be an Invalid* I published the first comprehensive account of his illness. I showed that as a youth he suffered brief psychosomatic symptoms from transient mental stresses, and as an adult he suffered protracted psychosomatic illness mainly from working on his controversial theory of evolution. When his theory was accepted and he stopped working on it, his illness became better. While his physical symptoms were mainly flatulence, vomiting, and eczema, he also had a variety of other psychiatric symptoms -- obsessions, anxieties, and depressions -- and psychosomatic symptoms -- headaches, cardiac palpitations, trembling, and altered sensations. I also stressed that with the absence of current methods of diagnosis, much about the nature of his illness remains uncertain. My book filled a gap, and was very well received by other Darwin scholars.

Now I am working on a second edition of the book. It is really a new book that incorporates the great amount of new primary source information on Darwin -- published and unpublished -- that

has become available since 1977. In it I will delineate more fully the clinical nature of Darwin's symptoms and their causation. I will also raise the possibility of arrested Chagas' disease of the stomach, which can lead to all sorts of stomach disorders, making Darwin more sensitive to psychological stress. The result will be a more precise picture of Darwin's illness and a more intimate portrait of Darwin the man.

As an appendix to it, I am including Darwin's "Diary of Health" which was a unique daily diary that he kept from 1849-1855, in which he put down his symptoms, and for several years his main treatment of hydropathy (treating illness by external douching with cold water) and how it affected him. The "Diary of Health" is a unique medical and psychological document that has never been transcribed. [A photocopy of the original manuscript is shown.]

Together with the Darwin biographer Jim Moore, I hope to someday do an annotated edition of Darwin's autobiography. It would be along the lines of the annotated autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.

Now that I am in my 70s, I am interested in what it was like for Darwin in his latter years. I might want to publish something on them, based upon the approach of Daniel Levinson's *Seasons of a Man's Life* (1978). Levinson stopped at age 65 and his approach needs to be taken to the latter years.

I sense now that Darwin studies are burgeoning more than ever. His complete correspondence is being published and the second part of a two-volume biography is coming out soon. An important biography of Darwin the botanist is in the making -- it includes insight into some of the areas of his greatest creativity. When I correspond with other Darwin scholars and they ask me something, I really extend myself and do work for them (which is one reason why I have not written more for **Clio**). Of course, the idea of mutual work allows me to ask the same from them.

**PHE:** How do people in Darwin studies respond to psychohistory?

**RC:** Scholars in the "Darwin industry" I have known or corresponded with, fall into three groups regarding the use of psychological insights. Four scholars have used psychological insights in their work, endorse the concept of psychohistory, and have strongly supported my work. (I never had any contact with John Bowlby whose psycho-

biography of Darwin I have some disagreements with.) Two scholars were very interested in discussing Darwin's illness with me -- both obtained copies of my book on the illness but were not interested in psychobiography. Several scholars are adverse to any psychological explanation and want to remember Darwin for his ideas, not personality. All of these scholars have greatly aided me in different ways.

All this work makes me more aware of Darwin as a personality in this room [motioning to his Darwin books]. I like to know his manner, his attentiveness in talking to another person, the niceness and sweetness of his disposition, and the animated way he could sometimes talk about topics when his whole face would light up. In various ways I have found that my own behaviors carry some touches of Darwin. You tell me how my face often lights up in individual conversation. I write on the backs of old manuscripts the way he did and I annotate books in his manner, listing the annotations on the book's front page.

**PHE:** [returning the photocopy of the "Diary"] That "Diary of Health" manuscript is something! There are all these abbreviations, so you really have to be a Darwin scholar to know this.

**RC:** The main thing is the "FLT." It stands for *flatulence*, that's his main symptom.

**PHE:** How did he feel about flatulence? Did it trouble him greatly?

**RC:** Enormously. It bothered him in a number of ways. Sometimes the pain was so severe that it interrupted his work. He said that when he was writing *The Origin of Species*, because of the pressures of writing, he was never free from flatulence; he had it all the time. It was embarrassing because it would frequently lead to eructations, or belching, and that would be embarrassing if he was with somebody. It was very exhausting and he had this symptom for all of his life.

With the special training in surgery and psychiatry that I had, in understanding Darwin's symptoms I always have to bring myself back to Victorian times and understand that they were really so ignorant of disease. They didn't know about bacteria; it was just during Darwin's lifetime that chloroform anesthesia was invented; and the medical exam was next to nothing. A doctor listened to the patient, took a history, checked his pulse, maybe listened to his lungs -- and that was it. One major factor in Victorian times that we

don't have now was the depressive weight of religion. That caused Darwin to suffer feelings of guilt and he adapted to it in many ways. This point is not original with me -- the Darwin scholar Jim Moore has shown it. In his life at Down, in many ways he took on the identity of a "squarson" -- a squire and a country parson. He took on the duties of a clergyman because he understood them well, having trained to be a clergyman.

**PHE:** Can you give some examples of what duties he would exercise at Down? How many years was he there?

**RC:** He was at Down for his last 40 years, 1842-1882, most of his adult life. (He died at the age of 72.) He became friends with one of the clergymen there, who would ask his advice on various problems in the village. He contributed to the Down school, served as a magistrate viewing legal cases, and formed various clubs, such as the Down Friendly Club in which he advised people on how to look for medical treatment and how to save their money to assure themselves a decent burial. He contributed to any local charity. As he made more money from his books and his investments, he became a philanthropist like his father.

