Clio's Psyche

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

Visions and Definitions of Psychohistory

Lifetime Achievement Awards

Lawrence J. Friedman Festschrift

Psychoanalysis/Psychology of Music and Musicians: Part II

Reviewing Books by Benveniste, Hopkins/Kuchuck, Kohut, and Woods

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500-2,000 words and some up to 3,500 words that have deeper scholarship.

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Visions and Definitions of Psychohistory

Paul H. Elovitz—The Psychohistory Forum

Keywords: conscious, culture, history, interdisciplinary, politics, psychoanalysis, psychobiography, unconscious

Readers should think about and share on *Clio's* Google Listserv and with me their visions and definitions of psychohistory. Psychohistory is a rich field that extends from the Freud Circle in the first decade of the 20th century to the present. For over a quarter century I have been asking colleagues to provide their definitions of psychohistory. Henry Lawton called psychohistory "the interdisciplinary study of why man has acted as he has in history, prominently utilizing psychoanalytic principles" (*The Psychohistorian's Handbook*, 1988, p. 5). William "Bill" Gilmore described it as "the study of human personality, individual and collective, in the past" (*Psychohistorical Inquiry: A Comprehensive Research Bibliography*, 1984, p. xi). Peter Loewenberg, amidst his incisive discussions of its advantages, reports psychohistory to be "the most powerful of interpretative approaches in history because (1) it is the only model of research that includes in its method the countertransference phenomenon… and (2) it enriches the historical account of political, social, and cultural-intellectual events with a perception of latent or unconscious themes" (*Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach*, 1969/85, p. 3). Initially, I defined our field "as an amalgam of psychology, history, and related social sciences [that] examines the 'why' of history, especially the difference between stated intention and actual behavior" (*The Best of Clio's Psyche*, 1999, p. 4).

Since 1994, *Clio's Psyche* has put into print definitions of psychohistory by Rudolph Binion, Lloyd deMause, J. Donald Hughes, George Kren, Bruce Mazlish, Paul Roazen, Charles Strozier, Vamık Volkan, and dozens of other colleagues, especially in the over 60 Featured Scholar and Editor Interviews. Presently, I am thinking of visions of psychohistory, as well as of definitions. My vision is that psychohistory enriches humanity by providing an in-depth study of the conscious and unconscious motivations of individuals and groups. While I focus on those who contribute or contributed to various fields of knowledge and human endeavors, my underlying concern has always been the greater understanding of all humanity. My interest is not simply to research and under-

stand the greatest contributors to the growth of civilization but to also probe the toxic forces within our cultures, politics, and psyche. While I prefer to investigate the most creative and innovative within humankind, I also probe regressive behavior and the lives of genocidal leaders. My vision is to explore childhood, creativity, psychobiography, dreams, group dynamics and fantasies, intergenerational transmission of trauma and resilience, mechanisms of psychic defense, parapraxis, and the overcoming of trauma.

What I would like most is for the readers to send me their visions and definitions of psychohistory. While all of the distinguished colleagues mentioned above have published scholarly books and articles in the field, it would be good to get your visions of psychohistory even if you have just discovered our field. Colleagues come to psychohistory from many different perspectives and few have had backgrounds in both psychoanalysis and history. They often come from academic psychology, clinical work, independent scholarship, and journalism. Diverse backgrounds make for varied viewpoints and insights. My approach is but one of many and is reflected in my definition below.

Paul Elovitz' 2023 Definition of Psychohistory

Psychohistory probes the unconscious and conscious motives of individuals and groups in history and society. Among other things, it is: One, an approach to knowledge based on individual and societal history, reliant on the approaches and methodologies of the historian and the psychoanalyst. Two, a mode of perceiving human interactions, data, events, and behaviors, which started with psychoanalysis and history and then extended to all the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Three, an offshoot of the psychoanalytic theory of individual motivation, human culture, history, and nature that changes the consciousness and perceptions of the practitioner, as well as their view of history and society. Four, like psychoanalysis, a unique way of understanding one's self and others through the intensive exploration of childhood history, the study of family dynamics and family systems, parapraxis, personal dreams, projections (and other mechanisms of defense), transference, and countertransference. Five, a humane worldview based on empathy, human individuality, the Age of Enlightenment's belief in reason, a commitment to freedom, and individual privacy, choice, as well as responsibilities toward other individuals. Six, a psychoanalytic approach to the collective or mass psychology that helps historians to conceptualize the relationship between leader and led as well as the

bonds that make group processes so powerful and often regressive and violent. Seven, a manner of thinking and methodology based on observations, the discovery of patterns, the making of interpretations, and to a limited extent, the making of predictions based on observed patterns, unconsciously determined patterns and meanings, including research into the irrational and unreason as factors in human and historical motivations. (Humans do not always act or make choices that are rational, self-interested, healthy, or that promote their welfare and the welfare of the community or government or a particular constituency.) Psychohistorians recognize the critical importance and motive force of fantasy and imagination. Eight, optimally an experiential methodology using what is learned as a result of the change in consciousness based on the unique long-term encounter between an analyst and the analysand, leading the analyzed historian/scholar to view source materials, particularly primary documents, letters, diaries, autobiographical writings, and intimate records with an attunement to latencies and emotional echoes in the writing. Nine, a gateway to connecting the heart and the head in the search for insight, thus helping to heal the Cartesian split between emotion and cognition that has plagued Western civilization since Descartes' "I think, therefore I am" approach to knowledge. Lastly, ten, initially interdisciplinary compatibility between psychoanalysis and history, psychohistory became transdisciplinary, drawing on many fields such as anthropology, literature, political science, psychotherapy generally, psychiatry, and social work. It finally became a discipline with its own publications, professional organizations, history, and extensive literature that has been taught at colleges and universities since at least the 1970s. (There is an impressively large political psychology, psychobiographical, and general psychohistorical literature that dates back to Freud's study of Leonardo da Vinci and the Freud Circle.)

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Lawrence J. Friedman Festschrift

Essays in Honor of Lawrence J. Friedman

Mark I. West—University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Keywords: Erich Fromm, Erik H. Erikson, history, Karl Menninger, Lawrence J. Friedman, Menninger Foundation, psychoanalytic-theory

I met Lawrence Jacob Friedman in 1980 when I entered the American Culture PhD Program at Bowling Green State University where he then taught as a professor in the History Department. Given the interdisciplinary nature of this program, I completed coursework in both English and History, although my focus was always on the history and culture of American childhood. I took several seminars from Larry, including one on Robert Coles' *Children of Crisis* (1968). Larry directed my dissertation, which evolved into my first book, *Children, Culture and Controversy* (1988). I dedicated this book to Larry. Although I pursued a career as an English professor, I have continuously followed Larry's career as a historian.

The Making of a Historian

Larry was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1940. Both of his parents were Jewish and members of the Communist Party, so he grew up in a politically active family. Even as a teenager, Larry disliked the dogmatism of the Communist Party, but he shared his parents' abhorrence of Joseph McCarthy and his ilk. Larry's parents admired the writings of the Jewish humorist Harry Golden, and they owned a copy of his *Only in America* (1958). Larry read this book and was influenced by Golden's support of the civil rights movement. His parents also had *The Family of Man*, which is based on a photographic exhibition that opened in 1955, sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art. Larry was moved by the photographs in this book, and he still counts it among his favorites. His family moved to California when Larry was a child, but he often spent his summers in Cleveland with his grandfather. Larry and his grandfather went to baseball games together, and this experience contributed to Larry's lifelong passion for baseball.

Larry's formal education had a rocky start. As a boy, he did not initially like school, but he had a teacher who introduced him to Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Larry's positive response to this novel helped him become more engaged in

his studies. When he entered the University of California, Riverside, his goal was to become a lawyer, but he ended up focusing on American history. He went to graduate school to study history at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he earned both his MA (1965) and PhD (1967). Among his most memorable experiences as a student were the days he spent as a young Freedom Rider in the American South during the early days of the civil rights movement. These experiences left an indelible mark, causing him to ponder the reasons behind racism.

Scholarship

Larry's first book, *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (1970), came out while he was an assistant professor of history at Arizona State University. In *The White Savage*, he delves into the psychological motivations of White Southerners who were invested in suppressing African Americans in the initial decades after the Civil War. Although Larry does not make many specific references to psychoanalytic theorists, he draws on psychoanalytic concepts, such as projection. As he thoroughly documents in the book, some White Southerners projected their own aggressive and libidinal impulses onto African Americans, and this response influenced their racist attitudes toward African Americans.

Larry joined the faculty of the History Department at Bowling Green State University in 1971 as an associate professor. In 1975, he published his second book, *Inventors of the Promised Land*. This book delves into the origins of the "patriotic crusade" following the end of the American Revolutionary War. Although this book is a work of intellectual history, Larry explores the psychological motivations of the people who led this patriotic crusade. In fact, this approach is reflected in the title of the book's first section: "Outward Hope and Inner Torment: The Dilemmas of the Patriotic Crusader." Not long after the publication of this book, Larry was promoted to the position of Full Professor of History and American Studies.

Larry's interest in combining history and psychology is also reflected in *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870*, which Cambridge University Press published in 1982. He was completing this book when I first met him, so I heard him talk about it on several occasions before it actually saw print. When Larry discussed this book, he often mentioned that he drew on theories related to social psychology, the psycholo-

gy of self, and group psychology when writing it. I specifically remember him mentioning Heinz Kohut's *The Analysis of the Self* (1971) during one of these discussions. In this book, Larry shows that for some abolitionists, their sense of self was tied to their interactions as members of the abolitionist community. He shows, for example, how the dynamics of social psychology played a role in the willingness of some abolitionists to advocate violence as a tool to end slavery.

Around the same period that Larry was completing *Gregarious Saints*, he developed a more focused interest in psychological theorists, which led him to study psychoanalytic theory at the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kansas. In August 1981, he took a sabbatical leave and signed up for the Menninger Interdisciplinary Studies Program. While he was there, he met Karl Menninger, and they often engaged in long conversations about history, literature, and the evolution of the Menninger Foundation. Larry ended up co-dedicating *Gregarious Saints* to Karl Menninger. Larry's experiences at the Menninger Foundation and his relationship with Karl resulted in a significant shift in Larry's career as a historian. Up until this point, he focused most of his scholarship on 19th century American history, but he decided to focus his next book on the history of the Menninger Foundation.

This decision rippled through to me. At this point, I was completing my dissertation under Larry's direction, and I was looking for full-time employment. The archivist position at the Menninger Foundation was vacant at the time, and Larry suggested that I apply for it. I did, and I got the position. From 1983 until June of 1984, I served as the Menninger Foundation's official archivist; in this capacity, I helped Larry while he was conducting some of the archival research for his book *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic*, which Knopf published in 1990. Even though I had already taken courses from Larry and had read some of his scholarship, this was the first time that I saw his research process up close. I remember being very impressed with his thoroughness. When Larry was critiquing the chapters of my dissertation, he often asked: "Where's your evidence?" Watching him do the research for his Menninger book, I came to understand how much he values evidence-based claims. He read thousands of letters written by Karl Menninger and other people associated with the place, and he examined the records from meetings going back to the very beginnings of the Menninger Clinic. If he could not find a letter or a

document, he sent me on a mission to locate it. In the end, he spent years collecting and analyzing evidence.

In researching and writing *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic*, Larry moved in a new direction in terms of combining history and psychology. Instead of using psychological concepts and theories to help explain the behavior of people from the past, he decided to use his skills and insights as a historian to shed light on the evolution of a psychiatric hospital and the family behind it. During this process, he showed how psychological concepts and theories are shaped in part by historical events. One of my favorite examples is the chapter titled "Karl Menninger and the Émigrés." In this chapter, Larry discusses the relationship between Menninger and a group of mostly Jewish psychoanalysts who were fleeing Europe as a result of the rise of Nazism. Menninger recruited a number of these European émigrés and offered them positions in Topeka. These émigrés brought with them psychoanalytic concepts that were not yet widely accepted in America. As Larry documents, this page from the history of the Menninger Foundation helps explain why Topeka became a center for the promulgation of psychoanalytic theories in America. The publication of *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* served as a turning point in Larry's career. Most of his earlier publications focused on American history during the 19th century, but with *Menninger*, he turned his attention to the 20th century. The success of this book also played a role in Larry being named a Distinguished University Professor in 1991.

Larry's ongoing interest in the relationship between European and American psychoanalytic communities led him to Erik H. Erikson, the topic of his next book project. His work on this coincided with his move to the History Department at Indiana University where he taught from 1993 until 2009. Taking the same thorough research approach that he did with *Menninger*, Larry spent ten years traveling between Europe and America investigating how Erikson made the transition from being a young psychoanalyst from Vienna named Erik Homburger to becoming Erik Erikson, America's preeminent psychoanalytic theorist and writer. The result of this research is *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson*, which Harvard University Press published in 1999.

Given my interest in the history and culture of childhood, I particularly like Larry's two chapters that deal with the writing and impact of Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. Larry was the one who first introduced me to *Childhood and Society* when I was a graduate

student, and I have shared this book with many of my graduate students over the course of my career. Larry explains how this book grew out of Erikson's experiences in Boston and New Haven during the late 1930s. He shows the connections between Erikson's efforts to establish a new identity as an American and his thoughts about identity formation. In other words, Larry explains how the formulation of a psychological concept of identity formation is rooted in historical events. But he does not stop there; he goes on to discuss how the concept of identity formation took root in American psychological circles.

Toward the end of *Identity's Architect*, Larry discusses Erikson's role as a public intellectual during the 1960s. As Larry points out, Erikson regularly spoke out during this period on pressing political issues, such as the Vietnam War. Erikson drew on his background in psychology in his work as a public intellectual, and this intrigued Larry. Larry's interest in how psychoanalysts and psychologists sometimes function as public intellectuals is reflected in his most recent book, *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet*, which Columbia University Press published in 2013. In many ways, *Identity's Architect* and *The Lives of Erich Fromm* are sister volumes. Both are biographies of prominent psychoanalysts who grew up in Europe and then moved to America as young men. In both of these biographies, Larry delves into the social forces that shaped these men and discusses the lasting impact of their writings. However, in *The Lives of Erich Fromm*, Larry shows how Fromm embraced the role of a public intellectual.

Larry's biography of Fromm includes several chapters that deal with Fromm's interest in political issues. As Larry points out, Fromm set out to shape political discourse by writing overtly political works such as *Escape from Freedom* (1941) and *The Sane Society* (1955). Larry also demonstrates that Fromm drew on his psychological insights when advising political leaders, such as President John F. Kennedy. In writing *The Lives of Erich Fromm*, Larry shows yet another way in which history and psychology can speak to each other. Through his scholarship on Fromm, Larry provides an intriguing example of how psychoanalysts and psychologists can shape the course of history through direct involvement in the political sphere.

Conference on Public Intellectuals

Shortly after retiring from Indiana University in 2009, Larry moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts. He began teaching in Har-

vard's Interdisciplinary Mind, Brain, and Behavior program as well as serving as a visiting scholar in Harvard's History of Science Department. In April 2009, Harvard's Department of the History of Science sponsored an event titled "Ideas, History, and Political Action: A Conference in Honor of Lawrence J. Friedman." As expressed in the official program, "This conference brings together Larry's many former students, friends, fellow political activists, and colleagues in a celebration of his career." I attended and presented a paper titled "Theodore Roosevelt as a Reader and Promoter of Children's Literature." This conference was a tremendous success. Afterward, Larry and several of the participants decided to make the conference an annual event, and so the Conference on Public Intellectuals was born. Larry served as the director of the conference, but he needed some help with the conference logistics. I ended up playing this role. These conferences met annually through 2017.

During the Public Intellectuals conferences, Larry often spoke about his new research project on the One World Movement. I always enjoyed hearing Larry's presentations and talking with him afterward about his research on the various people associated with the One World Movement, including Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, and E. B. White. I know that Larry wants so badly to finish his One World book, and I know that our fractured world would be a better place if we all had access to Larry's insights into the dangers of hyper-nationalism. Those of us who were lucky enough to have heard Larry talk about this project are already wiser for it.

Conclusion

Over the course of his career, Larry has made lasting contributions to American history, psychobiography, and psychohistory, but there is more to his career than his long string of impressive publications. As one of his former students, I know that Larry is also an excellent teacher. He asks his students hard questions, encourages them to transcend disciplinary boundaries, and insists that they engage in primary research. As one of his collaborators at the Conference on Public Intellectuals, I know that Larry has a deep commitment to civic engagement and political action. He is a first-rate scholar, but he is also an activist. Larry is now in his 80s, but he still holds to the values that led him to be a Freedom Rider when he was a young man in the 1960s. As one of Larry's friends, I know that Larry has made my life richer, but I am not alone. Hav-

ing read the contributions to this Festschrift, I am pleased to learn that Larry has made a positive difference in the lives of many people.

Mark I. West, PhD, is Professor of English, as well as the recent Chair of the Department of English at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, where he has taught since 1984. In addition to performing administrative duties, he regularly teaches courses on children's and young adult literature. He has written or edited 19 books, the most recent of which is *Theodore Roosevelt and His Library at Sagamore Hill* (2022). Before entering academia, he worked as an early childhood educator and professional puppeteer. His email address is miwest@uncc.edu. ❑

[Editors' Note: We wish to express our profound appreciation to Professor West, the Bonnie E. Cone Professor in Civic Engagement and Professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte for his diligent solicitation of the majority of the Festschrift submissions. This is one in a long list of contributions he's made to further the work of our honoree.]

Lawrence Jacob Friedman Timeline

Mark I. West—University of North Carolina at Charlotte

The following chronology covers key events in Lawrence J. Friedman's life and career. The names within parentheses are contributors to the Friedman Festschrift who write about these particular events in their essays/tributes.

1940—Lawrence J. Friedman born October 8th in Cleveland, Ohio
1962—Receives BA from University of California, Riverside
1965—Receives MA from University of California, Los Angeles
1967—Receives PhD in American History from University of California, Los Angeles
1968—Joins the faculty at Arizona State University as Assistant Professor of History
1970—Publishes *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (Stephen Whitfield)
1971—Joins the faculty at Bowling Green State University as Associate Professor of History (Scott G. Eberle)
1975—Publishes *Inventors of the Promised Land*
1977—Promoted to Full Professor of History and American Studies

at Bowling Green State University
1982—Publishes *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870*
1990—Publishes *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* (James L. Kelley)
1991—Named Distinguished University Professor at Bowling Green State University
1993—Joins faculty at Indiana University as Professor of History and Philanthropy
1999—Publishes *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik Erikson* (Jim Clark, Joyce M. Rosenberg)
2003—Co-edits *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* with Mark D. McGarvie (Dwight F. Burlingame)
2006—Retires from Indiana University's History Department
2009—Joins Harvard University's Mind, Brain, Behavior Initiative
2009—Founds Conference on Public Intellectuals (Cassandra Atherton, Michael Brown, Ronald E. Doel, Paul H. Elovitz, Pilar Damião de Medeiros)
2013—Publishes *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet* (Odile Heynders, David Lotto)
2014—Begins research project on the One World Movement (Joseph Boskin, Robin Alfriend Kello, Peter Kuznick)

The Generosity of Lawrence J. Friedman

Stephen Whitfield—Brandeis University

Keywords: American-politics, conferences, Erikson, Fromm, history, Menninger, primary-sources, The White Savage

Generosity marks the academic career of Lawrence J. Friedman. When I first met him, probably in 1971, I was doing research at the Library of Congress for my doctoral dissertation. Richard King, whom I had met seven years earlier in graduate school at Yale, introduced us. Born in 1940, Larry is two years older than I am, and his career was already advancing toward Parnassus. *The White Savage* (1970), which I sometimes kidded him was his best book, appeared when he was only 30. At that meeting in Washington, DC, Larry astonished me by offering help that I, a mere graduate student, had not solicited. Whether it was for inside dope on the already bleak job market or to find relevant sources for a biography that I was writing about the radical economist Scott Nearing, I can

no longer recall. (Please cut me some slack: I have known the honoree of this festschrift for over half a century, longer than any other contributor.)

I soon realized that Larry's gesture of assistance back in 1971 was entirely natural to him. I also feel obliged to report that, although I did read and criticize the manuscript versions of several of Larry's books, I have never really adequately reciprocated. In 2014, Larry did ask Richard and me to join him in Indianapolis, where the Society for U.S. Intellectual History was deliberating, to celebrate his birthday. We accepted and had a great time together—even as troublesome signs of the aging process were already kicking in for us. A year later, Richard repaid Larry for a lifetime of friendship by dedicating *Arendt and America* (2015) to him (and me).

Larry's assistance to others cannot be fully tabulated, but here are some instances. He has characteristically gone out of his way to help younger scholars conceptualize their projects, to criticize with candor their claims and arguments, and to propose further research opportunities. For example, he helped my wife reinforce her thesis about French public opinion during the Algerian War when she was writing her dissertation at Brandeis University. I watched with admiration as he helped two promising young Japanese students, whom we met in Kyoto, with the intricacies of the thought of Erik H. Erikson. Through an encounter in Bloomington, Larry had met the Korean-born host of a conference that was intended to focus on intellectual and cultural history. (If you've ever experienced the equivalent of listening to a simultaneous translation from Japanese to English of a critical explanation of the impenetrable thought of Jacques Derrida, you have some sense of the challenges to comprehension.) Larry's invitation to join him in Kyoto was a special thrill—not least because of the chance to stare at the exquisite, sublime temples in that city. He proved to be a boon traveling companion.

Larry's impact on the profession has registered so powerfully because he showed by example how history can be authoritatively and gracefully written. He loved working with primary sources and managed to convey that passion for the archives to many others. His interests shifted from the 19th century (*The White Savage*, *Inventors of the Promised Land*, and *Gregarious Saints*) to the 20th century (biographies of the Menninger family, Erikson, and Erich Fromm). That alteration of direction enabled Larry to focus quite

directly on the role of public intellectuals. His new curiosity inaugurated a series of conferences, first in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then elsewhere, from Charlotte, North Carolina, to Lisbon, Portugal. These conferences, which were serious yet informal, illuminating, and also sociable, testified to the debts that so many historians and biographers owe to him. (The lineup of participants included the likes of Pulitzer Prize winner Martin J. Sherwin, two-time Pulitzer Prize finalist Jill Lepore, and Berkeley intellectual historian Martin Jay.) The first of those conferences, held at Harvard, explicitly paid tribute to Larry, in gratitude. Nor is it entirely a coincidence that in 2003 he co-edited a volume on the American style of philanthropy, which Cambridge University Press published. Generosity has thus been not only a feature of his character but could also be converted into an object of historical scrutiny.