There were many philanthropies that Darwin supported. They are very interesting in what they show about Darwin the de facto clergyman. He gave to Christian missionary societies in Africa and Tierra del Fuego steadily, throughout his life. Darwin was a great believer in the civilizing effects of Christianity and the work of Christian missionaries. Also, he would always give sums of money to people he knew who were in financial difficulties when they wrote to them. He gave particularly to needy scientists. When a German scientist in Brazil suffered losses from a flood, Darwin gave him a large sum of money.

**PHE:** What is the importance of childhood to psychohistory?

**RC:** It is important but it is not always easy to locate the child in the adult. Darwin is an example. John Bowlby argued that Darwin's failure to mourn the death of his mother when he was eight influenced his later illness. I think this is questionable. After eight, Darwin was cared for by his loving sisters who were mother surrogates. I think a more evident impact on the adult is his early defiance. He wrote that before he entered a room with his sister Caroline, he said to himself, "What will she blame me for now?" and I made myself dogged so as not to care what she might

say." (*Autobiography*, p. 22) I think this early example of his being "dogged" and opposing a person's command to him is important.

**PHE:** I think you are right to emphasize this point. I think it was crucial to his being able to stay with his mission. *Dogged*, to me, implies not an open defiance but crouching down like a dog, a passive-aggressive type of defiance which seems to fit his character because he so wanted to please.

**RC:** His early disobedience partly accounts for his adult trait of defiance in support of unpopular ideas.

**PHE:** In teaching Darwin, I have always told my students that one of the keys to his drive to success, as well as to his conflict over success as a naturalist, was Charles' disproving his father's statement and prophecy: "You care for nothing but shooting, dogs, and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and all your family." (*Autobiography*, p. 28)

**RC:** I think that is very important. That was a momentary outburst of his father but the general attitude that the father and sisters had toward him was that he was "a very ordinary boy." One of Darwin's strongest characteristics was his perseverance. Behind that perseverance must have been a mixture of anger and defiance: the feeling that "I am *not* an ordinary boy." But behind that defiance was the feeling that deep down he was ordinary, that he was ugly, that he had bunions, and that he was looked on as stupid. "I will show them!" And he did in his own quiet way.

**PHE:** In listening to your descriptions of Darwin in relationship to his father, I keep coming back to the many similarities you have with him. For example, you also deviated from the career plans of your father, as Darwin did when he failed to be either a doctor or clergyman, when you left surgery for psychiatry and scholarship. Like Darwin you are a non-believer who is quite tolerant of the belief or non-belief of others. Like him, you prefer one to one conversations and relationships to group relations and discussions.

**RC:** Yes, you are right on all three counts. You know quite a bit about me through our friendship and the Psychohistory Forum sessions on the motivations and fathers of psychohistorians at which we both presented in the 1980s and 1990s.

**PHE:** Some Forum researchers have been struggling with the issue of identification with a particular parent and achievement.

### Back Issues Wanted

The Makers of Psychohistory Research and Publication Project of the Psychohistory Forum is searching for copies of the *Newsletter of the Group for the Use of Psychology in History (GUPH)* and some early issues of *The Psychohistory Review*. Please contact Paul H. Elovitz at (201) 891-7486 or <pelovitz@aol.com>.

**RC:** I got different things from each parent. While identifying with my mother's intellectualism, in deciding to rewrite *To Be an Invalid* I was influenced by my father's interest in physical symptoms and the very tough standards he set for his operations, which I believe I carry over to my standards in scholarly writing. For a man, the father is the main source of manly achievement.

**PHE:** In your experience, are high achievers more identified with their fathers?

**RC:** The dozen or so graduate students I have known who have achieved excellence in their careers *all* had high-achieving fathers. Many students with high-achieving fathers were inhibited by the scale of their father's success or, more frequently, had too many conflicts about their success. Students from economically poor and disadvantaged homes suffered from absence of fathers or from fathers who lacked achievements. Fathers who were unsuccessful but had fantasies of success were sometimes inspirations to their sons to succeed, especially in cases of a loving father.

**PHE:** What are some trends in graduate students' psychodynamics you have observed over the four decades of your career working with them?

**RC:** A watershed in my work with Columbia University graduate students was the student radicalism of the 1960s, which prompted students to lead a more autonomous campus life. Some students then sought to define themselves better by entering psychotherapy; other students turned away from therapy by entering groups of women, blacks, or gays; and some combined therapy with being in a group. In this trend of increased freedom, there were many psychological issues and different kinds of psychotherapy, including: 1) issues of identity involving problems of intimacy with another person and of career that often led to years of long-term psychotherapy (Erik Erikson was the one psychotherapist who was something of a hero to graduate students); 2) new techniques of short-term psychotherapy for some students; 3) using

new anti-psychotic drugs to successfully treat psychotics (some with hallucinations); 4) successfully treating cases of panic-disorder with new Prozac-type medicines; 5) learning to treat borderline patients with different modalities of psychotherapy and medications, and, when necessary, hospitalizing them for brief periods to prevent self-mutilation and suicide; and 6) treating foreign students which involved learning something of their culture.

My work at Columbia with graduate students leads me to want to publish on these marvelous, bright, aspiring, grad students at their stage of life. The main difficulty in continuing therapy with them is that they are impecunious.

**PHE:** You are such a reserved, private, scholarly man, who was raised in a generation when sex was not that talked about in "polite" society, that I am somewhat puzzled by your being a sex therapist.

**RC:** Training in sex therapy and helping others with their sexual issues allowed me to explore an area that I was not that comfortable with in my earlier life, mostly because I did not have a lot of close contact with teenage boys and young men who spoke freely about sexuality. My own analysis had freed me from many preconceptions and inhibitions.

**PHE:** What are your observations on women's sexuality issues over three decades?

**RC:** A convenient starting point for the many dramatic changes that have occurred are the two books of Masters and Johnson -- *Human Sexual Response* (1966) and *Human Sexual Dysfunction* (1971) -- which showed the great orgasmic potential of women (and discredited Freud's theory of clitoral and vaginal orgasms). It brought psychology into sexual dysfunctions (Masters and Johnson's "conjoint therapy" with both a female and a male therapist) showing that orgasmic dysfunctions can be treated. The advent of the birth control pill and the vibrator encouraged women to enjoy their sexuality. I was often impressed when women, who had never had an orgasm, had their first orgasm with a vibrator, and how this first orgasm increased in a lasting way their feelings of self-esteem. Some women, who cannot have orgasms, have still learned to enjoy having sex because of the feelings of intimacy with their partner that it gives them. Knowledge of sex has led to some women doing graduate work in aspects of sex in history. With all this advancement in sexu-

ality it is still necessary, when doing psychotherapy with women, to search out underlying, sometimes unconscious, reservations about sex, often from parental attitudes or religious precepts.

**PHE:** How do you explain the growth and psychology of fundamentalism?

**RC:** Fundamentalism is an attempt to deny anxieties and uncertainties by reaching for religious certainty. I saw several fundamentalists in my work at Columbia. They were suffering from some of the somatic manifestations of depression such as insomnia, anorexia, and constipation, and had difficulty in breathing. They refused any sort of personality examinations and only wanted medication. Most did well on the newer antidepressants. I also saw some ex-fundamentalists who had lost their faith and suffered from severe anxiety. They were helped by insight therapy -- uncovering childhood parental influences.

**PHE:** What are your thoughts on the psychology and psychodynamics of violence in our world?

**RC:** Of the many different areas where violence is present I have been especially interested in the Balkans -- the breakup of the former Yugoslavia -- and the chronic, endemic nature of the violence. More psychological studies on nationalism are needed. In Trotsky's *In Defense of Terrorism*, he argues that the ruling class does not want to leave so you have to force it to leave.

**PHE:** As we meet here in New York City two days after the terrible destruction of the World Trade Center, how do you understand the psychology of terrorism in our world?

**RC:** There are different forms of terrorism. Marxist ideologies of class war explain the Lenin-Trotsky "Red Terror" of 1918-1921 and the terror of Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot. There is the present-day Arab-Israeli terror with its complex causes including the expulsion of Arabs by Israelis and the occupation of their lands. (There is the tendency for Israel to become apartheid state.) There is the Muslim ideology of terror, America as the "Great Satan," which was just manifested in the terror we saw here earlier this week. As we learn about these suicide bombers, I see the suicide as secondary to the belief in the ideology. They are like soldiers who accept death as part of the job.

Behind Arab feelings towards the West and Israel is the deep wound of displacement. I have had many contacts with Arab graduate students and Western-educated Arabs who feel they have been

dislocated by Israel. Not one of them can accept Israel. You cannot give them the Western answer: that it is a tragedy like the struggles in Troy between Achilles and Hector. They will not accept that. It is *a wrong*. To them the creation of Israel is *a wrong that they must right*. They cannot accept it. The absence of Arab leaders willing to attempt compromise is distressing. It looks like unending war and terror for the near future.

**PHE:** I want to conclude with the comment that I think your selection of Charles Darwin as the subject for your medical and psychobiographical research was a wonderful choice for both you and for Darwin scholarship.

**RC:** Here I am in my old age and Darwin keeps me young.

*Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, the Editor of this publication, has worked closely with Dr. Colp since this Darwin scholar became one of the early members of the Psychohistory Forum nearly two decades ago. □*

## Bulletin Board

The next **Psychohistory Forum WORK-IN-PROGRESS SATURDAY SEMINAR** will be on **September 21, 2002**, when **Paul H. Elovitz** (Ramapo College), will present "**Psychoanalytic Approaches to the American Presidency.**" On **November 9, 2002**, **Mary Coleman** (Emeritus, Georgetown University School of Medicine) will present, "**Some Thoughts on Violence and War,**" a chapter from her forthcoming book on the origins of war. Forum members are reminded that our program consists of five or six seminars normally held in mid-September, early November, late January, early March, and once or twice in April. Specific