Why did I regard *The White Savage* as Larry's best book? Partly to tease my amiable and abiding friend, to amuse him, to nudge him toward regarding the possibility that his career has demonstrated a downward trajectory. Of course, we both know how much—in scale, depth, and influence—the later volumes reflected his development as a scholar of American politics and ideas. But because *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* (1990), *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson* (1999), and *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet* (2013) are biographies, their conceptual force is bound to be generically limited. The fresh information that they provide is invaluable. They are sympathetic and judicious. With the probable exception of *Menninger*, they are close to definitive, in the sense that no one else needs to tackle these particular subjects again, at least not with Larry's ambition. These biographies are so well written that, as I remarked in *Reviews in American History*, he made "Erikson's story almost as compulsively readable as a ransom note" (Whitfield, March 2000, p. 135).

But although these last three volumes are richly inflected with knowledge of the interior lives of Larry's subjects, the books do not in themselves contribute to psychic understanding in a way that *The White Savage* does. It scarily explores the subterranean undercurrents of racial fear and fantasy that made the postbellum South distinctive, the site of sociopathic violence. The instincts that were unleashed at the end of the 19th century have not been entirely and conclusively tamed in our own 21st century. By disputing the most influential book of the most influential historian of the

segregationist regime, namely C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955, 1957, 1966), Larry inserted himself into a major historiographical debate, which none of his later books sought to do. In making something akin to the collective psyche open to retrospective consideration, he lent pertinence to his chosen field of history, and I am therefore not alone in the pride that I take in being his friend.

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When Teddy Roosevelt met Booker T. Washington: Thoughts on Strenuous Lives and Work that Counts

Scott G. Eberle—*Psychology Today*

Keywords: cutting-edge-topics, football, history, interdisciplinary, Larry Friedman, play, psychohistory, racial-justice, Up from Slavery

A half-century ago, in a seminar exploring a new approach, "psychohistory," Professor Friedman (long before he was "Larry" to me) assigned Erik Erikson's 1950 study *Childhood in Society*. He posed a mischievously simple question to the students that, in time, became pivotal for me. Daringly then among serious academics, but standard now, he asked us, "Why is play *therapy*?" The question exemplified his abiding, ramifying curiosity and delivered one lesson that stuck: History is so big and humans are so complicated that dedicated historians cannot (*should* not) be content staying within the narrow confines of their chosen subjects.

So, in cutting-edge courses then grouped under the rubric "social and intellectual history," Professor Friedman also led us in-

to American political mythology, women's history, labor history, the rise of the middle class, medical history and the history of psychiatry, the history of human degradation and racism, literary history, the history of sports, environmental history, and a dozen other characteristically leading-edge topics. Look closely enough and deeply enough, Friedman insisted, and history will always surprise you with unexpected and revealing connections that yield contemporary insight. It was the ambitious historian's duty to do work that counts.

Three decades later, I found myself editor of the interdisciplinary *American Journal of Play*, charged with gathering the latest thinking from developmental psychologists, psychiatrists, evolutionary biologists, physicians, ethnologists, historians, linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, educationalists, mathematicians, and a philosopher or two—an eclectic assembly of relevant disciplines that investigate play. Personally, I continue to think and write in the broad neighborhood of nature and nurture in the history and import of play that I still chalk up to Friedman's enduring provocations.

Such was the case recently when I again picked up Booker T. Washington's compelling but problematic 1901 autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, a memoir I'd first encountered in one of Larry's courses on Black history. There I discovered (rediscovered?) something: Booker T. Washington (1901)—an educator, celebrated author, sought-after lecturer, "race leader," friend to two presidents, and colleague of wealthy and influential philanthropists—described the circumstances of a "miserable, desolate, and discouraging" childhood (p. 1). Growing up with only his first name, Booker, and uncertain even of the date of his birth, Washington (1901) shared a pallet with his brother and sister, a "bundle of filthy rags," piled on the dirt floor of a tiny cabin (p. 5). Ill-clothed, poorly fed, overworked, and sleep-deprived like most other enslaved children, his early years were also, as far as he could recall, playless.

Much later, Washington became a hero to millions. Devotees called him the "Negro Moses" for his lifelong mission to bring the advantages of education and technical training to 10 million freed slaves and their children. When a curious admirer asked him about the "sports and pastimes" of his boyhood, however, he could spare only a couple of sentences in answer: "Until that question was asked," Washington (1901) wrote, "it had never occurred to me that

there was no period of my life that was devoted to play" (p. 5). Play is nearly universal in the lives of children today. Not so for children in bondage. "From the time that I can remember anything," Washington (1901) recalled, "almost every day of my life has been occupied in some kind of labour" (p. 5).

Occupied dawn to dusk with farmyard chores, the five-year-old Washington especially dreaded the weekly trip to deliver a large sack of grain to a mill about three miles distant. The bag of corn would be balanced precariously on the back of a horse, and young Booker would be perched on top and sent on his way. Predictably, the sack would fall and take him to the ground with it. "As I was not strong enough to reload the corn upon the horse," Washington (1901) recalled, "I would have to wait, sometimes for many hours, till a chance passer-by came along who would help me out of my trouble" (p. 6). Terrified by tales of vengeful Confederate deserters who would emerge from the woods to cut the ears off Black children, he usually spent that interval crying. After a tardy return, he would "get a severe scolding or a flogging" (Washington, 1901, p. 6).

Sadly, young Booker's experience of a playless childhood was not rare in human history. Because for most of the last 10,000 years, a majority of rural societies (that is to say, most societies that were not hunter-gatherers) operated at near subsistence level, hard work for all family members was the rule. For much of our settled past, most children were put to work as early as four or five years of age. (Progress against child labor moved slowly. The employment of children younger than 16 in arduous tasks like mining and manufacturing wasn't legally prohibited in the United States until 1938.) Accordingly, the separate category of a carefree, playful childhood that we think of almost as a birthright now did not fully emerge until the 19th century. Even then, it was the province mostly of a growing urban middle class.

When emancipation came in 1865, the burden of young Booker's labors did not lift. Freedom did not equal ease. His stepfather loaned him out to sweltering work at West Virginia's saltwork furnaces where brine was evaporated to crystalize salt. He soon after worked at even more arduous duties digging coal in the mines that fed the steam evaporators.

Washington—as he named himself—worked equally as hard at the task of self-education. In the antebellum South, teach-

ing slaves to read had been a criminal offense. So, after the Civil War, education for Black children was vanishingly scarce. But in late nights and early mornings, Washington stole time from sleep and rest to teach himself the alphabet from Noah Webster's original book on grammar, the *Blue Black Speller*. Keen to escape the "degrading influences" of saltworks and coal mines once free but nearly destitute, he set out on a journey (mostly on foot) to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute where he was eventually accepted as a student.

From General Samuel C. Armstrong, the Institute's founder, the son of Presbyterian missionaries in Hawaii and later a Freedman's Bureau official, Washington absorbed the missionary spirit and undertook his lifelong mission to uplift former slaves and their families. He would go on to found and direct the Tuskegee Institute where he celebrated self-sufficiency and self-improvement as well as trained teachers for the "industrial education" of Black students. This was work that counted.

Washington's trials had made him a realist in the Jim Crow South. So too, the terrorist racial violence and subjugation of Blacks during the White supremacist era cautioned him to accommodate racial segregation. At a famous speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, he famously conceded "in all things purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (Washington, 1895, p. 4).

Booker Washington's concession to the forces of repression alienated contemporary Northern Black public intellectuals, most prominently the crusader for racial justice, W. E. B. DuBois. These inheritors of the abolitionist tradition instead focused on regaining the rights tragically abandoned in the Compromise of 1877. To them, accommodation felt like betrayal and acquiescence seemed like surrender. To Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1904), chair of the Anti-Lynching League, Washington's "gospel of work" was a route toward permanent subjugation and simply the South's "old slavery practice in a new dress" (p. 519).

Washington, undeterred by criticism, allowed only one smidgen of regret about the lack of play in his lifetime of hard, continual, ambitious, and consequential work. "I think I would now be a more useful man," he wrote, "if I had had time for sports" (Washington, 1901, p. 5). He did not say that he would have enjoyed himself more; that he would have been amused, di-

verted, and restored; that competitive games would strengthen friendships or give him surcease or relief, or that sports would provide the occasion to revel in spontaneity and delight in surprise. He said that sports would have made him more *useful*. Athletics or play of any sort comprised a means to an end, not an end in itself. Booker T. Washington surely needed no toughening, so there may be something coy and calculated about the claim because sports was emerging among Progressives who supported him as a route to national moral rearmament. But this sentence of Washington's is key to understanding much of the gospel of work and success, the crusade for efficiency and uplift, and the enthusiasm for sport that was at the core of the psychology that nurtured Progressive thought at the turn of the last century. The sentiment endeared Washington to White reformers and philanthropists who supported his "model Negro schools" that took root across the South.

Here arises one of the surprising and revealing connections that Friedman predicted. For one of these Progressives, Teddy Roosevelt—Vice President, author of many books and essays, adventurer, warrior, reformer, conservationist, boxer, student of jiujitsu, and champion of self-help—had a life of striving that culminated in his ascent to the presidency. Though the child of a privileged family, Roosevelt had his own childhood adversities to overcome. Sickly, severely asthmatic, nearsighted, and undersized as a child, he might have settled into a quiet, riskless, neurasthenic, forgettable, and comfortable adulthood. Instead, aiming to surmount his disabilities, he became an advocate and practitioner of the "strenuous life."

Naturally, the President much admired another self-created figure, Booker T. Washington, who had also triumphed over a wretched childhood. Shortly after his inauguration, Roosevelt set a precedent (and braved a vile racist backlash from White supremacists) by inviting the great man to dine at the White House. In that convivial evening, the two kindred spirits from backgrounds different as one could imagine, and yet both ambitious and strongly paternalistic, saw eye-to-eye on many subjects, including the dignity of "toil and effort" and the utility of sport. To Washington, the institution of slavery degraded not only the enslaved but also the slaveholders who became lazy, dissipated, unskilled, spoiled, and as we will say now, entitled. To Roosevelt, the country itself had become pampered, self-indulgent, unmanly, soft, citified, and consequentially, wanting in both moral and physical courage.

Among physical culture advocates at the turn of the last century, a partial cure for the national malaise could be found in the martial values of sport, notably football. In its ideal, football then and now powerfully elevates self-sacrifice, courage, endurance and commitment, rough decency and good sportsmanship, as well as both teamwork and individual glory. In practice at the turn of the last century, though, the game was also marked by savage brutality. Following 19 football fatalities in the 1905 season, several Ivy League schools banned football. In response, Teddy Roosevelt called prominent coaches to the White House to curtail the game's most dangerous practices. (Thus, he has been called the "sports President," and was plausibly credited with saving college football, now a national entertainment, from its most violent impulses.) With the sweeping rule changes Roosevelt instigated, the game would become fairer without making it overly, as he put it, "ladylike." The lessons of the sport could not be lost. In national life aspiration as in a football game, he wrote, "the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard, don't foul and don't shirk, but hit the line hard!" (Roosevelt, 1900, p. 164).

In an essay he titled "The American Boy," Roosevelt (1900) summarized his stern paternal advice: the young man "must not be a coward or a weakling, a bully, a shirk, or a prig. He must work hard and play hard" (p. 155). But crucially, like fellow striver Booker T. Washington, play was wholly subservient to self-improvement and national resolve, a pitch that for good and bad is likely to seem shopworn to us now. Roosevelt cautioned that enthusiasts should not confuse means and ends or enjoy play in and of itself. Delight? Pleasure? Satisfaction? Fun? Not for Teddy Roosevelt. Football, he wrote, could be taken seriously only as "the mere means of preparation to do work that counts when the time arises" (Roosevelt, 1900, p. 155).

Exploring the courage, dedication, and hard work of Booker T. Washington and Theodore Roosevelt lead me to our honoree. If Larry Friedman's dedication never quite afforded him the self-satisfaction that he deserves for a lifetime of hard work that counts, he has at the same time been generous with others. In his many books and essays, as well as in his classrooms, he dedicated his mind and energies to exploring the overriding and urgent topics—racism, class, identity, national character, intellectual responsibility, love, politics, food insecurity, and the moral imperatives of a just society. Also, in our almost weekly phone calls, he would chal-

lenge me to think about revealing connections among these—most recently on the necessity for international cooperation in the face of a military threat, pandemic disease, and worldwide environmental crisis.

But Larry would never fail to close these serious conversations with a hilarious string of impish observations and NSFW (Not Safe for Work) jokes that would leave us both helpless with laughter. This ritual of blowing off steam now recalls the first time I laid eyes on the distinguished Professor Friedman, from a distance, before we had met. Crossing the quadrangle, dressed in shirt, tie, and a professor's formal dark overcoat, I watched as Larry broke into a skip. It was, I believe, the first time I ever saw an adult skipping. But the capering fit snugly. Larry's abiding curiosity and willingness to challenge conventional opinions have traveled alongside a highly developed taste for mischief and fun.

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Dr. Lawrence Friedman on the Menninger Family: An Attachment-Theoretical Perspective

James L. Kelley—Independent scholar

Keywords: adult-attachment-theory, American-psychiatry, classical-biography, domineering, insecure-and-secure-attachment, Menninger Clinic, Menninger-siblings, psychobiographical

In the preface to his *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* (1990), distinguished biographer, historian, and activist Dr. Lawrence J. Friedman reminds readers just how famous this Kansas institution was in its heyday. The Menninger patriarch and sons were depicted on a stained-glass window installed in Washington Cathedral in 1979; but also, far from the house of God, the family inspired *The Exorcist'*s Barringer Clinic, whose medical men knew a case of possession when they saw one! Dr. Friedman is aware that we Americans have a penchant to allow mediocre men to rise to the highest stages, only to turn on them suddenly and chase away their ill-gotten fame with new knowledge of their most personal, mostly moral failings. But there is no Citizen Menninger because the Menninger story is not about a single figure but rather an American clan whose internal dynamics, as Dr. Friedman shows, help us account for their unlikely rise to the apex of American psychiatry. Was the family blindsided by a sudden disgrace, an ignoble fall from a noble height? It was more like a slow fade, with the once-prominent Clinic, a quondam trendsetter in health care, now watching other more integrated research hospitals set the course.

However, instead of following up these remarks with a summary of the institutional aspects of the narrative, I wish to illustrate the merits of *Menninger* through a psychobiographical reading of the main players on Dr. Friedman's stage: Mother Flo, father Charles, eldest son Karl, and youngest son Will. The theoretical lens will be adult attachment theory, with its distinction between the insecurely attached, who are either too dependent or too independent in their important relationships, and the securely attached, who are typically able to rely upon their significant others and to be relied upon by them, even when distressing situations present themselves.

All my information gleaned about the Menningers in this

article comes from Friedman's *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic*. Flo Vesta Knisely, born in 1863, found herself pressed into caring for her numerous siblings following her father's unexpected death in 1873. Flo's mother, Amanda, decided to move to the small town of Industry, Kansas where she became a farmer and a prohibitionist. Flo soon met a teacher at a nearby college at which she was studying part-time. His name was Charles Menninger, and, unlike Flo, he was outgoing and confident, having been reared in a stable, well-heeled family. The couple soon found themselves engaged, but, in place of the standard courtship rituals, Flo and Charles would spend evenings in the apartment Flo shared with her brother Elmer, each absorbed in his or her own book. In essence, the insecure Flo tried to obviate her need to make a clean break from her family by retaining her brother as a permanent chaperone in an endless study session. The point bears a little belaboring: Flo's distress over not only being called upon to parent her siblings, but also to endure unrelenting economic insecurity, was kept at bay by her recreation of the family situation as a most peculiar type of study group. Also, Charles adapted to Flo's obsession with social activism, becoming himself a teetotaler and lending support to his fiancé's lofty educational goals, which were rather unusual for a Midwestern woman of the time.

Already within the first dozen or so pages, Dr. Friedman has vividly depicted a young Flo putting into play a (perhaps unconscious) life strategy to deflect concern away from the strained family dynamic that she simultaneously will smuggle into her newfound romance with Charles Menninger. But, far from overloading his narrative with commentary, Dr. Friedman has rather planted subtle seeds that only sprout shoots once a sizable part of the story has been unfolded. Over its 350 or so pages, *Menninger* will picture Flo and Charles, the insecurely attached and the securely attached, raising two sons who will import the imperfect yet adaptive family constellation into the daily workings of the Menninger Clinic.

The oldest of these sons, Karl, became a particularly keen source of distress for his mother. Dr. Friedman gives us an apt analysis of this mother-son relationship: Flo was harsh and domineering toward Karl, but at the same time she showered praise upon him and made sure the young boy knew that as a Menninger he was destined to make a progressive mark on the world. Thus, just as Flo controlled and castigated her husband, for instance badgering him to earn more money by making the leap from college instructor

to physician, so did she dominate Karl, winching the hapless boy closer, only to push him down with her dizzyingly high expectations and cutting criticisms.

Dr. Friedman calls Flo and Karl's type of deficient relationship "ambivalent." Attachment theory might label the Flo-Karl tie "insecure" in that it combines aspects of both the "avoidant" and the "anxious-ambivalent." That is, Karl's rise to the zenith of his profession cannot be separated from his double-bind relation to Flo. In essence, Karl attempted to distance himself from his mother by drawing closer to the positive self-image template Flo herself provided for him. The more independence Karl achieved, the more he both repressed a negative self-image and pursued a positive self-image, this eddying psychic motion being tied inextricably to his internal images of his larger-than-life mother. Ironically, Karl escaped his mother's caustic put-downs and gained independence by taking steps to embody her missionary idealism through his career at the Menninger Clinic. As we shall see, this avoidant pattern of emulation-at-a-distance will be repeated when Karl's brother Will moves far beyond the borders of the family business by becoming a General in the United States Army. Through his bolstering of the Clinic's cause in the highest governmental circles, Will established the Menninger name firmly in the consciousness of world psychiatry. In the process, he managed to avoid the full brunt of his hypercritical brother, who was left behind in Topeka to distress staff and associates with his temperamental actions.

Throughout Karl's long career, Dr. Friedman shows that an ambivalent or avoidant pattern can be detected (though, once again, terms from attachment theory are not found in *Menninger*): Just as Flo had to deflect her fear outside of the family and onto the world outside, first as a child in a fatherless family of women struggling to make ends meet, then as an unhappy housewife who redirects her attention away from her domestic limits by founding a bible society, so does Karl learn that one can afford to be difficult and confrontational as long as the interaction with the significant other is in the service of a social or institutional goal. We need only recall Karl's shifting attitudes toward the Jewish émigré analysts employed by the Clinic, along with the alternating messages of praise and blame he directed toward the Menninger Foundation in the mid-1960s, when he desired to retain some influence in an organization that had successfully distanced itself from its creator, to see this insecure attachment pattern in action.

From his childhood days, Karl's youngest brother, Will, seems to have followed in the footsteps of his father, Charles, thus forming a counter-alliance *vis-à-vis* the Karl-Flo axis. The Menninger patriarch's tendency to compromise, especially as regards his wife's ideas about family and vocational life, was passed on to Will, who lived in his older brother's shadow until openly opposing Karl's growing emphasis on the Menninger psychiatric programs (which de-emphasized the Will-headed Menninger Clinic proper) in the late 1940s. But even through these postwar conflicts, during which Will eclipsed Karl's influence in the psychiatric world, the younger brother tacitly accepted the long-established Menninger pecking order. An example is Will's turning against associate John Stone when the latter suggested Karl be denuded of his powers at the Foundation. Will made it clear that, though he had many reservations about his brother's misuse of power in the Menninger organization, he would nonetheless always back up Karl the moment an outsider proposed taking any adverse action against a family member. Business was never just business at the Menninger; it was a family affair, and non-Menningers were there to support and extend the clan's vision. To be an insider, one had to be a Menninger (such was the unspoken rule). If an outsider challenged a Menninger, a rebuke was sure to follow.

However, as the decades wore on in the Menninger saga, it became clear that Will's deference to Karl had a neurotic side, though the younger man, Will, appears to have found ways to adapt to this darker side of the relationship. Will's willingness to spend most of his time on military missions as well as on fund-raising trips, Dr. Friedman points out, can be interpreted as an attempt by Will as the younger brother to serve the Karl-centered Menninger vision while forging a more independent role for himself, a role that far exceeded Charles' blueprint for a Karl-led family clinic. Eventually, in the mid-1960s, Will tired of Karl's self-aggrandizing ways and made the fateful step of removing his brother from power. However, this move came at a price, as many close to the family came to believe that Karl's dismissal, far from bestowing a sense of self-assurance upon Will, rather hastened his death by lung cancer soon thereafter.

In the final pages of *Menninger*, Dr. Friedman paints a picture of an aging Karl, a man who remained an enigma until the very end. By turns irascible and serene, the great man would show signs of having come to terms with his dwindling influence upon the

Clinic's affairs, only to launch suddenly into an angry tirade against his grandson Roy's leadership. Because Dr. Friedman has an enviable ability to control the unfolding of a complex narrative, readers of *Menninger* can gather insights into the inner dispositions of each of the major players in the historical drama—Flo, Charles, Karl, and Will—and marvel as the author enriches the picture by sprinkling evaluative comments into descriptions of the interactions between his historical *dramatis personae*. Is *Menninger* a psychobiography? In the broadest sense, certainly. However, I am tempted to proclaim this worthy volume, the first panel in Dr. Friedman's triptych of psychological biographies, a bridge between psychobiography (with its bold juxtaposition of theory to life history) and classical biography (with its austere attention to the source material and its lighter evaluative touch).