### Announcement & Call for Volunteers

**Robert Quackenbush, PhD**, counselor, teacher, and author/illustrator of numerous books for children, has accepted the invitation of the Branton-Peale Institute and Counseling Center, in Manhattan, to direct the **Liberty Avenue Program**. The program's purpose is to help young people to discover ways of coping and resolving emotional conflicts with the events of 9/11 through art, writing, music, and dance. Every Saturday, professionals in the arts will teach and help; also at hand will be a psychiatrist as well as therapists. In addition, training programs for adults who work with young people will be offered. Professionals in the arts and clinicians are invited to participate. Contact Robert Quackenbush, PhD, P.O. Box 20651, New York, NY 10021-0072, <Rqstudios@aol.com>.

dates, presenters, papers, and locations are announced by mail, e-mail, and sometimes this Bulletin Board. **CONFERENCES:** The deadline for the submission of paper proposals has been extended to September 15 for the October 25-27, 2002, **Association for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society (APCS)** conference on emotions at the University of Pennsylvania. Contact Prof. Charles Shepherdson at <cshepher@albany.edu>. The **Erikson Institute** of the Austin Riggs Center presents "Dancing With Death" on psychodynamic work with self-destructive and suicidal patients on October 5-6, 2002. **Montague Ullman** will be offering a Leadership Training Workshop in group dream work on October 4-6, 2002, in Ardsley, New York. For information call (914) 693-0156. **Herbert Barry, Paul Elovitz, Avner Falk, Aubrey Immelman, and Nancy Kobrin** were among the presenters at the **International Society for Political Psychology (ISPP) Berlin July 16-19, 2002**, conference. Presenters at the **International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) June 5-7, 2002**, conference at New York University included: **Sander Breiner, Lloyd deMause, Daniel Dervin, Paul Elovitz, Irene Javors, Anie Kalayjian, Nancy Kobrin, Henry Lawton, David Lotto, Denis O'Keefe, Robert Rousselle, Howard Stein, Charles Strozier, and Jacques Szaluta.** **NEWS OF MEMBERS:** Best wishes to **Vivian Rosenberg** on her retirement from Drexel University, and to **David Beisel** and **Sheila Jardine** on their new home. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and subscribers for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors **Herbert Barry, Andrew Brink, Ralph Colp, and Mary Lambert;** Patrons **Mary Coleman, Jay Gonen, Peter Petschauer, H. John Rogers, and Jacques Szaluta;** Supporting Members **Fred Alford, Rudolph Binion, Peter Loewenberg, David Lotto, and Jacqueline Paulson;** and Members **Sue Adrion, Mike Britton, Peggy McLaughlin, Ruth Meyer, Vivian Rosenberg, Connalee and Lee Shneidman, Richard Weiss, and Isaac Ziemann.** Our thanks for thought-provoking materials to **Fred Alford, Jorge Amaro, James Anderson, Robert Anderson, Joe Barnhart, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, Christopher Burris, Ralph Colp, Dereck Daschke, Dan Dervin, Matthew Evans, Kevin Gillespie, James Gollnick, Joanne Greer, Joseph Guido, Geoffrey Hutchinson, Carol Jeunnette, Nancy Kobrin, Anthony Massimini, Calvin Mercer, Michael Nielsen, Daniel O'Connell, Kathy Overturf, Thomas Plante, Ken Rasmussen, Norman Simms, and Neva Specht.** Our appreciation to **Monika Giacoppe, Michael Nielsen, and Peter Petschauer** for editorial advice and assistance, to **Vikki Walsh** for proofreading,

### Call for Papers

## Psychology of the Arab-Israeli Conflict & Terrorism in the Middle East

### Special Theme Issue

December 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- The Nature and Causes of Terrorism: Comparative Middle Eastern Examples
- Applying Psychodynamic Concepts to the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle
- Factual, Historical Survey of Israeli-Palestinian Relations
- Finding Chosen Traumas and Chosen Glories in Israeli and Palestinian Histories
- Identification and Ethnic Rituals in Large Groups
- Comparative Suffering and Victimization: Violence in the Name of Suffering
- Getting Beneath & Beyond Recrimination
- The Relationship Between Childrearing Practices and Political Behavior
- Women in Palestinian Society and the *Intifada*
- Unconscious Sadomasochistic Elements
- Mutual Self-destructive Behavior of Israelis and Palestinians
- Psychobiographical Studies of Arafat, Barak, Sharon, and Other Leaders
- The Changing Identity of Arab Israelis
- Leader-Follower Dynamics
- Fundamentalist Jews and Muslims
- Internecine Clashes -- Violence Against One's Own
- Cycles of Violence and Exhaustion, War and Peace, Conflict and Resolution
- Journeys to Peace: Crossing the Psychological Borders to Conflict Resolutions
- Implications of the Israeli-Palestinian Dispute for the U.S. War on Terrorism
- Changing Views of Israel and the Palestinians in Europe and America
- Anti-Zionism as Anti-Semitism? Case Studies
- Book Reviews, for example, of Sharon's *Warrior*

**500-1500 words, due October 1**

**Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor**

**<pelovitz@aol.com>**















**In Memoriam:  
Melvin Kalfus  
(1931-2002)**

**Paul H. Elovitz  
Ramapo College and the  
Psychohistory Forum**

Mel Kalfus, psychobiographer, psychohistorian, professor of history, institution builder, business executive, and Jewish intellectual, died on February 24, 2002, a week short of his 71st birthday, of congestive heart failure after a lifetime of struggling to maintain his health. He left behind a legacy of scholarship (published and unpublished) and courage.