It has been said that a salient characteristic of a classic work is its capacity to continue to yield insights over the course of innumerable readings. In this sense, *Menninger* will continue to prove itself a classic in the years ahead. It is hoped that the present author's attempt to cast light on the details of Dr. Friedman's analysis of the Menninger family dynamic by bringing them into contact with adult attachment theory, though more a vignette than an extended treatment, will nevertheless be deemed an appropriate tribute to a man of such unsurpassed scholarly achievement.

James L. Kelley is an independent scholar whose recent work focuses on the inner lives of creative people. Mr. Kelley has published psychobiographies of Soren Kierkegaard, Angela Merkel, and Karl Lagerfeld, the latter two co-authored with Claude-Helene Mayer. He resides in Norman, Oklahoma, USA. He can be contacted with the email romeosyne@gmail.com.

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Invisible Colleges: How Friedman Contributed to the Production and Diffusion of Knowledge and Strengthened Storytelling

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Abstract: The Conference on Public Intellectuals—an important, cross-

disciplinary transient institution centered in history—was nurtured and sustained by the recently retired Indiana University scholar Lawrence J. Friedman. This invisible college nurtured pioneering approaches to social, cultural, and intellectual history. Insights from these gatherings, I argue, have transcendent value, illuminating the importance of integrating emotional understanding into historical storytelling in many fields, including diplomatic history and the history of science.

Keywords: emotion-in-historical-narrative, Harvard Conference on Public Intellectuals, historical-practice, invisible-college, Lawrence J. Friedman, mentorship, transient-institution

Writing my first book, long ago, I faced a challenge. In the first half of the 20th century, researchers from various fields—astrophysics, geophysics, meteorology, geochemistry, and geology—were seeking to better understand the nature of the solar system. They were few: less than a dozen were active in North America and Europe at any one time. Sputnik's launch in 1957, at the start of the space age, lay in the future. These researchers worked at different universities and institutions. But their interests were interdisciplinary, and they repeatedly created "transient institutions," which lasted days, months, and sometimes years, that permitted intense collaboration between them on problems of mutual interest. Transient institutions mattered, I asserted, because they were prolific in this field when permanent institutions were not, shaped the questions that were asked, and helped convince colleagues their inquiries were worthwhile.

Transient Institutions/Invisible Colleges

My then-emerging ideas about transient institutions did not directly stem from my interactions with Larry Friedman, one of my mentors when I had earned a Master's in American Studies at Bowling Green State University (before Friedman's remarkably productive period at Indiana University Bloomington). Or so I then thought. I credited them to Spencer R. Weart, director of the Center for History of Physics of the American Institute of Physics (then in New York City) where I was a postdoctoral fellow in the early 1990s. Over noon-time sandwiches, Weart had led spirited conversations with me and visiting scholars about another form of transient institution, the idea of "invisible colleges" first introduced in the history of science by Derek J. de Solla Price and published in 1963 with his collection of lectures titled *Little Science, Big Science*, then extended by the sociologist Diana Crane in her 1972 book *Invisible Colleges: Infusion of Knowledge in Scientific Communities*.

Weart had used "transient institution" to describe interactions he had discerned among solid-state physicists from the 1920s through the 1950s—or so I recalled. The term, I now find, did not actually appear in his contribution to his own book on this issue, but it did crystallize insights from our discussions.

Friedman, I now appreciate, influenced how I came to approach history more than I realized at that time. He did so through our continued interactions when I became a PhD student in the Program for History of Science at Princeton University. Friedman also influenced me decades later by creating, nurturing, and sustaining a transient institution of his own: the annual Conference on Public Intellectuals, held at Harvard University in the first half of the 2010s, after Friedman became associated with that university's Mind Brain Behavior Interfaculty Initiative. The Public Intellectuals gatherings created an invisible college that enhanced the careers and productivity of those who actively participated in them. A key insight emerged from these gatherings: A crucial ingredient has been missing from the narratives of many historians who deal with elites, affecting intellectual and diplomatic history, and perhaps most of all the field on which I focus—the history of science.

My Mentors on the Business of Storytelling

Graduate students in history, if they are lucky (my own bias revealed), quickly learn that they are in the business of storytelling. As the environmental historian William Cronon (1992) has declared, historians "configure the events of the past into causal sequences—stories—that order and simplify [events] to give them new meanings. We do so because the narrative is the chief literary form that tries to find meaning in an overwhelmingly crowded and disordered chronological reality" (p. 1349). Narrative, he continued, "is fundamental to the way we humans organize our experience" (Cronon, 1992, p. 1349). The *kinds* of stories we tell also matter. Thomas Kohut (2020) has recently argued that historians ought not to rely on evidence, logic, and reason alone but should also incorporate "imagination, insight, sensitivity to people, emotional intelligence, and even emotional resonance" (p. 2). Empathy, he declared, is crucial, if the goal is to "make the practice of history a fascinating, creative, and fully human enterprise" (Kohut, 2020, p. 2).

But *how* do they—*we*—learn which stories are possible? *Realistic*? Adequately and faithfully capture how people lived, thought, behaved, and dreamed in earlier times? In the history of

recent science, we want to tell good stories about ways that elites organized, communicated, met, schemed, maintained contacts, debated ideas, formed friendships, dealt with adversaries, and told their own stories about themselves and their achievements. We learn from reading articles and books, of course, as well as from our fellow graduate students. But we also learn from our mentors—both what they teach us and particularly their lived examples. If friends, family, or colleagues ask us how our mentors affected us, we often volunteer anecdotes.

This is an important and helpful way of storytelling too often seen as distinct from historical narration, but vivid memories are what come back to me now. Princeton's dean of History of Science, Charles C. Gillispie, told us in a seminar that he knew individual members of the 19th century *French Académie des Sciences* (French Academy of Sciences) such as Gaspard Monge far better than any of us. It stung but allowed us to understand the extent to which biographical inquiry could reconstruct personalities and motives. Soon after that, Stanley N. Katz—the most caring mentor I could ever imagine—introduced me to a supportive community of scholars deeply interested in the impact of private foundations on modern society. He found funds that allowed me to explore how the Rockefeller Foundation had refashioned Princeton as a graduate university and straightened my tie while standing beside me at a university event. Stanley nurtured those of us privileged to be "Stan's people," continuing this after he took the helm of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1986, at a difficult moment in its history.

Larry Friedman similarly taught me in those years—partly through his writings, even more by his personal example. In particular, he showed me how one could learn from individuals through direct, open, honest conversations. In the mid-1980s Friedman recounted his then-ongoing study of the Menninger Clinic at a History of Science colloquium at Princeton. These talks regularly attracted program faculty and graduate students, but on that day an unfamiliar, middle-aged man, jittery and agitated, also sat at the seminar table. Friedman finished speaking, and the man announced that *he* had been working at the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, apparently eager to challenge Friedman's narrative. "Ah! Tell me about your own experiences," Friedman responded, leaning in to listen. The visitor shared his story, relaxed, and a lively conversation followed. At the time I was just beginning to learn the craft of bio-

graphical oral history interviewing and felt disquieted when senior colleagues voiced that I was spending too much time chasing memories of childhood, secondary school, and university experiences. I still worry about that—at least a little. But seeing Friedman off that evening on the platform of the Princeton Junction station, I felt validated, confirmed, and on the right track.

Enriching Knowledge and Relationships at these Harvard Conferences

Although the Conference on Public Intellectuals began some 20 years after I received my PhD, it now seems part of a long arc involving ways to improve historical narratives. A future historian looking at the printed programs would learn about the venues (Harvard's William James Hall, later its Science Center) and discover that Damon Freeman, then at Penn and one of Friedman's former students, was a co-convener. Session themes at the first gathering included "Public Intellectuals as Cultural Icons," "Religion, Science, and Tolerance," and "Race, Gender, and Protest." Participating scholars arrived from Berkeley, Brandeis, Smith, North Carolina, and the University of Florida. Four years on, the conference had a more international cast, with scholars from Portugal, Switzerland, and Holland. It retained its focus on addressing key questions rather than themes. Careful researchers could find evidence that the conferences had begun influencing scholarship: Odile Heynder's *Writers as Public Intellectuals: Literature, Celebrity, Democracy* (2016) included a heartfelt call-out to these gatherings, as well as a special Public Intellectuals event held in Lisbon, also initiated by Friedman, that included testimony from dissident Portuguese writers.

What such future accounts might well miss—if they embrace what the historian Fred Weinstein has labeled a positivist approach to history—was how I, and fellow participants, *felt* about these gatherings. Even now, as I write, I feel the familiar restraints historians place on themselves: *This is not how we ought to narrate the past*. But obeying normative standards would leave out several crucial "good bits," in historian Inga Clendinnen's artful phrase. The Harvard conferences on Public Intellectuals were a rare treat. They combined the intensity of a favorite graduate seminar with the excitement of finding seats beside world-class scholars whose writings had motivated us. Junior scholars came more and more. Some became friends. Our networks grew. Presentations were jumbled, happy blurs. Discussions went deep but never grew heated. "Keep

it friendly," Larry Friedman admonished. We welcomed assignments to read draft chapters; we encouraged one another. Throughout the gatherings, Friedman was the grand master and our maître d' at the final evening dinner. "We want this conference to push the boundaries," Damon Freeman urged, reminding us that Friedman wanted participants to "define the term public intellectual broadly" and "include anyone who may be a traditional academic, an activist, an artist or poet, an athlete, entertainer, or comedian, a blogger" (Damon Freeman, personal communication, January 8, 2010). In those years it was part magic, part Camelot, and part reminder of what, at the start of our graduate careers, we dared imagine could happen.

Each of us also came away from the Harvard conferences with private memories. Stephen J. Whitfield of Brandeis, whose *Culture of the Cold War* (1991) had helped frame questions I wished to pursue as a postdoc, gave me hope that my second book project was worth pursuing. There was also a chilly Saturday evening amid the first gathering when I walked from William James Hall to the Harvard Square Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) Station Red Line in the company of Mary Catherine Bateson. Before that moment, I had known of Bateson as a gifted writer and cultural anthropologist, and I knew she was the daughter of two anthropologists who had shaped an earlier era, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. Earlier that afternoon, joining the sociologist Nancy J. Chodorow, Bateson had shared memories in a "Career Reflections" panel that Friedman had organized. I have no idea what we discussed, but I remember feeling connected to something previously abstract and bloodless, and I realized something I had not known before.

Exploring the Glue Holding Invisible Colleges Together

The Public Intellectuals conferences were immensely satisfying and affirmed for me the importance and significance of small-group interactions. But I believe there also is a much larger insight here if applied to the past. What is the glue that holds invisible colleges together? Shared intellectual insights, surely. Diana Crane (1971) argued that researchers "maintain continual contact with each other in order to monitor recent developments in the area and adjust their activities accordingly" (p. 585). Belver C. Griffith and Nicholas C. Mullins (1972) similarly observed that when scholars felt challenged, they organize to reach "certain objectives, voluntarily and self-consciously, as a coherent and activist group" (p. 959).

Rational thinking, objective reasoning, and careful planning were central to these accounts.

But is this enough for a sufficiently good story? "The stories we write," Bill Cronon (1992) has maintained, "are judged not just as narratives, but as nonfictions" (p. 1373). Missing from many realms of historical work, I would argue, particularly the histories of elites and elite practices, is an appreciation of the role of emotion and personality as guiding forces. This issue had long been apparent to historians attracted to biographical narratives. Like Weinstein and Kohut, James W. Anderson has emphasized the value of examining not just the practiced ways that people present themselves to the world, but also the more hidden "inner self." Anderson (1981) argues that "Any biographer must admit that he does not know the last word, but what psychology offers the biographer is the hope of approaching closer to the human heart" (p. 475).

In recent years, several diplomatic historians have also endorsed this approach. Frank Costigliola (2016), analyzing the actions of George Kennan, whose ideas shaped the origin and development of the Cold War, declared that "policy recommendations, traditionally explained in rational terms, can be decoded by looking at the emotions surrounding them," adding that a "consensus among neuroscientists and humanists holds that expressed thought is, inextricably, both emotional and rational" (p. 1076). Similarly, Barbara Keys (January 2020) has argued that better and more accurate stories about foreign relations can be told: "Like other myths, the notion that diplomats and leaders can think and act on the basis of a state-centered mind endures despite lack of proof and in the face of counterevidence" (p. 3).

Recent historical, sociological, and anthropological inquiries into modern science also are warming to what Costigliola (2016) has termed the "emerging 'emotional turn' in history" (p. 1076). In the early 1970s, a member of a research community, Crane, provided a pioneering account of invisible colleges, and complained about an irritating omission: they had been portrayed without emotion, "almost as if they were not human" (Rogers, 1972, p. 638). The historian-turned-anthropologist Sharon Traweek (2005) has lamented that physicists "often disparage the histories of their field written by professional historians" if based solely on traditional sources (p. 358). "They often talk a lot about the past, telling stories," Traweek (2005) observed about physicists, highlighting the artificiality of "slicing people into reason, emotion, and de-

termination" (p. 358). In a similar vein, Danish historian of science Thomas Söderqvist has noted that he had consulted therapist George Moritis (who specialized in working with biographers) while preparing his account of the immunologist Niels Jerne. "I am surprised that there is so little written about the problem of writing lives of recent scientists," Söderqvist (2006) declared, but he voiced hope that the situation was improving (p. 123).

In Conclusion in Regard to Larry Friedman

Larry Friedman has made many important contributions through his books, teaching, and mentoring, but the invisible college he created ought to be remembered as well. There is perhaps a parallel. As the historian of technology, Paul Israel has noted, Thomas Edison justly deserves credit for developing systems of electrical light and power, sound recording, storage batteries, and motion pictures—but one of his least-remembered yet important inventions was the industrial research laboratory he created in Menlo Park, New Jersey, an "invention factory" that was the model for major research laboratories in the decades that followed. Friedman, of course, did not invent the annual seminar series. But as the atomic physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer (as cited in Kaiser, 2005) once remarked, "The best way to send information is to wrap it up in a person" (p. 357). Witnessing this first-hand is a gift, both professionally and emotionally.

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Making Truths: Erik Erikson, Robert Coles, and Larry Friedman

Jim Clark—Florida State University

Abstract: Erik Erikson proved a crucial figure in the lives and work of both Robert Coles and Larry Friedman. Encountering Erikson as a person and engaging his legacy provided strong lessons for these celebrated biographers—lessons that can also meaningfully inform contemporary personological writers.

Keywords: biographers, biography, generosity, Menningers, per-

sonologists, social, students, teaching

In my early doctoral student days at the University of Chicago (UC), one of my colleagues handed me a cardboard-covered paperback stamped with a bold "Reviewer's Copy" warning that it was not for resale. She said that her brother was a reviewer for a major national daily newspaper and had sent the book to her as a matter of possible interest. "But I think this is more up your alley," she advised me. It was a copy of Lawrence J. Friedman's *Menninger: The Family and the Clinic* (1990). I had precious little time to read my new gift as I worked through the rigors of the UC quarter system with plenty enough provided to read. But every so often, my eyes would drift to the corner of the desk in my International House room where I had parked the biography. I would take ten-minute holidays, making my way through the unsparing story that Friedman was telling.

Later, as an associate professor of social work at the University of Kentucky, I began a study of the work of child psychiatrist and social documentarian Robert Coles. In my first visits with Dr. Coles, he always began our conversations with stories about his old friend Erik Erikson. Coles published a widely acclaimed book, *Erik H. Erikson: The Growth of His Work* (1970), which was based on a two-part portrait published earlier in *The New Yorker.* Coles also wrote about Erikson in many subsequent essays, often calling upon him as an interlocutor of sorts across a wide range of topics.

Erikson died in 1994 after a long illness, and Coles was afraid that he was being forgotten by the new generations of students and clinicians that he was teaching. While Coles had made Erikson a household name through *The New Yorker* articles, Bob felt like he was still in Erik's debt. Erikson had reached out to Bob and Jane Coles in the early 60s to invite them by for a "chat" about their work in the South with children, adolescents, and families undergoing racial warfare in New Orleans and Atlanta. When the Coles started having children, they put down this exciting but very dangerous work and returned home to New England.

Erikson and David Riesman made Bob Coles a section leader for their wildly popular Harvard undergraduate courses. After years of medical training and even as he was growing his reputation as a public intellectual and author of scores of publications in professional, political, and literary journals, Coles took a job as "section man." He loved it. The steady (but non-tenure) track aca-

demic position under the title of "research psychiatrist" affiliated with University Health Services allowed Coles to restart his education as he commenced a long and satisfying career of teaching at Harvard. By reflecting on the rich reading lists selected by these two intellectual giants, Coles deepened the sophistication of his own writing. He was also invited to join Erikson's prestigious writing seminar, which proved helpful in producing his first books, especially the first volume of his *Children of Crisis* series, *A Study in Courage and Fear* (1967). This series ultimately led to his recognition with the Pulitzer Prize in 1973.

So, it was little wonder that Bob Coles started almost every visit with stories about Erikson. He was making a point and ensuring that I got it. Erikson's reputation had suffered a serious decline, and the presentation of his work in psychology textbooks often proved superficial. The richness of his work was hiding in plain sight. Bob shared that he was remedying this with an anthology of Erikson's work for general readers, one curated especially for college professors and their students. He was also excited that a historian had been selected as Erikson's official biographer, a serious scholar that would get the job done and give Erikson his due in perpetuity. I asked the inevitable question, and Bob responded, "He's a professor up at Indiana University—Larry Friedman." Then, in 1999, *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson* appeared—with a generous preface by Robert Coles. In that little essay, Coles described Erik and his wife Joan as exemplifying the adage, "It takes two to make a truth." I think it fair to say that Friedman and Coles, in their own way, made some truths as well.

Why were both men—successful writers who could write about anyone or anything they pleased—so determined to "save" Erikson from intellectual oblivion? The answer lies in the fact that Bob Coles and Larry Friedman were also social justice activists with powerful moral concerns that drove their ambitious work. (Both had participated in Freedom Summer 1964.) Erikson's "ways of seeing" had inspired and galvanized both for many years. Why? Erikson sought to use psychoanalysis in an applied and translational manner through ethics-informed approaches to addressing individual and social pathologies. He thought that a deep understanding of human development across the lifespan would provide the evidence necessary to utilize naturalistic, successful care across the generations that could then be applied to clinical and social interventions. He saw this as an ethics-driven enterprise. At

the heart of successful human development were macro-historical and biopsychosocial processes that promoted individual and social thriving. These provided powerful clues for preventing individual and social pathologies that were extraordinarily difficult to treat or attenuate, much less cure. Friedman's biography revealed a flawed but inspirational figure who, in partnership with his wife Joan, developed a corpus of work that remains rewarding for every serious reader who is willing to engage.

After reading *Identity's Architect*, I wrote to Professor Friedman, offering to take him to lunch. I wanted to pick his brain about writing biography in the hopes that maybe I could try my hand. He insisted that I visit with him and spend the night at his family home in Bloomington. Larry was a whirlwind of conversation and activity. We went to dinner, stopping along the way to check in on some politicians who were anxiously watching the local election results coming in that evening. He predicted that an obscure Chicago politician named Barack Obama would someday win the Democratic nomination and then the Presidency. (I thought that was interesting but reckless speculation.) We went back to his home, and he loaded me up with books that he felt would bring theoretical and historical depth to my work. Like almost everything he did in the years that followed, this generosity helped me accomplish some of the most meaningful work in my career. I saw him do that for many accomplished and beginning scholars alike through the wonderful Public Intellectuals conferences that he convened. Indeed, Erikson would have diagnosed him as an exemplar of generativity—as we all have over the years.

I will close this tribute by reflecting on an illuminating essay that Larry published in 2004, "Erik Erikson: A Biographer's Reflections on a Decade-Long Process," in Kenneth Hoover's edited volume commemorating the centennial of Erikson's birth. I want to pass along his insights for those who might not have read this essay, which followed one by Robert Coles entitled "Remembering Erik." Friedman's reflections on doing the Erikson biography provide some lessons to those of us engaged in personological writing.

First, Friedman (2004) speaks to the challenge that the effective biographer must describe "the social, cultural, and economic processes" while describing the idiosyncratic, i.e., the subject's favorite food, drink, music, books, etc. (p. 33). The person-in-the-world requires a life rendered at the personal level and further re-

quires that the world be adequately rendered to understand both. Biography is harder to write than straight history. When the subject's friends and family can say "That's the fellow I knew," the biographer has hit pay dirt. But the historian of that subject's era must also readily recognize the subject's world.

Second, Friedman asserts that what a biographer includes or excludes will be dictated by the writer's particular interpretive framework. He crucially goes on to ask: "But what if the framework is somehow flawed or reductionistic or otherwise problematic as the biographer increasingly finds a stake in it through years of arduous writing and long hours with his subject?" (Friedman, 2004, p. 33). Larry then drives the nail home: "And can a human life, with all its variables, coexist with even the most nuanced interpretive framework?" (p. 33). He sees this as the elementary dilemma facing every serious biographer.

Third, the public will read the biography, then challenge and elaborate on the biographer's thesis. Will he or she listen? Friedman first resisted this but later came to realize that it deepened his understanding of his own book and of Erikson. Indeed, a published biography will often generate new evidence as readers and colleagues respond to the work. "Reader response" should be patiently encountered, encouraged, and even appreciated in order to create valuable insights for the biographer.

Finally, Larry notes that the experience of doing the Erikson biography created levels of personal transformation that he never anticipated. He writes: "I myself was crossing the divide between the generative productivities of middle age and the questions and doubts of old age" (Friedman, 2004, p. 34). He connected this with Erikson by saying: "Through preoccupations with Erikson, I was drawing insight into the inevitable frailties and limitations that would occupy my own life in the years ahead and ways of dealing with them. More than ever before, I asked myself quite a few questions about how I wanted to spend my emerging old age" (p. 34). To summarize, he said: "…I cannot help but think that the biographer's experience is often an eminently introspective, indeed therapeutic one" (p. 34).

These are lessons that I have taken to heart in my own writing. I continue to feel that I am falling short. Perhaps accepting that intellectual humility and restless curiosity can inform what still must be accomplished is the greatest lesson that Larry has taught

me through his books, conversation, and friendship.