Courage in the face of illness and death was a most outstanding characteristic of this talented scholar. Shortly after his birth in a Manhattan hospital he contracted whooping

*(Continued on page 49)*

**Letter to the Editor**

**Praise for Clio's Psyche**

"I like to think the [*Psychohistory*] *Review* has been reincarnated in **Clio's Psyche!**" Charles Strozier as quoted in "A Conversation with Charles B. Strozier on Heinz Kohut," (**Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 8 No. 2, September 2001, p. 90).

"Paul -- It's up to you now -- good luck with **Clio**. Larry" was a hand written note on the May 1, 1999, letter from Larry Shiner, Editor of *The Psychohistory Review*, advising that the *Review* was ceasing publication. (Published with permission)

**November 8, 2002, Psychohistory Forum  
Meeting on "Violence and War"**

### Comments on the March Special Issue on Terrorism and "Home"

*[Editor's Note: We do not normally keep track of comments on Clio's Psyche by readers. However, after the first half dozen e-mail or in-person remarks on our March issue, we kept a record of the next 10 which are listed below.]*

- "The recent issue of **Clio's Psyche** was indeed great, especially [the article on] mourning ... superb." -A distinguished eastern professor

### Call for Papers Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience Special Theme Issue September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Reconsidering Classic Thinkers Such as Freud and Weston LeBarre
- Religious Development in Childhood
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs (e.g., Robertson, Farrakhan, Koresh)

**500-1500 words, due June 15**

**Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor**

**<lentz@telusplanet.net>**

**Professor Charles Strozier** recently established a new **Center on Terrorism and Public Safety** at John Jay College, CUNY. The purpose of the Center is to study terrorism in ways that are familiar and appropriate for a university but also to search for concrete applications of that research to make the world a safer place. Professor Strozier's own particular area of research is a psychological study of the World Trade Center Disaster through interviews with witnesses and survivors; his special concern is with the apocalyptic meanings of the disaster. The Center on Terrorism, in other words, seeks to blend scholarship and commitment in the context of traumatic historical memory. Professor Strozier may be contacted at <chuckstrozier@juno.com>.

### Call for Papers Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience

#### Special Theme Issue, September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs

**500-1500 words, due June 15**

**Contact Bob Lentz, <lentz@telusplanet.net>**



## Book Review

**There are no negatives in the unconscious.**

### Melvin Kalfus (1931-Feb. 24, 2002)

Mel Kalfus died of heart failure after a long struggle to maintain his health. There will be an extensive obituary in the next issue of **Clio's Psyche**. We urge friends and colleagues to **send us their memories** of this valued colleague, friend, and member of the Psychohistory Forum's Advisory Council. We wish to express our condolences to his wife Alma and their children.

## "Home" Symposium

**CFP: Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience - Sept. 2002 - See page 225**

### Call for Nominations: Halpern Award

for the  
**Best Psychohistorical Idea**  
in a

**Book, Article, or Internet Site**

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

**Call for Papers: Children and Childhood -  
June 2002 - See page 224**

## Call for Papers September 11 and the Psychology of Terrorism Special Theme Issue March, 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Initial Emotions: Shock, Disbelief, Sadness, Anger, Hate, Humiliation, Victimization, and Frustration: Case Studies
- Fears, Fantasies, and Realities of Anthrax, Bio-Terrorism, and Nuclear Terrorism
- Group Feelings of Victimization and Entitlement in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Symbols: Blood (Shed and Donated) and Flags in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Altruism in the Face of Danger: The Psychology of Fireman and Other Relief Workers
- The Psychological Defense Mechanisms of Israelis and Others in Facing Terrorism
- Bush's Personalizing the Hydra-Headed Monster of Terrorism
- The Psychobiography of Osama bin Laden and Various Terrorists
- Islamic Fundamentalism: America as the Great Satan
- Why Many People Hate the U.S.
- Presidents Bush as War Leaders
- Psychohistorical Perspectives on Terrorism: Case Studies
- The Sense of Obligation to Avenge the Dead: Turning Anger into Vengeance
- Cycles of Terrorism, Retaliation, and Violence
- Denial and Disbelief in Facing Terrorism: Fortress America and "It Can't Happen Here"
- Why Intelligence and Security Were Negligent or Ignored
- Security, the Cloak of Secrecy, and the Open Society
- Effects on America's Children
- Nightmares, Dreams, and Daydreams of the Attack
- Mourning and Closure
- Survivorship and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

**500-1500 words, due January 15**  
**Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor**  
**<pelovitz@aol.com>**

### Forthcoming in Clio's Psyche

- Among the already submitted articles on "The Psychology of Terrorism, Tragedy, Group Mourning, Bio-Terrorism, and the War on Terrorism" are:
  - "Apocalypse Now"
  - "A Nation Mourns"
  - "Terror Victims"
  - "Enemy Images After 9-11"
  - "Pearl Harbor & World

### Call for Papers Children and Childhood Special Theme Issue June 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Changing Childhood
- What Is It Like to Grow Up in the Modern World?
- Growing Up With a Single Parent, With an Immigrant Parent, As a Refugee
- The Effects of Television or Video Games on Children
- Why American Students See High School as a Type of Prison
- Sonograms as a Prelude to Female Feticide (China, India, America, etc.)
- The Effects of Custody Disputes
- Children of Divorce
- Children in the Courts
- Children and Childhood Through the Ages
- Are Children Better or Worse Off in the Modern World?
- Cross-Cultural Childhood Comparisons

**500-1500 words, due April 15**

Contact Paul Elovitz, PhD, Editor

<pelovitz@aol.com>

### Book Review

Inform colleagues of our March, 2002,  
**Psychology of Terror Special Issue.**

### Call for Papers Children and Childhood in The 21st Century June, 2002

500-1500 words, due April 15

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor  
<pelovitz@aol.com>

**CFP: Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience - Sept. 2002 - See page 225**

**There are no negatives in the unconscious.**

**Wanted: In-depth Insight during Wartime**  
See call for papers on page 162.

### Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting Saturday, January 26, 2002

**Eli Sagan**

**"The Great Promise and Anxiety of Modernity"**

**Proposals** for Psychohistory Forum Work-in-Progress Seminars are welcomed. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>

Nominate a graduate student or psychoanalytic candidate for a **Young Scholar Award Membership & Subscription**. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>.

**Call for Papers**  
**Psychobiography**  
 Special Theme Issue  
 December, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Psychobiography-focused mini-interview with distinguished psychobiographers such as George, Mack, McAdams, Solomon, Strouse, and Tucker
- Symposium on Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience in researching, writing, and publishing psychobiography
- Developments in psychobiography in the last 15 years
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
  - pathology and creativity

**Call for Papers**  
**Psychobiography**  
 Special Theme Issue  
 December, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Symposium of the pros and cons of Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience with psychobiography
- Recent developments in the field
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
  - pathology and creativity
  - the use of empathy
  - evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
  - countertransference
  - assessing childhood's influence
  - interpreting dreams
  - assessing living individuals
  - alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays

**Call for Papers**  
**Children and Childhood in**  
**The 21st Century**  
 Special Theme Issue  
 March, 2002

500-1500 words, due January 15  
 Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor  
 <pelovitz@aol.com>

- the use of empathy
- evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
- countertransference
- assessing childhood's influence
- interpreting dreams
- assessing living individuals

- alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays of psychobiographies by others
- Woman's (or Feminist) psychobiography
- Your choice(s) for exemplary psychobiography(ies)
- Oral history as psychobiography
- Film and docudrama psychobiographies

**The Best of**  
**Clio's Psyche -**  
**1994-2001**

New for 2001.  
 This 132-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 2001, issue is now available for only \$25 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting**  
 Saturday, September 29, 2001  
 Britton, Felder, and Freund  
 "Freud, Architecture, and  
 Urban Planning"

**Call for Papers**  
**PsychoGeography**  
**Special Theme Issue**  
**March, 2001**

"PsychoGeography is the study of human projections upon geographic space and the psychic interaction between people and geography" (Elovitz). It investigates "how issues, experiences, and processes that result from growing up in a male or female body become symbolized and played out in the wider social and natural worlds" (Stein and Niederland).

Some possible approaches:

- The gender of geography (e.g., "motherlands" and "fatherlands")
- Psychogeography of rivers, islands, mountains, etc.
- Borders and borderland symbolism
- Cities, states, and countries as symbols of

**Call for Nominations**  
**Halpern Award**  
 for the  
**Best Psychohistorical Idea**  
 in a  
**Book, Article, or Internet Site**  
 Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

**Presidential Election 2000**

**Book Reviews**

**There are no negatives in the unconscious.**

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting**  
 Saturday, January 27, 2001  
 Jay Gonen, Mary Coleman, et al  
**"Role of Law in Society"**

**Invitation to Join**

Join the **Psychohistory Forum** as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

**Call for Papers**  
**Psychological Uses of Law**

**Special Theme Issue**  
**June, 2001**

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)

**Group Psychohistory Symposium**

- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock
- Insanity and the law

**Saturday, November**  
**Psychohistory Forum**  
**Psychoanalysts Co**  
**Creative Pro**

**Call for Papers**

**Psycho-**  
**biography**  
**of**  
**Ralph**  
**Nader**  
**Special**

**Theme**  
**March, 2001**

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics and childhood
- Nader's appeal to intellectuals and Inde-

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting**  
**Saturday, September 15, 2001**  
**Britton, Felder, and Freund**  
**"Freud, Architecture, and Urban Planning"**

**September 10, 2001**  
**Forum Meeting**  
**Confront the**  
**Process**

**Call for Papers**  
**Psychology and Law**  
**Special Theme Issue**  
**June, 2001**

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)
- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock
- Insanity and the law
- Dysfunctional family courts
- Legal rights of children
- The law and individual freedom
- Humor in the law and lawyer jokes

500-1500 words, due April 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting**  
**Saturday, March 31, 2001**  
**David Lotto**

**"Freud's Struggle With Misogyny: An Exploration of Homosexuality and Guilt in the Dream of Irma's Injection"**

**Call for Papers**  
**Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration**

**Special Theme Issue**  
**September, 2001**

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

**Call for Nominations**  
**Halpern Award**  
 for the  
**Best Psychohistorical Idea**  
 in a  
**Book, Article, or Internet Site**

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

### **Call for CORST Grant Applications**

The Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) of the American Psychoanalytic Association announces an American Psychoanalytic Foundation research training grant of \$10,000 for CORST candidates (full-time academic scholar-teachers) who have been accepted or are currently in training in an American Psychoanalytic Association Institute. The purpose of the grant is to help defray the costs of psychoanalytic training. Payments will be made over three years of training in installments of \$3500, \$3500, and \$3000 directly to the candidate.