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Biography as Dialogue? The Case of Hella S. Haasse in Relation to Lawrence J. Friedman

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Keywords: Aleid Truijens, biographer, Erich Fromm, Lawrence J. Friedman, narrative, personal-dialogue, public-intellectual

Literary author Hella S. Haasse (1918-2011) is considered one of the most important writers of the 20th century in the Netherlands. Next to a substantial *oeuvre* of novels and essays, she performed a public role in lectures and on television, establishing the image of an intellectual, serious thinker. In Haasse's biography, *Living in the Imagination*, written by Aleid Truijens and published in 2022, this image of serious public authorship was contrasted by showing the writer in her private realm as a daughter, mother, and spouse. The main message of the biography is that the author was not happy in the conventional woman's role and tried to escape from it by using her imagination.

In this contribution, I use Lawrence J. Friedman's biography of Erich Fromm as a starting point for a reflection and critique on the biography of Haasse. The central point is that the public intellectual has different lives or roles that are neither exclusionary nor disparate. Inner conflicts occur while both Fromm and

Haasse seem to have been "sensitive humanitarians" in order to range over various possibilities in life: spiritually, aesthetic, political, and existential. Haasse's biography needs reframing: Her imagination was not an escape from an ordinary life but an intellectual exercise for someone with a profound humanist interest.

Introduction

In *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's prophet*, Friedman (2013) underlines that Erich Fromm (1900-1980) was a man with various roles and activities: a psychoanalyst, political activist, social critic, and committed writer. He was a "Renaissance man" whose ideas and inner conflicts were developed between the two world wars in Germany as an intellectual in the Frankfurt School. After 1934, he continued his work in the United States and Mexico while deliberately addressing the broad public with best-selling books. Fromm was a complex man of varied visions, temperaments, and lives. He lived through two World Wars, characterizing World War I as "the most crucial experience in my life," and afterward trying to understand the irrationality of human mass behavior (Friedman, 2013, p. 9). He grew up in a Jewish, Hasidic tradition, received an education as a social psychologist, and, connecting Marx and Freud, developed the concept of "social character." This concept underscores how social structures shape instinctive life; the socialized human being is both a product of society and a unique personage. When the Frankfurt School moved to Columbia University, Fromm, in contrast to his fellow émigré scholars, immediately embraced American culture. He saw the attraction and relevance of reaching out to the public beyond academe and succeeded in this with books such as *Escape from Freedom* (1941) and *The Art of Loving* (1956). Both works sold millions of copies around the globe.

Hella S. Haasse was born in Batavia (now Jakarta) in the former Dutch East Indies and went to school in an era and space of colonialism. At the end of the 1930s, she left for the Netherlands to study Scandinavian Languages at the University of Amsterdam, but after two years—during World War II—she decided to become an actress. She also started writing texts for theatre and comedy performances and wrote poetry. The first book that established her as an author was her 1948 novella *Oeroeg* (*The Black Lake*), which narrated a friendship in colonial times and became a standard text for generations of school pupils in the Netherlands.

Her first great historical novel was *In a Dark Wood Wander-*

ing (1949), a voluminous fictional biography of the French aristocrat and poet Charles of Orléans. The novel was based on the meticulous study of historical texts. Haasse wrote the book in a period of mourning after the death of her (two-year-old) child, in which she also gave birth to a second daughter. She published more than 20 novels as well as several anthologies of essays and autobiographical writing. Today, Haassee is considered the *grande dame* of Dutch literature, but during her life, she had to fight the stereotype that her writing was classical and not experimental, the suggestion being that as a woman she was standing in the shadow of important male authors such as W. F. Hermans, Harry Mulisch, Gerard Reve, and Flemish Hugo Claus.

Friedman's Biography of Fromm

According to Friedman, every biography of a public intellectual and writer needs a conceptual structure that not only shows the basic storyline, the main events that happened, and the actions that were taken but also develops a perspective of understanding of these. Biographers position themselves in personal dialogue with their subject and the work. Friedman explains how he came to identify with Fromm as the activist and theoretician during the 1960s and how Fromm's work in the American peace movement inspired him in his own struggle to reverse the American military involvement in Vietnam. Fromm's activism helped Friedman (2013) "to facilitate the thematic structure of all the books that I have written since… The spirit of political activism, mine and Fromm's, is quite evident in *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet*" (p. XXI).

Fromm was an academic, a political activist, and an effective global educator. His reasoning against nationalism in particular was provocative and courageous, as Friedman (2013) explains: "After the Holocaust, the Stalinist executions, Hiroshima, and Vietnam, there was a small number of social commentators, scholars, and public officials who, like Fromm, announced in public forums that nations and nationalism had caused more harm than good. They called for 'One World' and 'A family of Man'" (p. XXIII). This positioning brought Fromm disfavor among many American academics but also gave him a continuing influence beyond academia. In this sense, Fromm acted as a public intellectual, even before the term was used to characterize writers and scholars taking a position and responsibility as social commentators, examining crucial issues that cross disciplines and addressing pervasive human

concerns.

Friedman underlines how Fromm's personal life shaped and was shaped by his intellectual contributions. The signal concept of "social character" that Fromm developed was related to feelings of estrangement that prompted him to move on "to happier situations, a pattern repeated, if in different circumstances, for the rest of his life" (Friedman, 2013, p. XXVIII). Throughout that life, Fromm increasingly took the role of the outsider in scholarly circuits but found his strength as a global teacher of serious subjects. The transformation implies the different lives and roles that the intellectual performed.

Truijens' Biography of Haasse

Truijens seems not so much interested in entering into a dialogue with Haasse, her biographical subject, and her work, but searches for who she as a human being *was*. In the Prologue to the biography, Truijens (2022) explains, "I wanted to know who she was. What kind of life she led" (p. 16). The biographer frames the life of her subject as decided by a difficult, unhappy marriage: "Her fate, apparently is to live with this difficult man. The pain and effort that this took would be the red thread in her life and the theme of a huge part of her work: the laborious living together of husband and wife. Haasse herself does not mention this as her central theme: for her, it was 'the labyrinth'" (Truijens, 2022, p. 187). Where Friedman strives for a conversation with Fromm based on his work and ideas, Truijens offers the description of a life in the contour of an unhappy and asexual marriage, reducing it to one central theme and squashing Haasse's work, including all its diverse ideas, psychological characters, and relations, into one blueprint.

Let me give one example of where a dialogue could have been established. In "Identity Paper,", an autobiographical essay from 1967, Haasse reflects on World War II and searches for an explanation for "The Final Solution." In a carefully phrased, complex passage that is cited by the biographer, Haasse ponders that "something on this scale and with this method could only be executed, because it was part of a much bigger movement, a much more dangerous and long lasting process, in which many forms of salvation thinking, fear for consciousness and independence established a monstrous connection" (Truijens, 2022, p. 160). The biographer does not seem to be interested in how Haasse is thinking here, and judges that this passage is "high toned vagueness" in

which the author approaches the belief in a conspiracy (p. 160). This passage is, according to Truijens, the consequence of Haasse's naiveté and detachment during the war.

In my perspective, there is much more to say about this passage, in which Haasse's thinking resonates before the letter, an idea proposed by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1989) in *Modernity and the Holocaust*. For Bauman, the Holocaust represents collusion between universal or transhistorical purposes and technological means. He argues that the Holocaust tells us something about modernization, civilization, science, and social engineering, and about us. Bauman (1989) writes: "the Holocaust was a characteristically modern phenomenon that cannot be understood out of the context of cultural tendencies and technical achievements of modernity" (p. xiii). The sociologist opposes the view that the Holocaust was a German cultural problem without messages for all humans around the globe. To compartmentalize the Holocaust is to push it away, rather than seeing it as part of Western modernization that involves "us" as well.

Biography as Personal Dialogue

Writing a biography from a dialogical position implies that questions are asked and answers suggested, without offering a final explanation and perspective on the subject. Friedman indeed approached Fromm as a conversation partner, a man of ideas and acts, without being too much interested in Fromm's everyday and private life. Fromm had different lives and roles which give the biographer multiple perspectives. Truijens fixes Haasse in her unhappy marriage—bringing in a "black *cahier*" (exercise book) in which the author wrote about her personal frustrations—and reads the whole oeuvre as a mirror of that existence as mother and spouse. According to the biographer, most of Haasse's novels present troubled married couples, and many create an artist who is imprisoned in ordinary practices and obligations. Even the 1966 novel, *Threshold of Fire: A Novel of Fifth-Century Rome*, which is not about a married couple and considered by Haasse herself to be her favorite, is interpreted as a "vintage Haasse," reflecting the main preoccupation of the author: the artist asking what her task in life is.

From my point of view, this complex and political novel is about much more: it narrates two days in 5th century Rome in which a man, Marcus Anicius Rufus, is accused of high treason (because of a pagan sacrifice ritual executed in his villa) by prefect Hadrian, who is doubting his own perspective on the case. The narrative

perspective changes from the prefect to an outlaw who is accused of burying the remains of a sacrificial cock and who has been a poet at the emperor's court. The outsider is named Claudius Claudianus, a real historical figure of whom Haasse had read some lines of poetry. She molds this figure into a fictional character: He was brought up in Egypt as a slave and came to Rome as a protégé; he now lives illegally in the suburbs. He has taken the name Niliacus to hide his real identity. Haasse wrote a complex historical tableau in which three characters are representing the changing times and construction of new ideas, norms, and practices. That Haasse as an autodidact wrote such a concise, complex novel in the midst of her life demonstrates her intelligence, creative talent, and deep fascination for humanist ideals of freedom and self-reflection.

The title of Haasse's biography, *Living in the Imagination*, underlines the main message of the biographer: Haasse preferred imagination over the actual reality of living as a spouse and mother. But the effect of this is the stereotyping of a mid-20th century woman's authorship: she is unhappy in her marriage and writing is her way out. According to Truijens, Haasse did not consider herself a feminist, but took self-development seriously and was convinced of the quality of her writing. Haasse, explains Truijens (2022), took "the male standard as norm" and adapted herself to it (p. 415). She never liked housewife activities and only enjoyed cooking and gardening later in her life, after her two daughters had grown up, and while feminism was in its heyday.

But while the biographer is giving a manipulative description of the life of her subject, she forgets how Haasse, early in her career, wrote essays on the position of women in culture. With the 1959 *A bowl of water | A test with fire*, she published a collection of six essays (based on public lectures) on womanhood in Europe, from Roman marriages to the ideals of love, from sexuality to the position of woman in The Netherlands. In the biography, this volume of essays is characterized as a cultural-historical and philosophical treatise on the differences between male and female principles. The biographer underlines that Haasse in writing these essays intended to be a "serious literary author" who did not want to end in the "housewife's corner" (Truijens, 2022, p. 253). Haasse's "dilemma" is that she wanted to address the public and talk about societal issues, but she was an intellectual as well. The suggestion, evidently, is that she did not reach a huge audience with this work.

Fiction as Investigation

According to Friedman (2013), Fromm was a "flawed man who devised coping mechanisms and divers 'lives' to rise more often than not above difficult familial circumstances and to contribute substantially to his day – and ours" (p. XXXV). Haasse's biographer describes the life of the author as a troubled one that could only be escaped by the imagination. Imagination, however, is a more complex concept than the biographer suggests, and Haasse, I would argue, was very well aware of this. In *Shooting Swans*, a magnificent autobiographical essay, she muses on the "made up story as projection of experience, or as worded recognition of not yet earlier seen connection" (Haasse, 1998, p. 7) and on how the essence of writing lies in "the incomprehensibility of a not reasonable knowing, which can only be expressed in images and metaphors" (p. 10).

Haasse's essay articulates an idea that was (one decade later) worked out by French sociologist Ivan Jablonka (2014) in *History is a Contemporary Literature*. Jablonka underlines a tripartite division of narrative: fiction, faction, and investigation. Fiction is an imaginary narrative whose characters, settings, and actions do not exist. Fiction is implicit, acted out *as if* it were true. The factual as a second narrative form is an informative text: annals, chronicles, genealogy, biographical sketches, blogs, accounts, reports, travel guides, etc. Facts are obtained and transmitted. The factual narrative describes but poses no question. Investigation as the third form of narrative is driven by a line of reasoning, a cognitive activity. The investigative narrative is not about what is revealed, but what is sought out by formulating a problem, cross-checking sources, inventing methods, and insisting/understanding. This third category of narrative texts encompasses inventories of the self, books of the world, and reparations of the past.

Many texts written by Haasse are articulating narrative investigation by combining fact and fiction. A pivotal example is *The Tea Lords* (1992) based on written letters from a family archive of planters of kina (a plant that holds quinine, a medication to treat malaria) and tea companies in West Java. Inspired by the letters, Haasse created Rudolf Kerckhove, who started a tea plantation in the Preanger. She fictionalized parts of the narrative, added segments of original letters to the novel, and completed it as a "historical documentary" on life in the former Dutch colony. The composition of the book is affective; the novel became enormously

popular and got translated into many languages. My claim is that the investigative power, amalgamating fact and fiction, works well: readers identify with the singular voices of the families in the colony. Imagination is not just an escape but a constructive epistemology.

Concluding Remarks

If he would have studied Haasse's oeuvre, how would Lawrence J. Friedman have written a biography of Haasse—how would his "personal dialogue" have demonstrated a perspective of understanding? It is a challenging thought to imagine that someone would really dive into Haasse's work, putting the texts in context while reading them closely and carefully. Reading implies asking questions, constructing answers, and relating the texts to the reader's own time and perspectives. Writing a biography is about dialoguing and making the work timely and relevant—demonstrating its complexity, contingency, and singularity.

Where Fromm is characterized by Friedman as a man having had various roles, Haasse is pushed into the format of being a writer in a frustrating marriage. But let this not be the final description: We can also see her as an inspiring intellectual autodidact who kept on studying, reading, and writing, contributing novels as well as essays to her time and our time as well. She left an impressive *oeuvre* that invites readers to keep asking questions. Imagination was not an escape from an ordinary life but an intellectual exercise into new forms of human knowledge and identification.

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An Uncommon Commons: The Public Intellectuals Conference, 2009-2017

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Keywords: conferences, convener, Erikson, fellowship, Friedman, Fromm, interdisciplinary, public-intellectuals, scholarly-labor

Among Larry Friedman's many considerable abilities—as a scholar, a political operative, a walking encyclopedia of Cleveland baseball, and an erstwhile knuckleballer—one perhaps less visible should not be overlooked: Larry is a convener. Over time, I came to see how Larry worked behind the scenes to bring together people who shared ideas and, in many ways, temperaments. He stood at the center of overlapping circles, and while I initially thought that it was Larry's intellectual concerns that tied it all together, I later realized that it was also, or even more so, his way of being in the world that served as the center of gravity. One of the gatherings Larry organized played a vital role in my life as a young historian: the Public Intellectuals Conference.

After publishing *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson* (1999), and while concluding *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet* (2013), Larry was interested in further pursuing an important feature that those two figures shared: their standing and work as public intellectuals. That concern carried forward into his forthcoming book about "One Worlders," as Larry calls them, which began to take shape around that time. In those years, Larry had also relocated to Boston—Somerville, to be precise—where he became immersed in the intellectual life of the city and conducted a seminar in Harvard's Mind Brain Behavior Initiative. He was part of regular conversation circles that included his friend Howard Gardner, Nathan Glazer, and Noam Chomsky, among others. Larry was not only thinking about public intellectuals; he was also talking to them. He decided to convene a wider

discussion, and the Public Intellectuals Conference at Harvard was born.

By the time I showed up a few years into its run, the conference had already brought together an amazing array of scholars from different disciplines and several countries. My lists, reliant upon memory, will be incomplete. (I am thankful to Mark West for establishing the date range listed in the subtitle of this essay.) There were historians, political scientists, philosophers, sociologists, literary scholars, and people who did interdisciplinary work that spanned these columns. There were Canadian, Israeli, Australian, Dutch, German, British, Portuguese, and American participants. There were senior scholars, mid-career scholars, and graduate students.

I was one of the latter. Up to that point, I had attended a handful of graduate-student conferences, one of the vast national professional meetings, and a smaller gathering in my subfield. In spite of some rewarding elements, my overall experience of those events might be described succinctly under the heading: anxiety. The Public Intellectuals Conference was different. At first, it seemed like the most challenging of formats. There were no panel sessions. Each presenter was a session of one—giving a roughly 20 -minute talk followed by a discussion. There were no concurrent sessions with panels of four and audiences of three. The conference took place in one large room with a giant table around which all participants sat. Everyone was present for everything. Senior people with books to their names sat side by side with students. It resembled a diplomatic summit without the tiny flags. In other words, there was nowhere to hide. More importantly, there was no need to.

Larry opened each of the conferences with a message about what we might accomplish over the next few days. He urged us to try and build upon each other's ideas so that we could together develop a clearer understanding of what a public intellectual is and how and why—indeed whether—public intellectuals matter. I recall thinking: This is going to be one big, rolling conversation. For the most part, it was. Larry made clear that in order to move our thinking forward, we had to avoid such diversions as grandstanding, point-scoring, and takedowns. We did—mostly.

As a result, the whole texture of the intellectual experience was changed. I found that in the space formerly occupied by dread,

other things bloomed: clearer thinking, new questions, distinctions, and connections. Our enthusiastic conversations continued into lunches and along sidewalks and at dinner tables. We were getting to know one another by virtue of getting to think with one another. It was intellectually rewarding and something more: a pleasure.

Damon Freeman, Mark West, Pilar Damião de Medeiros, and others were Larry's partners in the hard work of organizing the conference and the careful task of setting its tone. Over the years, the conferences moved to different locations while retaining many of the same participants. They became for me a venue to work out ideas and, eventually, most of the elements of my dissertation. Established scholars were encouraging and generous with advice and guidance that demystified parts of the academic journey. Larry did these things, and he brought together others who did them too.

A number of presentations at the conference took the form of examining the work of an individual whose overall public life or, in some cases, intervention at a particular moment, exemplified public intellectualism. The range of these presentations, however, tended to erode rather than solidify our definitions of the public intellectual. One presenter would point to a figure who had been a courageous voice of dissent, but the next would highlight someone for whom public intellectualism had much more to do with celebrity than bravery. Just as there appeared to be a model of public intellectuals as academics who reached beyond the academy, the next presenters would offer convincing accounts of comedians and novelists as public intellectuals.

There was a productive tension between the need, on the one hand, for deeply contextualizing these cases—attending to historical, national, sociological, and even personal backgrounds—and for identifying, on the other, persistent theoretical and philosophical questions that appeared across this range of contexts. At the end of a long day of vigorous discussion, I remember Larry saying something to this effect: we are less certain now than when we began. To me, that suggested a productive day.

The conferences themselves, I began to notice, were a microcosm of something that was emerging in the historical materials I had assembled for my dissertation: in spite of being inconclusive, even bewildering, debates about the public role of intellectuals recurred because participants in them believed they mattered. But why—what was at stake? As we shifted the level of analysis from

the activities of intellectuals to debates about them—debates in which intellectuals participated but which also engaged a variety of other participants—what came into focus was a contest about the character of the public sphere and the types of authority one might wield in it.

In American political culture, debates about intellectuals have been a forum for conflicting visions of American democracy. Such stakes help to account for why debates about intellectuals have often been characterized by hope and scorn but, rarely, indifference. This line of thinking, which I honed at the conference over several years, would ultimately be at the center of my book, *Hope and Scorn: Eggheads, Experts, and Elites in American Politics* (2020).

Scholarly labor, particularly in the later stages of graduate school and the early stages of a career, can be a solitary endeavor. The Public Intellectuals conferences, however, gave me the sense that my work contributed to a broader, important—even urgent—conversation that reached beyond the boundaries of my field and the borders of my nation. They also provided fellowship. Larry established the tradition of a pizza party on the eve of the conference, often at his home in Somerville. There we swapped stories and talked politics, ideas, hometowns, baseball, family, and books. In memory, those gatherings glow. I have in mind an image of Larry about to tell a story or a joke, delighted to be among all those he had convened.

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Henry Wallace: A Peacemongering Visionary Erased from the Historical Record

Peter Kuznick—American University

Abstract: Larry Friedman and I both admire visionaries who employ their insights and wisdom to try and make a better world. High on our list is Henry A. Wallace, FDR's Secretary of Agriculture and Vice President from 1941 to 1945. During those years and until his September 1946 fir-

ing by Truman as Secretary of Commerce, Wallace waged a lonely, though heroic, battle to prevent the Cold War and nuclear arms race. He almost succeeded.

Keywords: Cold War, New Deal, nuclear-arms-race, Roosevelt, Soviet Union, Wallace, war-and-peace

Ever since I met Larry Friedman at Wellfleet in 2005, he and I have shared our fascination with visionary thinkers who employ their insights and wisdom in trying to make a better world. One we have discussed at great length and both written about is Henry A. Wallace, a towering presence in the 1930s and 1940s who has been largely erased from history. Wallace was a rare figure who never cared for the emoluments of fame, fortune, or power. His was a different journey. He tried to prevent the Cold War. He almost succeeded. The world would certainly have been different if he had.

Franklin Roosevelt tapped Wallace to be Secretary of Agriculture in his New Deal administration. Wallace, a reserved Iowan whose eccentricities and voracious intellectual appetite made him stand out in the power-conscious world of Washington, turned out to be an extraordinary choice. The collapse of the farm economy had been one of the triggers of the 1930s depression. Farm income in 1932 was barely a third of what it had been in 1929. Restoring agricultural prosperity would prove essential to the broader economic recovery that marked the early New Deal.

Wallace's solutions may have been unorthodox and controversial, but they worked. With exports having collapsed and the warehouses bursting with excess cotton, he paid farmers to destroy 25% of their 1933 cotton crops to reduce the surplus. He next paid farmers to slaughter six million baby pigs. Such acts were anathema to Wallace, but he did manage to distribute 100 million pounds of pork, lard, and soap to needy Americans. Within a year, the price of cotton doubled. Overall farm income rose by 30%. He acknowledged that destroying crops and livestock amid hunger and need "were not acts of idealism in any sane society" but "emergency acts" driven by necessity (Culver & Hyde, p. 125). Going forward, he would try to reorganize society to make sure such actions were never necessary again. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (March 12, 2000), later wrote that "Wallace was a great secretary of agriculture."

Wallace was not only a devoted New Dealer, but he was

also an outspoken critic of racism. Working closely with American scientists, Wallace used his background in plant genetics to debunk various racist theories that were circulating in the late 1930s as he became one of America's most ardent anti-fascists. Realizing we were likely heading into a war against German Nazism, Italian fascism, and Japanese imperialism, Roosevelt wanted a true progressive on the ticket as vice president and insisted on Wallace. When the party bosses balked at his choice of an agrarian radical who had only recently become a Democrat, Roosevelt drafted a remarkable letter to the convention declaring that if the Democratic Party did not stand for truly progressive ideals, it had no reason to exist, and he was turning down the presidential nomination. Fortunately, the bosses realized Roosevelt wasn't bluffing and acceded to his demand to put Wallace on the ticket.

Although Wallace never evolved into a traditional politician, he became an even more decisive moral force as vice president and a needed antidote to the politically savvy though overly pragmatic president. When *Time-Life* editor Henry Luce wrote in 1941 that the 20th century must be the "American century"—one in which the U.S. would lead the world—Wallace (1973) responded with a speech in which he offered a different and better vision, countering that the 20th century must become "the century of the common man" (p. 636). He called for a "people's revolution" in the tradition of the American, French, German, Latin American, and Russian Revolutions, each of which, he said, "spoke for the common man," though some, he acknowledged, went to excess (Wallace, 1973, p. 636). Wallace (1973) laid out a vision of peace—a people's peace—and prosperity that would end monopolies and cartels, end imperialism and exploitation, and spread the fruits of science and technology around the globe: "No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations…there must be neither military nor economic imperialism…. International cartels that serve American greed…must go (p. 638)…. The people's revolution is on the march" (p. 640).

Understanding the extraordinary, even heroic, role the Soviets were playing in the defeat of fascism, Wallace envisioned postwar friendship and collaboration with Russia. He garnered headlines for his November 9, 1942, speech before 20,000 at the Congress of American-Soviet friendship in Madison Square Garden. "Greeted by an ear-splitting ovation," according to the *New York Times*, Wallace outlined his hopes for the future (n. a., November 9,

1942, Text of Wallace's pledge). He announced that Roosevelt had decided to make the Soviet Union "priority No. 1" since it was doing most of the fighting, most of the killing, and most of the dying. The Soviets had lost 50% more men than the rest of the Allies combined and had killed, wounded, or captured at least 20 times more Germans than the rest of the Allies. He outlined what the new democracy, "the democracy of the common man," would entail and that was "not only the Bill of Rights, but also economic democracy, ethnic democracy, educational democracy, and democracy in the treatment of the sexes." He gave Russia credit where credit was due: "From the Russians we can learn much, for unfortunately the Anglo-Saxons have had an attitude toward other races which has made them exceedingly unpopular in many parts of the world," he declared. "We have not sunk to the lunatic level of the Nazi myth of racial superiority, but we have sinned enough to cost us already the blood of tens of thousands of precious lives. Ethnic democracy built from the heart is perhaps the greatest need of the Anglo-Saxon tradition." He found the U.S. equally deficient and lagging when it came to the treatment of women.

Wallace spoke of his meeting with Foreign Minister Molotov in which they discussed the likely postwar suffering and misery and the need for a vast global program of public works. Wallace outlined an international public works program that would, he said, "stir the imagination of all the peoples of the world" (n. a., November 9, 1942, Text of Wallace's pledge). Wallace added that the new democracy, the democracy of the common man, "by definition abhors imperialism." The United Nations, he forecasted, led by the U.S. and Russia, would guarantee postwar peace. His oft-stated condemnation of colonialism would, however, incur the enduring wrath of British and French imperialists, who would make common cause with conservative Democratic Party bosses, Southern segregationists, and anti-union businessmen in pressuring Roosevelt to drop him from the ticket in 1944.

Initially given an enormous portfolio to oversee the wartime economy, Wallace clashed openly with conservative Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones. Instead of coming to Wallace's defense, Roosevelt relieved him of some duties. But as the 1944 election approached, Wallace's popularity was undiminished. Gallup released a poll on the opening day of the Democratic Convention in Chicago in July, asking voters who they wanted as the Democratic vice-presidential nominee. Sixty-five percent chose Wallace. Two

percent chose Harry Truman. The party bosses' control of the convention, a power play in which the increasingly frail Roosevelt acquiesced, thwarted the will of the American people and changed the course of history.

Many knew the fix was in, but rank-and-file Democrats spontaneously rallied on the first night of the convention. Fervent Wallace supporter Senator Claude Pepper knew that if he could nominate Wallace that night, Wallace would win the nomination before the bosses could carry out their unpopular plan. Pepper fought his way through the crowd to five feet from the microphone when Samuel Jackson, the chair, announced that the meeting was adjourned. As Oliver Stone and I have argued elsewhere, had Pepper not been thwarted, there would have almost certainly been no atomic bombings in World War II and very likely no Cold War.

Roosevelt, sensing he had made a colossal blunder, for which he had been roundly castigated not only by progressives but by his wife Eleanor and his children, begged Wallace to stay on in the Cabinet. Wallace, like Herbert Hoover two decades earlier, chose to become Secretary of Commerce. But on April 12, 1945, Roosevelt died, and Truman became president. Truman was neither worldly nor wise and Roosevelt had done nothing to prepare him for his awesome responsibilities. They had met only twice in the 82 days that Truman had served as vice president and had discussed nothing of substance about the agreements at Yalta or relations with the Soviet Union and Britain. Stunningly, during that almost three-month period, no one had even bothered to tell the little-regarded vice president that the U.S. was building an atomic bomb. But with the man who had guided the United States through the Depression and the war gone from the scene, Truman would have to make some of the most consequential decisions in the nation's history—a responsibility for which, as he himself recognized and admitted, he was much less qualified than either Roosevelt or Wallace.

From his Cabinet position, Wallace battled tirelessly against the administration hawks, led by Secretary of State Jimmy Byrnes and Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, over relations with the Soviet Union and nuclear policy. It was a lonely struggle, but Wallace understood the stakes better than anyone else. Initially, Truman equivocated, agreeing with Wallace whenever they spoke, but gradually he edged closer toward the incipient Cold Warriors, who sought a break with America's wartime Soviet partners. The Sovi-

ets were then still widely credited with playing an equal or greater role in the defeat of Nazi Germany, a realization that has eroded and disappeared over the years in the West. The latest polling shows that in France, only 8% (Jordan, May 1, 2015) believe the Soviets played the decisive role, down from the 57% (n. a., December 9, 2016) who did so in 1945. Europeans, having forgotten that throughout most of the war, the Soviets faced 200 enemy divisions while Britain and the United States faced 10 between them, resulting, in part, in the loss of 27 million Soviet people (Gaddis, 1978, p. 151). No wonder Senator Arthur Vandenberg told Truman in early 1947 that if he wanted to get his anti-communist Truman Doctrine through Congress, he would have to "scare the hell out of the country" (Beisner, 2006, p. 671).

Wallace understood the Soviet sacrifice and need for post-war peace and economic development, but he saw the U.S. war spirit building and tried to head it off. After Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, heightened the likelihood of an open rift between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., with Truman next to him on the dais, James Roosevelt, the former president's oldest son, publicly announced, "I would like to see the Secretary of Commerce, Henry Wallace, fly to Russia" to ease the tensions that Churchill had exacerbated (Stephenson, March 15, 1946). Roosevelt understood that Wallace, with his reputation "for fairness and integrity," not Byrnes or any of the other Cabinet members, could approach the Soviets in the spirit of friendship that enabled Roosevelt's father and Stalin to work together in defeating fascism despite their disagreements over so many matters.

The following month, on the first anniversary of Roosevelt's death, Wallace (March 15, 1946) publicly repudiated Churchill at an event in New York's City Hall, condemning his "recrudescence" of atomic bomb-enabled "imperialism." "The destiny of the English speaking people," he declared "is to serve the world, not dominate it." He explained that the "only kind of competition we want with the Soviets is to demonstrate that we can raise our standard of living faster during the next twenty years than Russia. We shall compete with Russia in serving the spiritual and physical needs of the common man…. Let's make it a clean race, a determined race but above all a peaceful race in the service of humanity." But, Wallace warned, international relations were being governed by fear, not by peaceful competition. "The source of all our mistakes is fear," he stated, "Russia fears Anglo-Saxon encir-

clement. We fear Communist penetration. If these fears continue, the day will come when our sons and grandsons will pay for these fears with rivers of blood…. Out of fear great nations have been acting like cornered beasts, thinking only of survival."

Wallace continued challenging the emerging Cold War orthodoxy, urging Truman and the hardliners to imagine how U.S. actions around the world looked to Soviet leaders. As long as Wallace, the last of Roosevelt's New Dealers left in the Cabinet, held on, there remained a glimmer of hope to avoid the Cold War and nuclear arms race. Unfortunately, his days were limited. The open break occurred when Wallace deplored the advent of the Cold War in a widely heralded speech at Madison Square Garden on September 12, 1946. Knowing that the speech would be controversial, he meticulously went over it line by line with Truman, who gave it his stamp of approval. In the packed Garden, sitting alongside Pepper and Paul Robeson before stepping to the podium, Wallace (1973) began, "Tonight I want to talk about peace—and how to get peace. Never have the common people of all lands so longed for peace. Yet, never… have they feared war so much…. We cannot rest in the assurance that we invented the atom bomb…. He who trusts in the atom bomb will sooner or later perish by the atom bomb" (p. 660). He insisted that the U.S. had no interest in saving the British empire and should not let oil rivalries drag the country into war.

Wallace (1973) laid out a spheres-of-influence argument that might resonate with some today: "we have no more business in the political affairs of eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, western Europe, and the United States. We may not like what Russia does in eastern Europe" (p. 665). He further explained: "Her type of land reform, industrial expropriation, and suppression of basic liberties offends the great majority of the people of the United States…. But at the same time we have to recognize that the Balkans are closer to Russia than to us—and that Russia cannot permit either England or the United States to dominate the politics of that area" (Wallace, 1973, p. 666).

Wallace called for nuclear disarmament and drastic cuts in defense spending, proposing not only that all nations be prohibited from manufacturing atomic bombs, guided missiles, and fighter aircraft, but that no nation be allowed to spend more than 15% of its budget on its military. He then trained his sights on the warmongers—the growing chorus of hardliners who thought that war with Russia was inevitable and proposed to get it over with as

quickly as possible. "We who look on this war-with-Russia talk as criminal foolishness must carry our message direct to the people—even though we may be called communists because we dare to speak out" (Wallace, 1973, p. 668).

The response was electric. The State Department let it be known that the speech was more embarrassing to Secretary Byrnes, who was at a foreign ministers meeting in Paris, than if someone had pulled down Byrnes's pants in the middle of the conference. Eleanor Roosevelt and others publicly applauded Wallace's remarks. While the controversy raged on both sides of the Atlantic, someone leaked to the press Wallace's July 23, 1946 memo to Truman in which he identified the "fatal defect" in the bastardized version of the once-promising Acheson-Lilienthal plan for international nuclear arms control that financier Bernard Baruch presented before the United Nations in June 1946. Choosing the anti-Soviet Baruch as the messenger with the final say over the proposal had doomed the prospects for success as Truman and Byrnes later acknowledged.

In his memo, Wallace said that Russia's rejection of the American overture made perfect sense. Russia, he explained, had two cards to play in the negotiations: U.S. ignorance regarding Russia's progress in developing its own atomic weapons as well as of Russia's uranium and thorium resources. These cards, he noted, were almost nothing compared to the U.S.'s "stockpile of bombs, manufacturing plants in actual production, B-29s and B-36s, and our bases covering half the globe" (Wallace, 1973, p. 593). But despite this overwhelming advantage, he continued, "we are in effect asking her to reveal her only two cards immediately—telling her that after we have seen her cards we will decide whether we want to continue to play the game" (p. 593).

Byrnes cabled Truman complaining that Wallace's speech and memo had thrown the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting into complete disarray. He threatened to resign, as did Baruch. Fearing that Forrestal and Secretary of War Robert Patterson would do likewise, Truman demanded Wallace's resignation. The Cold War, with all the ugliness and destructiveness that portended, was now a *fait accompli.* The world would be lucky to survive the coming decades.

That night, September 20, 1946, Wallace spoke to a national radio audience, laying out clearly what was at stake as the world

lurched toward darkness in the emerging nuclear age. "Winning the peace, is more important than high office. It is more important than any consideration of party politics. The success or failure of our foreign policy will mean the difference between life and death for our children and our grandchildren," he insisted. "It will mean the difference between the life and death of our civilization. It may mean the difference between the existence and the extinction of man and of the world" (Wallace, 1973, p. 630).

Wallace would continue the fight against the Cold War and the nuclear arms race as the *New Republic* editor and as an unsuccessful Progressive Party presidential candidate in 1948. But his moment had passed, and with it vanished humanity's last hope for a sane and peaceful future. His voice and wisdom are needed today as the world again descends into war, both hot and cold, and threats of nuclear Armageddon. The stakes Wallace laid out on September 20, 1946, are just as true today as they were 76 years ago. But had Claude Pepper gotten that five feet to the microphone and nominated Wallace that night, it might have all been quite different.

Peter Kuznick, PhD, is Professor of History and Director of the Nuclear Studies Institute at American University in Washington, DC. He writes about the history of science, nuclear history, and Cold War culture. He's written and edited several books in the U.S. and Japan, including *Beyond the Laboratory: Scientists as Political Activists in 1930 America* (1987) and the *New York Times* best-selling 2012 book *The Untold History of the United States* (a companion to the 12-part documentary film series co-authored with Oliver Stone). Most recently, he co-authored *The Untold Postwar History of the U.S. and Japan* with Oliver Stone and former Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama. He can be contacted at pkuznick@aol.com.

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The Connector: History, Philanthropy, and Psychology

Dwight F. Burlingame—Indiana University

Keywords: biography, Erik H. Erikson, exploratory-discourse, history-of-philosophy, Larry Friedman, students, teaching

It was in 1978 that I met Professor Larry Friedman at Bowling Green State University in my first year on the faculty when I was appointed Dean of Libraries. He was a Distinguished University Professor of History and noted for his activism and scholarly contributions, particularly for the rights of minorities and the mentally ill. He specialized in the history of psychology and psychiatry (in which he used biography most effectively to tell the story of 20th century psychology and its practice) as well as modern intellectual and cultural history.

Our collegial relationship and friendship developed when I co-taught a course with Larry on the history of philanthropy at Bowling Green State University. It was in this setting that I became a disciple of exploratory discourse that Larry used most effectively in engaging with students. The open-ended questioning of what we know, how we know it, why we need to know it, and what

it means for oneself and the greater society was a habit that I have tried to employ in my own thinking and teaching.

Upon joining the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University in l990 to work with Robert Payton, the gospel of exploratory discourse was essential in our work as we sought to integrate research from disciplines and fields of study to a new understanding of the origins and practice of philanthropy locally and globally. After a couple of years, we had the good fortune of recruiting Larry to Indiana University's History Department in Bloomington as a professor of History and a professor of Philanthropy Studies with the Center of Philanthropy. He led the effort to engage more historians and students to explore and seek new ways of understanding philanthropy.

After many years of exploratory discourse on the history of philanthropy, perhaps one of his greatest contributions to philanthropic literature was his editorship with Mark McGarvie on *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, published in 2003. In his intro essay, "Philanthropy in America: Historicism and its Discontents," Larry provides a much-needed critique and challenges historians to be more engaged with "Philanthropic scholarship" by applying "satisfactory evidential and methodological imperatives." The academic historians selected to author the diverse essays in this volume provide fresh perspectives of philanthropy over many places and periods in America's past, thus accomplishing in part the goal to "historicize" the history of philanthropy.

It was Larry who connected for me and many others the contribution of psychology to the understanding of philanthropy as defined by Robert Payton as "voluntary action for the public good." In Friedman's 1999 book, *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson*, we are introduced to Erikson's eight-stage "life cycle" and the idea of "generativity." Larry masterfully makes the connection of Erikson's ideas to our understanding of serial reciprocity and philanthropy expressed in the form of charitable giving, volunteerism, and transfer of wealth.

Over the years, Larry and I had many fruitful conversations that enlightened me. Exploratory discourse in teaching about philanthropy and challenging our moral imagination provides not only insights into the structure and practices of past civil society but also calls for many modes of thought and critical perspectives as we

know the present and future love of humankind.

Dwight F. Burlingame, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of Philanthropic Studies at Indiana University where he taught various philanthropy and nonprofit courses and provided various academic leadership roles at the Center/School of Philanthropy. He served as editor of *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* for six years; editor of the Philanthropic and Nonprofits Studies book series for Indiana University Press for 30 years; and editor of the three-volume set *Philanthropy in America: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (2004). He can be contacted at dburling@iupui.edu. ❑

Larry Friedman, the Toledo Mud Hens, and Me

Joyce M. Rosenberg—Psychohist. Forum Res. Assoc.

Keywords: academic, baseball, Erikson, Friedman, Mud Hens, Psychohistory Forum, scholarship, "Why We Hate"

In writing about Larry Friedman and what he has meant to me, I feel bereft and behind the curve. Unlike other colleagues who can write about decades of friendship and scholarship, I have just a few years. Still, I know this short time has shown me so much of what Larry, and knowing Larry, is about.

My first encounter with Larry was in 2015 when he presented "Why We Hate" to the Psychohistory Forum. I was instantly impressed and filled with admiration. Awed. He was so human, so down to earth, which made his rich material so accessible. As I often do in the presence of a great researcher and academic, I felt comparatively unaccomplished.

Still, when Ted Cox approached me and said, "several of us are going out to dinner, would you like to join us?" I said yes. Then I discovered there were just four of us, including Hannah Turken, and that Larry was seated across the table from me. I wasn't going to be able to hide and just be an observer.

There was absolutely nothing to hide from. While Larry talked about people I didn't know and events I hadn't witnessed, the conversation was fascinating. Then, he started talking about baseball, and more to the point, the Toledo Mud Hens.

I am a huge baseball fan, an unapologetic Yankees fan. I love the game and the fact that anyone can have their moment in the sun even as they are part of a team. Yet Larry wasn't just talking about baseball—he described the summer he spent pitching for the Mud Hens, a minor league team in the Cleveland organization. The 18-year-old Larry had a terrible record, winning two games versus double-digit losses. He gave up at the end of the summer and went to the University of California, starting on the path that brought him to all of us.

I know I came alive at that point and found Larry and I had an instant bond. It was lovely.

A side trip that matters to this story: In 1990 I made a business trip to Toledo, and at the airport found a mug imprinted with the Mud Hens' logo. I bought it as a gift, the very first gift, for the man I had begun dating two months earlier and who I would eventually marry. Marty loved the mug, and it always had a special place in my heart. After Marty passed away in 2000, I often wondered what to do with the mug.

The answer came at dinner. I told Larry about the mug and the story behind it and asked him if he would like it. Of course, he did. I mailed it to him soon after, and he sent a handwritten thank you, telling me that it was his favorite mug now—and that Noam Chomsky tried to steal it when he came over for dinner. But Larry prevailed.

Marty would have loved every aspect of this story; I believe he would have liked Larry and vice versa.

The next time I saw Larry was when he presented at the Forum about Erikson. He was brilliant and human, of course. I now cannot pick up one of Erikson's books without thinking about Larry's presentation, and the aspects of Erikson's life that Larry learned through his scholarship and shared with all of us. In the midst of that presentation, Larry made me tell the story about the Mud Hens and the mug. It is impossible now for me to think about Larry without smiling, even as I continue to be filled with admiration.

Joyce M. Rosenberg, JD, is a licensed psychoanalyst, member of the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis, Research Associate of the Psychohistory Forum, and she has a private practice in Manhattan working with adults and couples. She

has taught courses on ethics, working with masochistic patients, and resistance analysis, as well as written papers on the connection between the psyche and creativity, empathy in culture and psychoanalysis, and the Holocaust. She may be contacted at psyjourn313@gmail.com. ❑

A ReConnection with Larry Friedman

Joseph Boskin—Boston University

Keywords: Boston University, culture, history, Los Angeles, One World-movement, politics, UCLA

In the early 1960s, I arrived in Los Angeles to begin a new position as an Assistant Professor of American Social and Intellectual History at the University of Southern California (UCLA). Los Angeles was, at that time, a relatively small, insular, sprawling, ethnic amalgam—in the humorous phrase popular among the natives, "60s suburbs in search of a city." There was no centrality in the traditional sense but rather two distinct populous areas 15 miles apart: the Hispanic community downtown; and Beverly Hills to the northwest, the host of the radio and film industries, as well as Westwood where UCLA is located.

There were no parking meters on the major streets. Between then and now, as history often accelerates in this dynamic of all cultures, Los Angeles is now second only to New York City as the most powerful cultural metropolis in the nation. Unless you want to chance it, there are now parking meters everywhere that demand tribute. Back then, though, is when I first met Larry Friedman.

I was 30 and Larry was 19. Despite his youth, Larry seemed at ease with older people. He lived with a younger sister and whirlwind parents who were at the center of the inland's small but highly vibrant radical community. I say inland because there was another compact radical enclave of retirees from New York's garment industry way to the west on the beach coast in Venice. No freeway cut across LA at that time, which meant that it took much maneuvering at slow speeds to get there. Several decades later, then-Republican Governor Ronald Reagan, no friend of environmentalism, pushed through a bill bulldozing a six-lane-plus highway path out to the Pacific Ocean.

The inland radicals consisted of old-Left liberals and socialists and a tiny contingent of members of the Communist Party. The ranks of the comrades had been increased in the late 1940s and 50s by the repression in play during the intensifying Cold War spearheaded by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and Senator Joseph McCarthy's nefarious actions. Many on the Left had swiftly escaped from the East to continue their organizing efforts in California's automobile factories and other places.