The application is: a) A brief statement of 1000 words about the research proposed, b) A letter from a scholar in the field (e.g., department chair, colleague, or dissertation advisor) attesting to the validity and significance of the research, c) A letter of endorsement by the Education Director of the institute certifying the candidate is in, or has been accepted for, full clinical psychoanalytic training at an institute of the American Psychoanalytic Association, and d) An up-to-date Curriculum Vitae.

**Applications are to be submitted in three (3) copies by April 1, 2001, to Professor Paul Schwaber, 258 Bradley Street, New Haven, CT 06511.**

## The Psychology of

### Call for Papers The Psychology of Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration

Special Theme Issue  
September, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Emotion in the courtroom
- Jury psychology
- Children and women in prison
- Immigrants and the INS
- The crime of punishment
- Comparative international studies
- Case studies
- Crime and punishment on TV
- How cameras change the courtroom dynamics

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor  
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Next Psychohistory  
Forum Meeting  
Saturday, September  
15, 2001  
Britton, Felder, and

### The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page  
collection of many of the  
best and most popular  
articles from 1994 to the  
September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members

### Call for Papers

### Our Litigious Society

Special Theme Issue  
March, 2001

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics

### The Makers-of-Psychohistory Research Project

To write the history of psychohistory, the Forum is interviewing the founders of our field to create a record of their challenges and accomplishments. It welcomes participants who will help identify, interview, and publish accounts of the founding of psychohistory. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

See Calls for Papers  
on pages 164 & 165:  
PsychoGeography  
Psychobiography of Ralph Nader  
Psychological Uses of Law  
Crime and Punishment

### *The Best of Clio's Psyche*

This 93-page collection of many of the  
best and most popular articles from 1994 to the

Saturday, November 10, 2001  
Psychohistory Forum Meeting  
Psychoanalysts Confront the  
Creative Process

**Clio's Psyche of  
Psychohistory  
Call for Papers**

- Violence in Mass Mur-  
cide
- The Future  
the Third  
2000)
- Assessing  
Millennial-  
2000
- Psycho-
- Election  
biographies  
Gore,  
et al
- The Psy-  
tion and
- Legalizing  
Society
- Psychobiog-
- Manias and  
nomics and
- The Role of  
server in
- Psychohis-

**Volkan Honored**

In honor of the retirement of **Vamik Volkan** and the work of the Center he created, the University of Virginia Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) conducted a major conference entitled "Identity, Mourning and Psychopolitical Processes" on May 25-26. The featured presentations and discussions were on the human processes that lead to ethnic tension, conflict resolution, and the healing process. The speakers came from several disciplines -- psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, history, and anthropology -- and hail from the U.S and abroad. **Peter Loewenberg** of UCLA presented "The Psychodynamics of a Creative Institution: The Bauhaus, Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, 1919-1933" and **Howard Stein** of the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, "Mourning and Society: A Study in the History and Philosophy of Science."

Volkan, who will retire later this year after 38 years on the University of Virginia staff, is currently the director of the CSMHI and a former president of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP). Volkan founded CSMHI in 1987 as an interdisciplinary center to specialize in conflict resolution and peace work, primarily in Eastern Europe and subsequently the newly independent countries from the former Soviet Union. He has developed theories for caring for severely traumatized populations in the wake of ethnic tension. "At the Center, we study preventive medicine for ethnic issues. In that sense, the Center is very unique," Volkan said. "When large groups

are in conflict, people die, they become refugees, they lose homes and their loved ones, and so they have to mourn. Without mourning, they cannot adjust. Ethnic identity is related to mourning. When people do not mourn, their identity is different." The Center is on the forefront of studies in large-group dynamics and applies a growing theoretical and field-proven base of knowledge of issues such as ethnic tension, racism, national identity, terrorism, societal trauma, leader-follower relationships and other aspects of national and international conflict.

For further information on Dr. Volkan and the Center for the Study of Mind and Hu-

**the  
Forum**

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Psychohistory  
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**November, 2001**

**Psychohistory Forum Meeting**

In conjunction with the National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP)

**"Psychoanalysts Confront the Nature and Process of Creativity"**

announces an American  
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**Call for CORST  
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## Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism Around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000: Psychobiographies of Bradley, Bush, Gore, McCain, Buchanan, et al
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime
- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's Policeman
- Entertainment News

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting**  
**Michael Britton**  
**"Countertransference:  
Royal Road Into the Psychology  
of the Cold War"**

**Saturday, September 23, 2000**

**Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor**  
**See page 51**

- Television, Radio, and Media as Object Relations in a Lonely

### Call for Papers The Psychohistory of Conspiracy Theories

Special Theme Issue  
December, 2000

**Possible approaches:**

- Psychodynamics and childhood roots of conspiracy theories
- Case studies of conspiracy theories in American history
- Survey of the psychohistorical and psychological literature on conspiracy theories
- Film and television treatment of conspiracy theories

**Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor**  
**<boblentz@cliospsyche.com>**

**Clio's  
Psyche**  
Now on

### The Best of Clio's Psyche

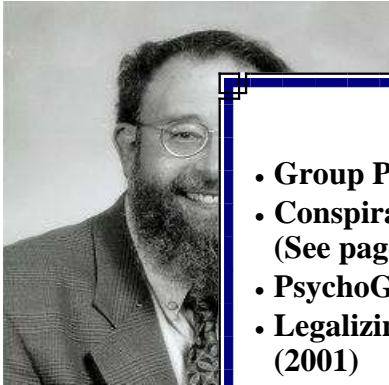
This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

Contact the Editor (see page three).



## Letter to the Editor



**Howard F.  
Stein**

(Editor's Note:  
We welcome  
scanned pic-

### Call for Papers

- Group Psychohistory (December, 2000)
- Conspiracy Theories (December, 2000)  
(See page 100)
- PsychoGeography (March, 2001)
- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society (2001)
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime (2001)
- Television as Object Relations

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor  
See page 51

### 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 51).

## Book Reviews

**Life: Our Litigious Society**  
Contact the Editor (see page 3)

## Letters to the Editor

## Nader, Political Nightmares, and Leaders' Morality Editorial Policies

Call for Papers on  
**The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime**  
Contact the Editor (see page 3)

Psychohistorians probe the "Why" of  
culture, current events, history, and  
society.

### Invitation to Join

Join the Psychohistory Forum as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

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• **Letters to the Editor**

## The History of Psychohistory

**Clio's Psyche's** interviews of outstanding psychohistorians (see "An American in Amsterdam: Arthur Mitzman," page 146) 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 welcome memoirs, letters, and manuscripts as well as volunteers to help with the interviewing. People interested in participating should write, call, or e-mail Paul H. Elovitz (see page 119).

## Awards and Honors

### Award

The Psychohistory Forum has granted a **Sidney Halpern Award** of \$300 to Bob Lentz, Founding Associate Editor of **Clio's Psyche**, for Outstanding Work in Psychohistorical Editing.

**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).

### Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999  
Charles Strozier

### THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

To write the history of psychohistory, the Forum is interviewing the founders of our field to create a record of their challenges and accomplishments. It welcomes participants who

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### Call for Papers Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- The Psychology of Legalizing Life [What is this???)
- Psychogeography
- Meeting the Millenium

### Call for Nominations

**Halpern Award**  
for the  
**Best Psychohistorical Idea**  
in a

**Book, Article, or Computer Site**

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, Editor -- see p.

### Free Subscription

For every paid library subscription (\$40), the person donating or arranging it will receive a year's subscription to **Clio's Psyche** free. Help

THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY  
RESEARCH PROJECT

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce

## The Young Psychohistorian 1998/99 Membership Awards

**John Fanton** recently received his medical degree and is doing his five year residency in Providence, Rhode Island. Currently, he is at the Children's Hospital, Women and Infants Hospital, and the Butler Psychiatric Hospital. His goal is to become a child maltreatment expert working in the area of Preventive Psychiatry. At the IPA in 1997 he won the Lorenz Award for his paper on improving parenting in Colorado.

**Albert Schmidt** is a doctoral candidate in modern European history at Brandeis University who plans to defend his dissertation in April when his advisor, Rudolph Binion, will return from Europe for the occasion. Rather than do a biography of SS General Reinhard Heydrich as originally intended, he is writing on the German protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under Heydrich's dominance. In the last four years this talented young scholar has been awarded nine fellowships, grants, or scholarships.

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☆☆☆

### Call for Nominations

#### Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical Idea in a Book, Article, or Computer Site

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

There are no negatives in the

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Contact the Editor (see page 51).

Letters to the Editor

### Call for Papers

#### Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- Our Litigious Society
- PsychoGeography
- Meeting the Millennium
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society

Contact the Editor at

### Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, October 2, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

Letters to the Editor on  
Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr

## Book Review Essay

### Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

## Call for Nominations for the

### Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1 please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no

## Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

### Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime

## Call for Nominations for the

### Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1, please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no more than three in each category) and send the information to the Editor (see page 3) for the August publication.

- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's

## Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

### Call for Papers

- Future of Psychohistory and Psychoanalysis in the Light of the Demise of the Psychohistory

## The Best of Clio's Psyche

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce the creation of The Best of Clio's Psyche.

This 94-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the current issue is available for \$20 a copy and to students using it in a course for \$12.

It will be distributed free to Members at the Supporting level and above as well as Two-Year Subscribers upon their next renewal.

## Call for Nominations

### Forthcoming in the June Issue

- Interview with a Distinguished Featured Psychohistorian
- "The Insane Author of the *Oxford English Dictionary*"
- "Jews in Europe After World War II"
- "A Psychohistorian's Mother and Her Legacy"

## Hayman Fellowships

The University of California Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Consortium announces two \$5,000 annual fellowships to aid psychoanalytically informed research on the literary, cultural, and humanistic expressions of genocide, racism, ethnocentrism, nationalism, inter-ethnic violence, and the Holocaust.

The

## The History of Psychohistory

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