Los Angeles is essentially a social culture, and Larry's parents frequently held brunches on Sundays for the radical community in their ranch-style house. Soon after arriving, word spread of the young socialist couple, and we were included among the flowing garrulous radicals. I remember Larry only as a teenager, but I do recall that he mingled easily with the group. Then our paths slightly passed again a decade later when I was a Visiting Professor in the UCLA History Department.

It wasn't until further down the road that I read his several psychohistorical works and came to recognize the width and depth of his research and thoughts. By then I had moved on to Boston University as a joint Professor of History and African American Studies. So it wasn't until a humorous incident occurred that we came together in the academic universe of Boston's institutions.

Larry was then retired from Indiana University, a divorced, single man intent on impressing a possible future date. Mutual friends had brought them together. He launched into bouncing off the names of powerful well-known political and academic figures whom he knew and had also worked with in the Democratic Party at various elections. She herself had a radical background and had been married to a highly popular Marxist political science professor at Boston University. He was one of my closest friends and had died suddenly of a heart attack. She put up with this onslaught, then decided it was time to one-up him. "Oh," she said pointedly, "and do *you* know Joe Boskin?!" Larry bolted up. "You know Joe Boskin?!"

Here we are at this juncture. It was an instant connection, or rather, reconnection, as Larry and I became close friends and luncheon colleagues and pursued major league baseball. His athleticism was as a baseball pitcher in school, and he became a devotee of the Cleveland Indians, who won the World Series in 1948. He's been praying for a repeat ever since. Growing up in Coney Island,

mine centered on the old Brooklyn Dodgers of Ebbets Field renown. We also focused heavily on the political scene as well as history, both as a profession and our current research.

This is where we dovetailed, not in strict mutual interplay but with his notion of doing an interdisciplinary social and intellectual history pretty far removed from previous endeavors. He was fascinated by a topic that required considerable intellectual guts and corresponding imagination. Several of his close friends advised against it, one of whom astonishingly exclaimed that there was no history there, and in any case, it had no relevance. I was ecstatic and signed on as a special guide for the duration.

Its overall scope is an in-depth narrative of the pacifist One World Movement that came into existence in the previous century, taking on a utopian form and fervent adherents as they responded to the intense force of nationalism that produced several destructive Global Wars. Plus the breakthrough technological development of nuclear weaponry in 1945 that now threatens the demise of humans and other species. His title derives from the influential thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi: *A World Without Nations*.

It is a seminal work that will be the definitive history of this movement for decades to come. At this point, only a set-back in time has marred its publication. Larry took ill and is still recuperating from its effects. He decided to move across the country to be with his daughter and family, especially his two grandsons, to surround himself with familial warmth and continue his writing. I remain one of his few guides and bug him constantly about completing this particular episode in history. He patiently puts up with me in the same way he anticipates a World Series repeat by the Cleveland Indians, who are now called the Guardians. Marvelously, he retains his optimism.

Joseph Boskin, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of American Social History and American Studies at Boston University. He is the author of many articles, book chapters, encyclopedia entries, review essays, and several books, including *Into Slavery: Racial Decisions in the Virginia Colony* (1977), *Sambo: The Rise & Demise of an American Jester* (1986), and *Rebellious Laughter: People's Humor in American Culture* (1997). He can be contacted at jboskin@bu.edu. ❑

An Outstanding Psychobiographer, Psychohistorian, and Organizer of Public Intellectual Events

Paul H. Elovitz—The Psychohistory Forum

Keywords: Erikson, Fromm, Lawrence J. Friedman, Menningers, political-activist, psychohistory, public-intellectual, scholarship, storyteller

Lawrence J. Friedman is a multi-faceted colleague: a baseball fan, historian, mentor, organizer of Public Intellectuals conferences, political activist, psychobiographer, and psychohistorian. Among Larry's many activities and accomplishments were his serving as an Associate Editor of the *Psychohistory Review* for 15 years and his presence on the Board of International Advisors of the *Psychoanalysis and History* journal. He was also a member of Robert Jay Lifton's Wellfleet psychohistory group. (Mark West has commented on the fascinating accounts Larry has given about attending Robert Jay Lifton's Wellfleet group.) Professor Friedman is open to new ideas, thus when he noticed in *The History of Psychohistory* (2018) a reference to deMause's *The Emotional Life of Nations* (2002), he enthusiastically declared it to be a brilliant idea. I agreed while pointing out that the evidential base for the book was so weak that it undercut the concept.

It is only in the 21st century that I got to know this talented colleague. Earlier on, I had attempted to introduce him to the New York-based psychohistorical circle that I had been organizing since the mid-1970s, but apparently, he had heard too much about the badmouthing of anyone associated with Lloyd deMause. Regrettably, this was commonplace among colleagues in the Midwest and elsewhere. In all fairness, this came about because of several factors. One reason was the rivalry between those associated with the Group for the Use of Psychoanalysis in History (GUPH)/ *Psychohistory Review* and deMause's Institute for Psychohistory/ *Journal of Psychohistory*/International Psychohistorical Association (IPhA). Then there was the pioneering psychohistorian Peter Loewenberg, who for years denigrated the New York group because of Lloyd's various missteps and claims that psychohistory was a science, which led Peter to leave the *Journal's* Editorial Board. However, when Charles Strozier moved to New York from Illinois to assist Robert Jay Lifton in running the newly founded

psychohistorically based Center on Violence and Human Survival, more historians in the Midwest began to understand that not everything emanating out of Manhattan should be ostracized. Chuck Strozier was delighted to then accept being a featured speaker at the IPhA, leading Friedman and others in the Midwest to realize that there were solid historical psychological colleagues who, while associating and building psychohistory with Lloyd deMause, were as critical of deMause's extreme views as they were.

Lawrence J. Friedman's outstanding psychobiographical studies of the Menningers, Erik Erikson, and Erich Fromm deserve to be read repeatedly. They are a tribute to outstanding psychohistory, reflecting the intense archival work of a well-trained psychological historian who also knows how to tell a good story. His scholarship has led to his lecturing in 11 different countries and building friendships around the world. I have learned of Larry's many talents through his writing as well as in his presentations to the Psychohistory Forum and our personal communications.

Although he boasts of his childhood correspondence with the Yankee great Yogi Berra, Larry is an intense Yankee hater and fan of the Cleveland Indians (whoops, I mean Cleveland Guardians). As an 18-year-old, he had tried out to pitch for one of their Ohio farm teams. In our early years of personal communications, I was at first put off by his denigration of the Yankees. It took me a while to realize that I could just be joshing with him about baseball and defending my beloved Yankees. As I write at the moment, it's still up for grabs as to whether Cleveland or New York will emerge from their five-game playoff series as the victor: Larry and I have a gentleman's bet on the outcome (usually the bet is for lunch or dinner, but at the moment, we are forced into a bi-coastal relationship, and eating virtually just isn't the same thing as sitting at the table with a friend).

As a passionate storyteller, Larry excels, although he can be a bit of a tease. Such as when he was enthusiastically starting to tell me about his friendship with then Vice President designate Biden, who in 2008 came to Indiana to campaign with him for the Obama ticket, resulting in a Democratic win (as Larry tells it). As I sat at the edge of my seat, waiting for some wonderful information that I knew I might not be able to share with anyone (as an analyst, I learned how to never reveal something spoken in confidence), Larry clammed up. Perhaps this was for good reason since Biden was about to step into the White House. It would have been won-

derful to have known Larry during his days as a Freedom Rider helping disenfranchised Southern Blacks to have the courage to risk their lives by voting. I have no doubt that the stories would have been exciting and wonderful. His commitment to social justice led him to write the book *The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South* (1970), which I had vainly hoped someone would write about in detail for this Festschrift.

Larry's politics lean to the Left, but he knows his own mind, as when he told his Communist parents after Party leader Gus Hall, upon release from jail in the 1950s, slept in their house: "He's a dumb shit" (Elovitz & Lentz, December 2003, p. 102). This was much to the chagrin of his father and the agreement of his mother. As a result of the Cold War, the contributions of American Communists fighting for their ideals and the rights of Blacks, women, workers, and humankind in general, have been regrettably forgotten. As he said in his 2003 interview for this journal: "I was a sympathizer. [But Hall and] The Party did a lot of stupid things" such as being anti-Gorbachev (Elovitz & Lentz, December 2003, p. 102). Like most who came out of these Leftish traditions, he ended up a supporter of the progressive aspects of the Democratic Party. Despite the predictable conservative reaction under Trump to the extension of rights, many of the ideals American Communists contributed to have become embedded in our society.

Larry's mentoring of colleagues, both young and old, is key to why we have many contributions to the *Clio* Festschrift in his honor. Larry, upon fulfilling his Harvard dream and moving to Metropolitan Boston, would speak at length about graduate students and other young scholars he was mentoring and working to connect with the Psychohistory Forum in New York as well as *Clio's Psyche*. Professor Friedman went out of his way (and got me to do the same) to help Professor Pilar Damião de Medeiros gain tenure through an invitation to present in the United States, though the trip itself never materialized. He not only helped Mark West, now the Bonnie E. Cone Professor in Civic Engagement and English at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, as a member of his dissertation committee, but he also helped get Mark a job at the Menninger Foundation. Professor West has done so much to solicit submissions for this *Clio* Festschrift; many colleagues enjoy reciprocating Friedman's generosity. While it is tempting to write that Larry epitomizes Erikson's generativity in later life, since at Indiana University he was a Professor of History and Philanthropy, his

giving has been a career-long activity.

Professor Friedman is an outstanding example of a public intellectual who delights in this task and advocates for change publicly and in politics while organizing Public Intellectual meetings at Harvard. Graduate students loved being invited and sitting next to world-famous intellectuals. I asked him, "How can psychologically oriented scholars have more influence in academia and on society in general?" He responded: "We need to rediscover the public intellectual tradition and write for broader audiences. We should get out there in the real world and fight real problems, and attend fewer department meetings. We should never aspire to be deans and chairs. That experience [as Coordinator of Graduate Studies in History, 1989-1993] nearly did me in" (Elovitz & Lentz, December 2003, p. 108). This is excellent advice, although I do have some thoughts about interviewing colleagues such as the president of Wesleyan College to see how he's managed to avoid this pitfall

There is so much that one can say and celebrate about Professor Lawrence J. Friedman, who is an extraordinarily productive and multi-faceted person. Despite the health problems that incline to come with age and my wish for him to enjoy his daughter and grandsons during his retirement in Washington state, I know it is psychological history that does so much to motivate him. So, for the sake of our field, and especially knowledge of the prelude to the Cold War, I wish him every success in finishing his wonderful forthcoming book, *A World Without Nations: Pragmatic Visionaries and the Quest for Global Peace*. I also wish that the many younger scholars who he has inspired will emulate his incredible contributions as a colleague, mentor, public intellectual, scholar, and teacher.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is the editor of this journal and may be contacted at cliospsycheeditor@gmail.com.

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An Appreciation of Larry Friedman

David Lotto—*The Journal of Psychohistory*

Keywords: Fromm, The Journal of Psychohistory, Lifton, psychobiography, psychohistory, teacher, Wellfleet, writer

I first met Larry at the Wellfleet psychohistory group meetings hosted by Robert Lifton. He was a regular attendee and I looked forward to seeing him once a year in the early fall when we met. I talked with him about the biography of Erich Fromm that he was in the process of writing. We had several talks about the ethics of whether or not to disclose certain information he had obtained in the course of doing research for the book. My position was that he should publish the information he had for the sake of creating an accurate historical record. Ultimately, he chose not to include the material in his book.

After his book *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet* was published in 2013, I wrote a review, which was published in *The Journal of Psychohistory*. Most of the piece was devoted to summarizing the long list of Fromm's accomplishments. To quote from my review: "Erich Fromm was an incredibly productive and prolific individual, full of energy, at times exuberant or perhaps hypomanic, with a richly complex intellectual and personal life... Fromm had multiple interests and identities... He was a teacher, mentor, public lecturer, political activist... He is the author of 31 books..." On rereading what I had written, I realized that the above description applied to Larry as well as to Erich; although Larry has only written seven books.

Larry's *Curriculum Vitae* is available online. It is 12 pages long. In addition to what has been mentioned, Larry is an award-winning teacher and prolific writer of articles, papers, and book reviews. Furthermore, he is, of course, the author of the excellent psychobiographies of Erik Erikson and Erich Fromm.

Larry also has a masochistic streak—he has been a lifelong Cleveland Indians fan.

David Lotto, PhD, is a veteran psychologist, psychoanalyst, and psychohistorian who is a longtime member of the Psychohistory Forum. He practices psychotherapy in Western Massachusetts, edits *The Journal of Psychohistory*, and may be reached at dlotto@nycap.rr.com. ❑

My Inspiring Mentor

Pilar Damião de Medeiros—Univer. of the Azores, PT

Keywords: academic-discussion, Harvard Public Intellectuals Annual Conference, humanitarian, intellectual, Larry Friedman, respect, writing

One of my first encounters with Larry Friedman was in 2011 at the Harvard Public Intellectuals Annual Conference. From then on, this great and widely renowned scholar has become my dearest friend and mentor. I feel great admiration for his informal and humble way of being. As a humanitarian, he encourages everyone around him to freely discuss their own thoughts. For him, human dignity and respect must be at the center of any academic discussion. These values he upholds have brought us together, either by organizing conferences (Lisbon and Azores) or guiding us along the hard and sometimes painful process of writing. His original way of framing questions has challenged me, and his deeply knowledgeable method of deconstructing complex matters has helped me learn to interrogate myself, my intellectual commitments, and the world around me.

I feel grateful for:

-The time he visited me and brought E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* for my eldest daughter
-Being the one chosen to throw his 80th birthday party online
-The times when he shares jokes with me and talks about the important things in both our lives
-Being pushed to another level of critical interrogation during our joint writing process
-His mentoring and especially his genuine friendship.

May all readers enjoy this Festschrift! Also to you, Larry, congratulations! What a great writing *festa.*

Pilar Damião de Medeiros, PhD, holds her degree from Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany (2007). She is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of the Azores, Portugal. She has published four books as well as several scholarly articles and book chapters on: cultural sociology and critical theory; intellectuals, activism, and the public sphere; and cultural and creative industries. She is a member of the Interdisciplinary Centre of

Social Sciences who can be contacted at pilar.sl.medeiros@uac.pt. ❑

Sunday Morning Epistles

Cassandra Atherton—Deakin University (Australia)

Keywords: baseball, conferences, emails, Hiroshima, Japan, Larry Friedman, One World, world-peace, writing

From January 2013 until August 2021, Larry and I sent emails to one another. At opposite ends of the day, I would write on my Saturday evening, and it would arrive on Larry's Sunday morning. He called it his Sunday morning epistle and we discussed everything from baseball to world peace. We also kept one another company across the miles. Re-reading our emails for this publication, I'm moved by the wonderful dialogue that cautiously unfolds between two people with intersecting interests.

Perhaps even more importantly, our correspondence sparked ideas, projects, and activism, especially when Trump became president, such as this email from Larry: "I have also been up to politics in this horrible turn to the Right globally. I ran the campaign in Somerville of a very smart and empathetic woman about your age against the establishment — and she (Stephanie) won big." He continued by saying: "Other than that, it is the usual ACLU, Amnesty, etc stuff with very mixed results. Our bastard President may start a nuclear war and is domestically pushing the U.S. into a McCarthy period" (Lawrence Friedman, personal communication, December 8, 2017).

I first met Larry at the Public Intellectuals Conference in Cambridge in 2013. I submitted an abstract based on my interview with Noam Chomsky entitled "Power in the Tower: Public Intellectuals in the Ivory Tower." I was entirely unaware that Larry and Noam were close friends (and that Larry has cooked him his famous kosher salmon many times). When I was selected to present at the conference, Larry and I bonded over our mutual loathing of jargon and sections from my paper that discussed Chomsky's (2013) argument that "It is mostly unintelligible gibberish.… What it turns out to be is a way for intellectuals to be more radical than thou, but do nothing except talk to each other in academic seminars and not get involved with the general public in real activism" (p.

135).

I have been to hundreds of conferences in my career, but I had never been to a conference like the one that Larry chaired. Everyone sat at a large, polished table in the Longfellow building at Harvard. We discussed each paper in an overwhelmingly generous, inspiring, and literary environment. Larry ensured there was no competitiveness or one-upmanship (or one-upwomanship—I love that Larry is a strong feminist). I attended three more Public Intellectuals conferences, and in our emails over this time, he discussed his ideas for the brilliant book he is currently writing. When I asked him what he'd been up to, Larry replied with a "pretty much a final outline of the One World book. I am writing the whole book now and your always cogent suggestions would be quite welcome as soon as you can send them. It is the toughest book I ever wrote" (Lawrence Friedman, personal communication, December 8, 2017). Indeed, Larry sent me his One World outline many times (as I know he did countless others), and I watched it grow and evolve with his ongoing research, nuanced thinking, and in discussion with others.

Larry was also interested in my research on atomic bomb literature and incredibly generous with his discussion and responses when I asked him about the Hiroshima Maidens—the focus of my current book. Over time, we bonded over a mutual love of Japan and baseball—and Japanese baseball! We are both Hiroshima Carps fans. Larry's love of baseball is legendary, but I wasn't aware until he told me, "I played minor league baseball one season and should have skipped college and gone on" (Lawrence Friedman, personal communication, March 11, 2014). As the pandemic closed international borders, we imagined doing research in Hiroshima on our individual projects as soon as they opened. In his email, Larry suggested: "If the travel ban lifts, do you want to meet up with me in Hiroshima in August? Given its centrality to the book, this will be my second time there. And then… we can see the Hiroshima Carp play baseball" (Lawrence Friedman, personal communication, March 24, 2020). We talked about going to Mazda Zoom-Zoom Stadium and singing the Carp theme song as we watched a game. Unfortunately, neither of us realized the Japanese border would be closed for so long and is only opening next month (October 2022 as of the writing of this article).

Finally, it's important to highlight Larry's wicked sense of humor. Not all of the jokes we shared can be reproduced here, but I

wanted to conclude with something light-hearted to capture his mischievous side. So, I'll end by stating that my life has been enriched by our shared epistolary, and then give Larry the final word:

> I will close therefore with the story of two very old men who lived near UCLA – Harry & Joe who eat every day at Canter's Deli and talk baseball nonstop over a 3 hour lunch. Harry dies one day and goes to heaven where he is bored as hell and one day Harry returns to Canter's Deli to have lunch with Joe. Predictably Joe's first question is – "Do they play baseball in heaven?" he asks. "Yes they do," Harry replies, "and you are scheduled to pitch tomorrow." Much Love, Larry (Lawrence Friedman, personal communication, March 24, 2020).

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One World, Open Borders

Robin Alfriend Kello—UCLA

Keywords: collective-experience, global-justice, global-order, global-violence, idealism, Larry Friedman, One World, One-Worlders

Borders cross. They cut, severing communities. Due to the happenstance of birthplace, they exclude with the threat of lethal force. As the scholar, Joseph Carens (2013), succinctly puts it: "Borders have guards and the guards have guns" (p. 225). The post-Westphalian development of the nation-state as the dominant form of global political organization has evolved in the 21st century into a world system that facilitates capital flow while restricting the movement of human beings. None of that is news to you, nor was

it news to me when I began doing research with Larry Friedman in 2016 for the forthcoming *World Without Nations: Pragmatic Visionaries and the Quest for Global Peace*.

What was new: the sudden sense of possibility that came with imagining otherwise, the dizzying awareness that the global order is a product of human choice and historical contingency, and that we do not have to take unjust present circumstances as natural. While working on the One World project with Larry, I began diving into the words of Grenville Clark, Norman Cousins, Ralph Bunche, Harris Wofford, Robert Maynard Hutchins, and other idealists who saw in the wreckage of World War II a map for future peace. While the shapes and colors of that map varied over time and between the core visionaries who sought to make that world possible, they were united in the recognition that nationalism is entwined with global violence and that the work of collective political change begins in the imagination. As Larry initially pitched the idea to me, it's what John Lennon said: "Imagine there's no countries. It isn't hard to do. Nothing to kill or die for."

While I only worked on the project for less than a year, the refusal of those men and women to accept a global order that perpetuates exclusionary violence—national citizenship produces its other, the alien, the refugee—has continued to inform my research, activism, and teaching. As an activist, I work for migrant justice and the abolition of the carceral system, as freedom of movement, including across borders, is core to global justice. As a theater scholar, I study the performance of displacement and the intersection of forced migration and dramatic art. The theater and classroom are both sites of imagination, loci of collective experience, and laboratories for collectively thinking our way into alternative forms of living.

While I was recently writing about Mohegan theater maker Madeline Sayet's *Where We Belong*, which charts the journey of an Indigenous Shakespeare scholar in-between the United States and the United Kingdom and the ongoing legacies of settler colonialism, I thought of Larry and the One-Worlders. In one scene at a border checkpoint, Sayet's (2020) character notes the grim irony of the situation: "You'd think they can't keep Native Americans out. But try telling that to the Indigenous nations whose territories fall on both sides of the border to Mexico. They predate the U.S. constitution" (p. 30). Borders cross, and Indigenous nationhood troubles not only legitimate claims of settler states but also denaturaliz-

es the statist political organization itself. Sayet's work likewise suggests a relationship to the earth that is not based on exclusive ownership but on a common responsibility to the one world in which we all live.

In the novel *Spring*, Ali Smith (2019) writes: "What if... [i] nstead of saying, this border divides these places... [w]e said, this border unites these places... What if we declared border crossings places where... you yourself became doubly possible?" (p. 196). Written in the wake of Brexit and rising nativism, Smith's narrative depicts Britain's turn away from the European community. Across that continent, nationalist leaders are now thriving—I am drafting this brief essay the week that Italy has elected Giorgia Meloni—and anti-migrant vitriol fuels the Right wing of U.S. politics. Imperial nostalgia afflicts Liz Truss and imperial expansion through war drives Vladimir Putin's attempted annexation of Ukrainian territory. Against the prevalence of such forces, it may seem naïve to work for subnational and supranational forms of belonging beyond borders. Yet the alternative, as the One-Worlders knew, is to choose violence. I am extraordinarily grateful to Larry for introducing me to the visionaries behind the 20th century campaign for world federalism, whose idealism continues to inspire my research, teaching, and activism. It is a given that we all live in one world; its future depends on the imaginative courage of people who refuse to accept it as it is.

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Psychoanalysis/Psychology of Music and Musicians: Part II

A Musical Journey from Bach and Strauss to Mahler and Orff

Peter W. Petschauer—Psychohistory Forum Res. Assoc.

Abstract: Church, brass band, and accordion music surrounded the author as a child in the Alps. These forms were unique preparation to embrace other expressions of music, including classical, jazz, and those rendered by orchestras in different parts of the world. As the enjoyment of the patriotic songs of South Tyrol in Italy echoed across the mountains, they set the groundwork to later understand why some composers faded from awareness because of regime changes, and others became caught up in authoritarian regimes in order to survive.

Keywords: accordion, Austrian, Bach, brass-band, church-music, Mahler, music-history, Orff, Strauss

As a child in the Alps, I did not know that the choir in our church, the brass band next to the priest's residence, and the accordion on our mountain meadows were German or Austrian and that, by implication, they were anti-Italian. After all, we lived in South Tyrol, for centuries our Austrian homeland, and an Italian province since 1918. Yet precisely these forms of music gave me a love for different iterations of it as I moved from there to other places in Europe, and ultimately took up residence in the U.S. I still enjoy this music and other forms of it, but now I have the psychohistorian's understanding that any of it can be, and is, readily used for nefarious purposes.

How My Relationship with Music Began

My relationship with music started in the mountains of northern Italy by listening and participating. I listened to the choir in the Catholic church of St. Georg in Afers/Eores as an altar boy and sang in it until the other singers discovered my lack of talent. Both listening and singing traditional kinds of church music, including those created by composers like Johann Sebastian Bach, began to shape my listening preferences for the rest of my life. Most of the songs rendered in the church were in German, Lutheran rather than Catholic, and they originated outside the village culture, even though they became part of it. (Perhaps my awareness of this

is based on having been born a Lutheran whose mother converted us to Catholicism as a way of ensuring that I would get a good education.)

During the summer months, we listened to and participated in two additional and different forms of music, performed by the village band on special Sundays, and other times danced to one of our favorite accordion players in mountain huts up in Alpine meadows. The band mostly played traditional Austrian songs; the accordion player often rendered Johann Strauss' waltzes and other favorites, like polkas and tangos.

We lived in Italy, but our music was Austrian and German; it still is. These musical traditions of the mountains were thus rooted in the affiliation with the Austrian Empire, a political, social, and economic link that lasted for centuries. That is why the area is to this day called South Tyrol and Alto Adige in Italian. Although the instruments for the three varieties of music-making were different—organ, brass, and accordion—it was mostly based on songs, which were passed down over centuries and in some cases modernized and still played and sung in churches and at festivals.

The link to the German-speaking areas of Europe may escape listeners or performers far away from the mountains. I am thinking of the accordion played by Spanish-speaking musicians and singers. While in one way it has remained linked to a counterstatement to Italian culture, in another way it left this context and became associated with a new one, losing its Alpine patriotic content. With this contextualization, I explore here the connection between local creating, singing, playing, and listening and what one might call these activities when they are removed from their original context and yet fit into another or others. My earliest musical experiences in a specific place prepared me as a psychohistorian to link my life story with what one may call music history.

Examples of How Music History Played a Role in My Life

One location that was very unique for me was a music class at New York University. Like most undergraduates at the time, I took courses in general education; this requirement became an opportunity to take music appreciation. I was fortunate enough to have as a faculty member a Mr. Bernstein (not the famous one), who was delightful and re-activated my joy with church music. When he asked us to write an essay about a particular piece of music, I chose Johann Sebastian Bach's "Wachet auf ruft uns die

Stimme" ("Awake, calls the voice to us"). Not having any equipment with which to listen to this creation, I visited the 42nd Street public library, pulled out the notes, and wrote the essay based on what I saw in them. In the back of my mind, I heard our church choir. It was a handwritten essay because I also did not have a typewriter. Professor Bernstein gave me an A-, with a note to "next time, listen to the music."

In May 1957, on my trip to the United States, I heard jazz, a totally different form of music, in the movie *High Society* (1956). Aside from several famous actors like Bing Crosby, Grace Kelly, and Frank Sinatra, I saw and heard Louis Armstrong. Again, location made a difference. I associated Armstrong and jazz with America. The next time I heard him was during the winter of 1969 at a concert in Stuttgart. It was one of the most memorable performances ever. It became all the more significant during the rendition of *Jesus Christ Superstar* when our daughter was jumping around in my wife's belly; we felt her excitement and were at home far away from home.

The next time jazz came into my life was during a concert of the original New Orleans Jazz Band at Appalachian State University. They played in a relatively small auditorium that burst with listeners. This concert seemed to last forever; every time the musicians rose to leave, we clapped and clapped some more. I bought a vinyl record and obtained the signature of each player. Later, now 40 years ago, my wife Joni and I enjoyed the very same band in their small space in New Orleans—a highlight of our lives.

What does jazz have to do with the choir, the brass band, and the accordion in Afers? Everything. If I had not heard these forms of music, I would not have been open to other varieties, including jazz. It in turn placed me firmly in the U.S.

Gustav Mahler and the Vanquished Empire

But if had not heard these forms, Gustav Mahler might have escaped me. (For more about him, see Jonathan Carr's 1998 book *Mahler: A Biography*.) The composer temporarily conducted at the Royal Municipal Theatre in 1883 in Olomouc, then Olmütz, but I first heard him in St. Petersburg's Philharmonic in 1994. A full orchestra and choir rendered his *Die Auferstehung* (Symphony No. 2 in C minor). (For an excellent analysis of the work, see Michael Steinberg's 1995 *The Symphony: A Listener's Guide*.) The splendid space was close to bursting, hot, and the cracks in the ceiling

seemed to be growing larger.

Again, location matters. I am a Russian historian who accompanied a group to the erstwhile capital. I grew up in a former Austrian territory, and Mahler mostly lived in one. Joni and I taught in an international institute for ten years in Olomouc and drank our morning coffee in Cafe Mahler, a block from his residence. He became deathly ill in New York City (NYC) during a concert tour in February 1911 and died in May in Vienna. NYC was my point of entry to the U.S., a few days after having discovered jazz.

Mahler was almost forgotten as a Romantic composer after WWI, but also, musicologists seem to overlook this part of his past: He was the Jewish son of the fallen empire of Austria-Hungary. Now his brilliance reaches beyond this narrow margin; he is being played again. Rather than associate him with a failed regime, we listen to his inspired notes.

The Controversy Surrounding Carl Orff

If Mahler thrived under the late and troubled empire, Carl Orff aligned himself with the National Socialist (Nazi) regime. He came into my life because one of my students wrote about him in a music class. When the opportunity arose to listen to *Carmina Burana* in Austria's Salzburg, I was completely surprised. The work fit into my past; the choir, the full orchestra, and two choirs performed brilliantly.

It is well known that the National Socialist elite admired and supported the work. The admiration began with Karl Georg Schmidt, the Lord Major of Cologne, who considered himself a major sponsor of the arts. Neither this nor other works had attracted much attention or financial rewards before the Nazi accolades. The financial rewards continued after WWII and his exculpation, but the controversy continues. Like others who survived in the shadow of a regime, such as Dmitri Shostakovich, they never knew when the ax would fall. In Orff's case, having Jewish ancestors could easily have been used against him. (For a general review, read Oliver Rathkolb's *Carl Orff and National Socialism* from 2021.)

Carmina Burana, Orff's best-known work, connects him to my listening experiences and locational detail; Salzburg is part of the Tirol of which South Tyrol was once an integral part. Yet, the compromises he made to continue his career in the 1930s give me pause every time I hear this most famous and stunning work. *Car-*

mina Burana also reminds us that seemingly harmless mountain songs or cantatas, be they by Bach or Orff, can be used for nefarious purposes.

How can a boy who grew up with church, brass band, and accordion music embrace jazz, Mahler, and Orff, mentioning just one of my favorite forms of music and two of my admired composers? The answer partly lies in the variety of compositions and instruments in my humble beginnings. From there, different adventures, exposures really, often in different locals, intrigued me to an almost unimaginable point. The task of psychohistorians is to explore the link between their own backgrounds and histories, including artistic ones, and the subjects and topics they encounter as they live their lives. It may mean exposing the writer's discomfort or objection to abuses of music, and art in general. The beauty of it must not close our ears and minds to those who would turn it to their nefarious purposes.

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The Challenges of Writing a Psychobiography of Beethoven

Abigail Jareño Gómez—CEU San Pablo University (Madrid)

Abstract: For four years, the author focused on Beethoven's personality and published a psychobiography of him in a European language. In this article, she shares her experience dealing with six challenges.

Keywords: attachment-style, classical-music, Ludwig van Beethoven, narrative-identity, personality, psychobiography, qualitative-methodology

Why Don't You Study Beethoven?

This was the little voice that began to repeat over and over in my head. It's the reason why I embarked on an adventure one day in 2016 that lasted several years. I delved into the depths of Bee-

thoven's psyche.

Why me? Why this subject? From a very young age, I have been fascinated by psychology. I have often wondered why we are the way we are, why we do this and not that, what makes us unique, what brings us closer, or what differentiates us. I am convinced that, in large part, that pushed me to become a psychologist. The 11 years that I have been teaching and researching at CEU San Pablo University, as well as my time as a psychotherapist, have generated more questions and given me few answers. In short, they have made me grow and continue to believe in how captivating it is to discover the human being.

I am also sure that I came into this world with a love of music. I sing, play the guitar (and a little of piano), and write songs. Since childhood, I have admired and appreciated classical music and long suspected that Beethoven had been unfairly judged, described, and represented. An individual who composed in such a splendid way could not be reduced to a negative set of characteristics such as unpleasant, misogynistic, and melancholic as popular tradition has established. There had to be so much more to him. That's perhaps why I couldn't ignore that little voice in my head, and I accepted the challenge. I still remember some reactions and responses that warned me that this would be an almost impossible mission to accomplish, but I had already made the decision and it felt like the most correct of my last choices.

The Difficulties and Challenges of a Composer's Psychobiography?

I spent long periods in Germany, the United States, and Spain researching Beethoven's diary, his thousands of letters, his conversations, books, numerous testimonies, and more. That is how I listened to and observed this composer, getting to know him to the point that I feel as if he is a part of my family. Looking for the best way to approach my goal, I found psychobiography. The definition that I like the most is that of Dan McAdams (1988): "The efficient use of psychological theory to convert the subject's life into a coherent and illuminating story" (p. 2). As a psychologist, an expert on personality and emotions, as well as a music lover with some background in the field, I worked to establish a kind of dialogue with the composer to not merely describe but understand him in depth. The why and how of his most habitual behaviors, the causes or consequences of his changes, the evolution of his attachment style, ideas and goals, his emotional management, his narrative

identity, and so on.

However, I am not talking about my conclusions. I am going to share the behind-the-scenes aspects of my research. Specifically, six of the challenges that I have had to deal with throughout these years as a psychobiographer of Beethoven.

One: A Large Amount of Bibliographical Information

The first mission of my research was to discern between those sources that I should consider and those that would contaminate or not contribute to my study. For that goal, I conducted a consultation with experts from various international centers and institutions. This allowed me to gather common suggestions and get to know their strengths and weaknesses. In this way, I was able to extract a large but manageable number of sources to work with.

Since the objective of my study is not just Beethoven's life but his psychology, as a second step, I decided to apply two approaches to navigate through the data within the sources: one, choose a theoretical framework to orient and formulate general questions; and two, allow the data to reveal itself by using criteria to select salient content. That would allow more specific questions about Beethoven's personality to be asked. But before this leads me to talk about the selection of a psychological framework, I would like to mention a big question that I had for a long time.

Two: What to do About His Music

How should I use his works for my study? Should I? His music was part of him, a part of the way he related to the world and the message or messages he wanted to leave behind. At the same time, it was just his job.

I felt very hesitant at first, although I recognized that studying his music could give me some good information. However, most of it was instrumental with very few words, and there are already plenty of experts on his music. I thought about it carefully and even tried to gather those works which were songs based on poems from renown authors that he selected, with topics that he must have found especially interesting. But I soon realized many of those were demanded by patrons, so they were not very spontaneous choices. I finally decided to leave it aside and later used interviews and conversations with musicologists to complete my results.

I spent the first year only reading sources without considering any specific theoretical framework. Once I finished my research, I

added an expert panel to enrich my conclusions.

Three: The Selection of a Psychological Framework

At a later stage during my research, answering some recommended questions from Carolina du Plessis' 2017 study helped me make my final decision for the theory. The questions were: What is most suitable for Beethoven, grand theories, or specific explanations? What kind of theory is most appropriate, developmental theory or theory of personality? Is there going to be one or several theories? Does the selected model have empirical support?

I ultimately chose the three-level model of personality (dispositional traits, characteristic adaptations, life stories) by McAdams (1995) based on four reasons: one, it is a grand model to start considering general questions; two, it is a theory of personality that also contemplates the individual's development; three, it includes different levels/layers of personality, which would allow me to select other specific theories for each level once I got specific questions; and four, it is one of the most recommended theoretical approaches for its structure and clarity, as well as for its empirical support.

Also, to cover the second approach I mentioned before, I used criteria to select salient content within the sources. Among many others, I used overemphasis (e.g., the many times Beethoven insisted his heart is good, he has good intentions), repetition (such as conflicts/misunderstandings and illnesses), and turning points (deafness is undoubtedly one of them). That is when more specific questions arose and I had to choose concrete theories to help cover them.

Four: Tendency to Reductionism

Sometimes psychobiographers may employ somewhat reductionist perspectives, such as focusing excessively on the subject's childhood, a single period, or a significant event, suggesting that those are the main cause of all the later development. An example of this would be if I only paid attention to Beethoven's relationship with his father when the musician was a child, his deafness, or his relationship with his nephew.

In some other psychobiographies, the emphasis is on psychopathology. However, a person is not a disorder; a person has a disorder/problem. If I focused on Beethoven's depression states or another emotional problem, that would only give me a label, a simplistic description, but it would not help me understand him as a

whole.

So, in response to the warnings of possible reductionism, I made two decisions from the very beginning of my work: one, to remain open to information that could appear in the literature without hastily making any interpretation and applying the minimum framework or prejudice possible; and two, to not read any publication that included aspects of personality or psychopathology about the composer. Moreover, the psychological framework I selected later, which contemplates both personality and development, also contributed to avoiding any reductionism.

Five: The Subject's Absence

This is a common occurrence in psychobiographies. Initially, this may seem to be a disadvantage, mainly because we cannot consult or contrast with the protagonist. Also, we run the risk, if we do not avoid it, of understanding and interpreting according to our culture and context, which likely happened in the past with some documents about Beethoven.

However, from the point of view of my psychological research, Beethoven's absence had a positive side. Because his life had already finished, it allowed me to observe and understand his life over time and therefore offered me a more balanced perspective. Furthermore, I was not forced to rely mainly on his words (which is quite common if the protagonist is alive) but could rely on the words of many (carefully selected) others. This made it possible to configure a more adjusted image of the musician since an individual is not only who they believe and say they are but is also what others perceive and receive of them. This is also part of who they are.

Six: The Researcher's Subjectivity

When we get deeply involved in the study of an individual's life, impartiality is impossible. This happens to any individual when they become acquainted and intimate with another. It is crucial to be aware of this and apply strategies to avoid harming the course and conclusions of the study.

As a starting point, reflection is recommended. I did this by answering some questions, such as: Why this subject? What is the drive behind this investigation? What do I want to know about this subject? Is this subject of interest to people other than me? Will learning about this subject help us understand other similar types of people?

Throughout the project, I developed an appreciation for Beethoven as a person and a greater empathic understanding of his way of being. Moreover, I recognize that I occasionally experienced moments of countertransference, that is, attribution of aspects of myself to Beethoven. Practicing reflective writing, a qualitative research tool, helped me acknowledge those moments and understand my emotional connection to the composer so as not to act on my countertransference.

I also had numerous and frequent formal and informal conversations about the composer. These two strategies not only added great value to the entire research experience but also contributed to understanding the relationship established between the researcher and the researched, preserving the quality of my perspective as a psychobiographer.

The care given to these six and other challenging moments of my research has allowed me to reach, in my view, a concrete, integrative, renewed, and well-supported psychological knowledge of the figure of Beethoven. This knowledge is not set in stone and hopefully will lead to raising new dialogues and even new questions in the future. I am sure Beethoven took with him pieces of his puzzle that have yet to be discovered.

Abigail Jareño Gómez, PhD, is a lecturer at CEU San Pablo University, Madrid, Spain. She trained and worked as a psychotherapist for more than five years treating anxiety, depression, and personality disorders mainly. Her most recent publications are the book *Ludwig van Beethoven: Humor, genio y corazón* (*Ludwig van Beethoven: Sense of humor, genius/temperament and heart*) (2022) as well as papers like "Ludwig van Beethoven in a Snapshot: Exploring His Own Words" (2021) and "Applying A Step-Wise Approach In Writing A Psychobiography" (2021). Dr. Gómez can be reached at abigail.jarenogomez@ceu.es.

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Music as Resistance and Connection: Dance Therapy and Argentine Tango

Susan Kavaler-Adler—Object Relations Institute

Abstract: Music as resistance makes way for the internal music of the psyche in dance therapy and psychotherapy. Music as connection speaks of the external music in the dance of Argentine Tango where a partnership, which is all about connection, lives in the lyrical, mournful, and also peppy milonga music. The author also explores some of her own biographical journey.

Keywords: Argentine-Tango, dance-therapy, free-association, individuation, music, psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, self-integration

Dance Therapy

Having been a dancer (as well as a writer) all my life, I chose dance therapy as my first form of psychotherapy during my early 20s when I was completing a doctoral program in Clinical Psychology at the Gordon Derner Institute at Adelphi University. This preceded all my work in psychoanalytic psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. For several years I studied dance therapy in experiential classes with a pioneer in the field, Blanche Evan. I also attended weekly private dance therapy sessions with her as my dance therapist. In my first session, she said to me that although I was moving beautifully, I should not be "dancing." I should just be communicating all my feelings at the moment through the expression of my body. I liked this idea since my favorite part of all my modern dance classes was when we did "free improvisation" (like free association). I immediately got into the spirit of just moving to my feelings, although things got difficult later when I started projecting my negative mother transference onto my dance therapist, and she told me that she didn't work with transference. This eventually led to me going into traditional psychoanalytic treatment.

In addition to being told that I should not "dance" in my private dance therapy sessions, Blanche told me that we were not going to use any music (which also reflected my modern dance classes). She explained to me that her view of what was therapeutic in

the body's expression of feelings was the need to move to our immediate feelings. Consequently, using music would divert me away from this. I understood this to mean that it was important to stay in the moment with free association to one's own internal experience. I had read about dance therapists using music when working with schizophrenic patients in hospital situations. However, Blanche told me that working with hospitalized mentally ill patients was different than working with mostly "normal neurotics" in private practice. She said that music could be good to guide and organize the movements of schizophrenic patients, but it interfered with the process of expressing oneself freely from one's feelings and internal life with those who she would see for a psychotherapeutic process in private practice.

So I began to allow the music of the psyche to come from within myself in dance therapy sessions; I eschewed external music, now seeing that music as promoting resistance in dance therapy. I could see how a mourning process was developing through this authentic movement.

The Contrast in Argentine Tango

I met my husband while we were doing freestyle rock dancing. As my husband and I developed our marriage and wanted to dance together, my husband wanted to do coordinated couple dancing because he was frustrated from dancing with me when I was doing all kinds of dances around him. At my husband's suggestion, and after I found the resource, we began to study various forms of couples' dances together. However, our lives totally changed when our private dance teacher at the studio introduced us to Argentine Tango!

Argentine Tango is all about connection! Over the centuries, and on different continents, from Buenos Aires to Paris to New York City, millions of patterns and steps for the dance have been invented. However, that which remains the core of the dance is how one enters a brain merger, in a lead-and-follow format (usually the woman follows, but not always) where three forms of connection take place. To truly be in the full experience of Argentine Tango, to fully surrender (as opposed to submitting or dominating), one must connect to oneself, one's partner, and the music. Yes, in Argentine Tango, each of the two partners in the dance needs to surrender to the music as well as to the partner connection.

Argentine Tango became a worldwide movement in 1985

when the Broadway show, *Tango Argentino*, had smashing successes in New York City, followed by *Forever Tango*. The performers in those shows began to teach the heads of Manhattan dance studios how to dance Argentine Tango, and they, in turn, trained their staff to teach dance students. Also, the teachers would leave and teach independently. Then the nights of social dancing Argentine Tango, called milongas, began their weekly or monthly format. So a whole new society in New York opened up, and from there, spread around the world. There had already been Argentine Tango earlier in Paris, but not for all the populace as it began in New York. In fact, when Argentine Tango dried up temporarily in Buenos Aires, it was New Yorkers who revived it.

Although music is important in Argentine Tango, it is never the ultimate essence of the dance alone. It becomes the essence when combined with the basic mode of self and partner connection. Unlike flamenco dancing, tango is never true tango if we dance alone. Argentine Tango is always a dance of the heart, soul, and brain merged with your partner as you flow together throughout the dance. There now have been scientific studies that have demonstrated how the two brains of the tango partners are merged, just as the brains of mother and baby are merged during the early symbiotic stage of infancy. As D. W. Winnicott (1965) has spoken about, there is the "primary preoccupation" of the mother when she's with her newborn infant, and in Winnicott's terms, there is never only a "baby." There is only the baby/mother combination, merged in a "dual unity," later called the stage of symbiosis by Margaret Mahler (1975).

The music leads the leader, who leads the follower. In an object relations sense, where the true self emerges from the internal world, one's deepest heart yearnings join and commingle with the strains of the music, particularly with the music of that very unique instrument, the bandoneon. It is like an accordion, but with a whole range of pitch, resonance, and flow that vibrates so deeply to the center of our being that it is often called the instrument that speaks directly to our souls. As we merge and fuse with the strains of the bandoneon, we flow into a land of inner vibrations and imaginings, combined with muscle memory, in the moment dance expression execution, which is so acute and instinctive that we can feel infinite forms of affect experience. We can be on fire with the passion of the music or be in the lyrical flow of a waltz tango where our consciousness is filled with the lyric of the waltz.

We can also be captured by the mournful grief and sadness of many classical tango compositions since so much of the Spanish language in the native tango speaks of romantic heartbreak and traumatic loss that sets the soul on fire with a yearning for the lost other. One mourns in the dance of tango, as one mourns with a psychotherapist, where bereavement, and many forms of grief, need to speak the full breath and development of the grieving process. It was in Melanie Klein's "Mourning and its Relation to Manic-Depressive States" in 1940 that mourning was first seen as a critical clinical and developmental process. I have elaborated on this in six of my books, with detailed clinical case dialogues in *Mourning, Spirituality, and Psychic Change: A New Object Relations View of Psychoanalysis* (2003).

Just as the follower instinctively follows the leader's direction through the frame of the tango embrace, so too does the psychoanalyst follow the lead of the analysand or psychoanalytic patient. As Freud has spoken of the analyst turning her/his unconscious to the unconscious of the analysand, specifically how the analyst's free-floating attention follows the subjective flow of the free associations emerging from the analysand's unconscious, so too in tango does the follower enter the unconscious flow of the leader, as the leader is led by the undulating and deeply unconscious compositions of the composer's music.

Although I mention the Broadway show productions of *Tango Argentino* and *Forever Tango*, the truest idiom of Argentine Tango is its improvisational language. Like jazz, it is a phenomenon of "the moment." To surrender to the moment in the deepest form of self, partner, and music connection, one must be fully in an improvisation, without the choreographed memories of show and performance tango. Therefore, the spontaneous social evening of tango is the "true self" expression of tango.

Dual Unity

These states of dual unity are an essential part of the object relations experience in psychoanalysis. The "reverie" of the analyst, as described by Thomas Ogden (following Wilfred Bion) in *Reverie and Interpretation: Sensing Something Human* (1997), is an essential part of living with the analytic patient in their unconscious re-living. Reverie refers to the dreams, imaginings, sexual fantasies, arbitrary thoughts, and body sensations of the Analyst when in the moment of experiencing the unconscious of the patient. It is through our reverie, according to Ogden, that we understand

the inner life of the patient in the moment of shared experience. Like Freudian free-floating attention, our unconscious merger with the unconscious of the patient draws on the mother/infant dual unity, or symbiotic experience, even as we help patients toward their natural organic development into more mature forms of autonomy and separation.

These states of dual unity, unconscious merger, as well as speaking in dialogue with the unconscious of the "other," are what make Argentine Tango the unique experience it is, just as we can experience in the primal state of interconnection in object relations psychoanalysis. In both Argentine Tango and object relations psychoanalysis, we continually merge with the other and then separate. Music guides us in tango. The music of the patient's unconscious guides us in psychoanalysis.

Conclusion

I have offered a taste here of how music is an essential part of the Argentine Tango experience. However, to see more about the whole culture of Argentine Tango, and all the object relations dynamics intricate to it, you can see a book I published on Argentine Tango and its culture in New York. It is titled *Saturday Nights at Lafayette Grill: True Tales and Gossips of the New York Argentine Tango Scene*, and it was published by MindMend in 2016. There are both personal essays of experience in the tango world and interviews with many top tango professionals, who speak of their tango philosophies and teaching philosophies. Dance therapy, psychoanalysis, and Argentine Tango are all about connection.

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Jazz Repose

Tom Gibbs—Independent Scholar

I didn't watch the news.

By not watching,
I make new news
the way “Flamenco Sketches”
takes us almost to Andalusia
or woodsmoke
draws us back to the tree,
the forest.

Avoidance isn’t denial.
It’s an art that refreshes time;
gives us time to roam the galaxies
within the words
mind and *soul* and *heart*.

This afternoon,
I stretched out on my bed,
plugged in my earbuds,
closed my eyes to listen
to Coltrane, *A Love Supreme*;
then Miles, *Kind of Blue*.

An inner peace opens;
an inner space,
vast as outer space,
where galaxies of words,
like galaxies of stars,
go on for light years.

I didn’t watch the news.

I stretched out on my bed,
closed my eyes, and listened
to Coltrane and to Miles

and dug new galaxies
within the words
mind and *soul* and *heart.*
And *Love* and *Blue.*

Tom Gibbs is a poet and independent scholar who has previously published in *Clio's Psyche*. He may be reached at zencowboy51@gmail.com. ❑

The Absence of Women in Classical Music

Ruth Lijtmaer—Private Psychoanalytic Practice

Abstract: This paper explores the historical neglect of women's significant contributions to classical music and some of the few gains in the last century.

Keywords: classical-music, conductors, gender-disparity, patriarchy, performers, tradition, women-composers

In many areas of art, politics, economy, and academia, women have a respected place in the world. However, in the field of classical music, the development of women's visibility is lagging. Classical music is still a man's world. Why is this the case? This is an enigma to me, and I am trying to understand why it's happening.

In Fairouz' (2017) "Women Are Great Composers Too, Why Aren't They Being Heard?," we learn that across Europe, 97.6% of classical and contemporary classical music performed in the last three seasons was written by men, leaving only 2.3% written by women. In the U.S., only 1.8% of music programmed by major orchestras was written by women. Female performers were also poorly represented in orchestras. The only genre women are more obviously visible in is opera as performers singing music composed by men.

Let's review two historical examples of famous composers and their companions and/or spouses in their relationship to music. First is when Robert Schumann married Clara Wieck, one of the most talented musicians and pianists of her generation. As a wedding present, he gave her a cookbook. He also composed the music

A Woman's Love and Life based on a cycle of poems as a manifesto for a dutiful marriage. Clara concluded later: "I once believed that I possessed creative talent, but I have given up this idea; a woman must not desire to compose – there has never yet been one able to do it. Should I expect to be the one" (de Niese, June 20, 2018)? Gustav Mahler made it a condition of marriage to his bride, Alma, that she give up composing. She said after she agreed: "I have been firmly taken by the arm and led away from myself" (de Niese, June 20, 2018).

In 1997, the Vienna Philharmonic appointed its first woman musician after 161 years of operating without women. In the U.S., at the New York Philharmonic, harpist Stephanie Goldner was the first woman musician, playing from 1932 to 1962. She was followed by Orin O'Brien, an American double bassist, who has been a member of the New York Philharmonic since 1966. And the list goes on. Why is it taking so long?

The examples I gave are not just stories about husbands or partners or individual orchestras. Society at large also stifled women in music: Women learned to play instruments but could not perform in public. Being a female composer or performer was seen as a highly questionable profession, often implying, in earlier centuries, sexual availability. Women's options were limited. Marriage was a critical economic decision for most. The other option was to take the veil.

Culture and society have a profound impact on what women are allowed and what they allow themselves to become. It strikes me that a parallel process still exists wherein we hold onto some aspects of a vision of the world as seen through the eyes of members of the patriarchy. Equally interesting is the threat of the women's movement, the current abortion ban, and the gay rights movement. To become successful in the musical men's world, women must step outside the "traditional" social role as wives and mothers raising their children to exert leadership, but if they are too assertive or too passionate, they run the risk of being perceived as angry. In 2017, the Women's March and the #MeToo Movement began to assert more forcefully the idea that women should be treated equally to men.

How is patriarchy maintained and how can it be dismantled? Gilligan thinks that patriarchy is an order of domination elevating some men over others and subordinating women (Reciniello, 2011).

But in separating some men from other men and all men from women, in dividing fathers from mothers and daughters and sons, patriarchy creates a rift within the psyche, dividing everyone from parts of themselves.

Patriarchy persists not only because those in positions of power hold onto their privilege and enforce it but also because it serves a psychological function: a connection between attachment, loss, mourning, and power. Patriarchy acts as a shield protecting from loss. Carol Gilligan and others have elucidated that pathological responses to loss parallel the gender codes of patriarchal masculinity and femininity, which are internalized through an initiation that forces ruptures in relationships and subverts the capacity for repair. This parallel suggests that the gender roles, which uphold a patriarchal order, simultaneously defend against the loss of connection inherent in that order. The loss of pleasure and a change in voice signal the psyche's induction into patriarchy and highlight a potential within psychoanalysis to foster a healthy resistance against losses that otherwise appear necessary or natural. As Carol Gilligan (2018) explained, "As a culture, we have granted sexual license to powerful men and value guns to the extent that very large numbers of children are killed due to gun violence" (p. 735).

Women's silence and men's violence are the mainstays of this patriarchal order. By breaking the silence, women, along with the men who have joined them, are leaving the confines of patriarchy. According to Gilligan (2018), patriarchy is not only unjust and undemocratic, but it also hinges on our accepting or internalizing what through experience we know to be a false story, false in its representation of women, men, and humankind in general.

Some changes are happening now. In February 2020, the New York Philharmonic introduced *Project 19*, a multi-season initiative to commission and premiere 19 new works by 19 women composers—the largest women-only commissioning initiative in history. Nowadays, there are also more women musicians in many orchestras and as soloists. Some organizations have introduced measures to address this disparity. For example, the BBC Proms have pledged a 50/50 gender balance in commissions of contemporary composers by 2022.

We are living in an amazing time of possibilities that are

erupting from the present chaos. The only thing that can stop us is the fear of letting go of what we hold onto in our psyches about men and women. Without the equal contribution of women, half of all knowledge will be lost. The original and primal difference among human beings is not only based on race, culture, or religious affiliation, but also gender. Gender reconciliation will go a long way toward assisting in the integration of the other human differences that are inherent in a globalized society. What has been missing in corporate thought, behavior, and responsibility is the contribution of the other half of the partnership.

All institutions that want to thrive today must acknowledge and reflect what the world looks like today. Great artists have constantly cut to the core of the human experience in profound ways. If we are to survive, we need to start by reversing policies that silence the voices of half of humanity.

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One Educator's Journey of Understanding Generational Trauma through Classical Composers

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Abstract: The author shares her experience of how a specific composition forever changed her perceptions of self-worth and her understanding of how trauma can be passed down through generations.

Keywords: BMGIM, generational-trauma, GIM, guided-imagery-and-music, Helen Bonny, Lohengrin, Self-Care, Wagner

As an educator in the field of Music Therapy, I have found myself constantly—and gratefully—moved by a diverse array of music genres. Whether it is through the passion for popular music by female artists such as Sia, Alicia Keys, Brandi Carlile, Florence + The Machine, and Yola to use my voice and sing at the top of my lungs; the grounding tones of Nina Simone, Bear and a Banjo, and Hozier; the sense of freedom of movement and expression demonstrated by Lizzo, Khalid, Lorde, and Bishop Briggs; or the internal exploration of unconscious material through the use of carefully chosen classical composers, I have nothing but continually growing respect for the diverse nature of music. For this paper, I have chosen to approach this topic by sharing a personal experience for two reasons: One, to model the importance of receiving therapeutic care for those in middle adulthood and above; and two, to share in the advocacy of mental health that has been modeled for me repeatedly by students in their early 20s who are willing to speak about their personal experiences to promote the growth of themselves and others. I will focus specifically on Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Prelude to Act 1, for its unique and sustaining impact on my personal understanding of self-love. However, it should be known that this piece was preceded—and thus influenced—by four other well-known pieces by Beethoven, Vivaldi, Bach, and Faure within a specifically designed music program created by musician and music therapist Helen Bonny while receiving a therapeutic session using the Guided Imagery and Music technique.

Helen Bonny is the creator and founder of the Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music (BMGIM), a form of depth psychology that focuses on the use of specifically chosen and created music programs to explore unconscious material within a person's

psyche. The music programs themselves are created by experienced BMGIM therapists, or "guides," and go through a testing process to ensure their efficacy before being implemented with clients, or "travelers." The BMGIM method must only be implemented by a credentialed therapist, who has achieved at least a Master's degree in a related therapeutic field and completed the minimum four-year supervised training in BMGIM. The typical format of a BMGIM session includes a preliminary conversation in which the guide acquires the necessary information with which to choose from one of the many pre-designed music programs for the client's self-exploration. The therapist then provides a brief relaxation induction for the client to settle more deeply and comfortably into the therapeutic space. This relaxation is quite important to the process of the BMGIM, as it lessens the likelihood of the traveler analyzing their imagery/experience as it occurs during the music. Once the traveler has entered a relaxed state, the guide begins the music program. The music program is typically around 30-45 minutes in length, during which the client reports images they are experiencing as they arise, and the therapist responds in a way to encourage further exploration and engagement with the imagery. Imagery can and often does include all the senses: visual, olfactory, kinesthetic, emotional, and taste. Once the music has come to a close, both client and therapist have the opportunity to process the imagery experience together through art, music, movement, and/or verbal therapy (Bonny, 2002).

The music programs themselves are numerous and varied in their intentions. Bonny began creating these music programs in the 1970s. Some programs were created to elicit relaxation, emotional support, and a sense of groundedness, while others were designed as "working" programs, meaning they provided space for the traveler to explore deeper emotional wounding and relational conflict. Within these working programs, the traveler has the opportunity to work through and strengthen the psyche, find closure, empower the self, and so on. Additionally, she created programs that focused on spiritual development and explored the transpersonal for the more experienced travelers (Bonny, 2002). While Bonny is credited with creating no less than a dozen music programs, experienced BMGIM practitioners have gone on to create upwards of 100 programs and counting (Grocke, 2019).

The personal account for this paper occurred around my 30th BMGIM session, having expressed a desire to explore generational

trauma: Specifically, I was concerned with feelings of low self-worth. Despite my cognitive understanding that there was no "logical" explanation for feeling this way—I had a fulfilling job, a beautiful family, and strong relationships with my friends—I could not shake this emotional feeling of unworthiness. I had been doing some research on generational trauma after reading Resmaa Menakem's 2017 book, *My Grandmother's Hands: Racialized Trauma and the Pathway to Mending Our Hearts and Bodies*. I was curious if there was something deeper influencing these feelings. That said, I should note that I am writing and exploring generational trauma through the lens of a cisgender, able-bodied White woman, and understand that no matter my experience, it in no way compares to the personal, emotional, mental, and systemic trauma that has been and continues to be experienced by generations of Black women (and men) today.

By this session, my guide felt that I was ready for a transpersonal program, one that could allow for a "bigger picture" for personal exploration. She chose a music program designed for spiritual/transpersonal/rebirth opportunities titled "Peak Experience." Throughout each piece, there is an underlying feeling of love that magnifies as the program progresses (Bonny, 2002). For the preservation of the programs—and the protection of each person's psyche to not try this depth of personal imagery without the assistance of a trained Guided Imagery and Music (GIM) therapist—I will not list the titles of the other pieces within the program my GIM therapist used, but will include composer names.

During the opening Beethoven piece, the music allowed space for me to see both light and dark—or, my perceptions of my sense of worthiness and unworthiness—before providing an opportunity for my sense of worthiness to grow by integrating the light into my body. Once I was able to do this, I could feel the light's love and power, strengthening me to better see the darkness around me—including what was hiding within it.

The next was a piece by Vivaldi. As my sense of worthiness grew, I became aware of the presence of my father (who is living at the time of this writing) and his father (who died nearly two decades ago). I was aware that my grandfather had a history of alcoholism and withholding of love, which wounded my father. Likely because of this, my father also experienced alcoholism and, I suspect, struggled with his feelings of self-worth. In my imagery during this piece of music, they both have their backs turned to

each other and appear physically weak and defeated. I begin pleading with my father to tell me why he looks this way. I finally hug him and he turns into a little boy; he shows me a memory of himself looking through the window of a bar and watching my grandpa sitting alone drinking.

After that came a piece by Bach, and together my father—still a little boy—and I walk into the bar and approach my grandpa, who appears to be in his late 30s or 40s. My dad, surrounded by light, takes the alcohol out of my grandpa's hand. My grandfather has no light, but when my dad climbs into his lap and hugs him, a soft light begins to grow in my grandpa's belly. Together they walk out of the bar and I follow.

During a piece by Faure, my Grandpa leads us to an old farmhouse where he looks inside a window. As we watch, I realize we are witnessing my grandfather's birth—it is heartbreaking because we know that his mother is about to die due to complications during this process, something that remains a significant wound to him his entire life. But in the imagery, his mother gets to hold him first: Both she and baby Grandpa are full of light. Then, her light begins to fade as she dies; he is given over to his father to hold, who has no light to offer his new son. As we watch from the window, my grandpa is on his knees, my dad's boyhood arm is around his waist, and a light begins to grow in my grandpa's chest. I am weeping through this piece.

Finally, Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Prelude to Act 1, begins, and we watch as another woman enters the bedroom. I realize she is my Great-Grandmother Laurie, the woman who would become Grandpa's stepmom within the first few years of his life. She is full of light, and the room radiates with it. We can feel it from outside the window. She sees us watching from outside and approaches, leans out the window, and wraps her arms around us: We all begin to radiate with this deep sense of love and light. She reminds us that we are all worthy to be loved, and with that comes a deep feeling of appreciation and connection with my roots, as well as an understanding of how these experiences can be passed down through our genetics.

In all truth, I have read the preceding paragraph countless times, and I still cannot convey with words the feeling of wonder and deep love that I felt not only as I was in the imagery and music, but for days afterward. While many months have passed since this

experience, I can return to the memory of both the image and the feeling of love from my great-step-grandmother when those feelings of doubt begin to surface again regarding my self-worth.

As mentioned earlier, my awareness of generational trauma began with Menakem's book, *My Grandmother's Hands*, and my desire to understand and grow continued with Mark Wolynn's *It Didn't Start with You* (2017) and Bessel van der Kolk's *The Body Keeps the Score* (2015). I encourage the readers of this article to pursue all of the above-mentioned books if any part of this writing resonates with you. Wolynn (2017) writes about how emotional trauma can be passed through our genetics for up to three generations and from the genetic code of mother, father, or both from the moment of conception. In this particular session, I was able to view it from the history of my father and his father. Van der Kolk (2015) also shares how trauma not only affects different parts of our brain but can get held—stuck even—in different parts of our body. Because of this, traumatic responses—fight, flight, freeze, or fawn—can be activated when we least expect it. Both authors also provide suggestions for working through these traumatic experiences, personal therapy being a primary resource for both.

Finally, while this article focused on classical music, it should not go unsaid that my journey of self-love, feelings of worthiness, and path of empowerment are from the combined use of multiple music styles. I highly encourage all educators, musicians, and you the reader, to remain curious and open to the music that is around you. Let it inform, enlighten, and guide you to a greater understanding of yourself, a greater understanding of those around you, and a greater respect and understanding for those who came before you.

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The Music Events that Changed our Lives

John R. Lamkin II—University of Maryland Eastern Shore
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Abstract: The authors discuss the musical events in their lives that profoundly affected their journeys as musicians. The events shared contributed to who the authors are today.

Keywords: Billboard, Blakey, blues, drums, jazz, Moanin', organ, piano, trombone, trumpet

Music has its own innate power. It has the power to make people move by either dancing, stomping their feet, clapping their hands, or shaking their heads. Sometimes it can make people feel an overwhelming sense of pride or be moved to tears. Hardly a day goes by that we do not listen to (or at least hear) some music. Paul Elovitz tells us in his Call for Papers on music and musicians that the "importance and power of music is enormous," and in many cases, it touches us in ways that words alone cannot. As we look back over the soundtrack of our lives, we can attest to the fact that there have been several times when the power of music has changed our lives or redefined their trajectories. Today we are retired musicians and music educators, still teaching music and playing professionally, and composing as well.

In this essay, we will discuss the musical events in our lives that profoundly affected our journeys. Had it not been for these events, we would not be the persons we have become. John begins

by discussing two influential musical events in his life, the song "Oh My Pappa," and the jazz album *The Sermon!*. His brother, Martin, will discuss how the jazz composition *Moanin'* profoundly affected his life.

"Oh My Pappa"— Paul Burkhard

John Lamkin was nine years old when he was confronted with the question: What musical instrument do you want to play? This was an inevitable question because about everyone in his family engaged in music. Mother Lamkin was a wonderful piano player and teacher who taught piano in the home at least six days a week to many of the children in his neighborhood. Father Lamkin sang and was part of a singing group with his family that performed in Cape May, New Jersey, and other cities and towns in New Jersey and Philadelphia.

To help with this question, John relied on his parents and his older sister. His older sister put a record on the record player, and as the music began to play, he became enchanted with the instrument playing the melody. He remembers it sounding so smooth, bright, and brassey that he immediately fell in love with its sound and asked his sister what it was. She told him it was a trumpet, and he remembered telling her "that's what I want to play." His sister told him that the title of the song was "Oh My Pappa" and that the trumpet player was Chet Baker. At that age, he did not know who Chet Baker was, and it really did not matter—he was hooked on that sound!

It was not until approximately 68 years later, as John began writing this piece, that he actually heard it again. He asked Elexia to play "Oh My Pappa" on his Echo device and sure enough, she found not only the vocal version but also an instrumental version and played them both. It turns out that these were two early performances of the song: one sung by vocalist Eddie Fisher with the trumpet as a prominent part of the orchestral accompaniment and the other played by trumpeter Eddie Calvert. Both recordings made the Billboard top 10 in 1954, with Eddie Fisher's version garnering the No. 1 position. It was the sound of the trumpet on the song "Oh My Pappa" that changed his life for the first time.

In middle school, John played the baritone horn. The band had more trumpet players than it needed and needed more low brass, i.e., horns, trombones, baritones, and tubas. When the band director asked John to play baritone, explaining that since he played

trumpet, he could easily switch to treble clef baritone, he agreed. John remembers playing the counter melody to "The River Kwai March" from the 1957 movie *The Bridge on the River Kwai* for his grandmother one afternoon. While she was visiting, she was laying across his bed as he was practicing. So he asked her to listen to it. When she fell asleep as he played, John thought she must have really enjoyed it. He thought it was a beautiful countermelody, and it was then he learned what a countermelody was. Since then, he has used the countermelody technique in his composing.

***The Sermon!*—Jimmy Smith**

It was in the 8th or 9th grade when John started listening to jazz music. Around this time, a concurrence of several jazz events came together, which again changed his life. I call them jazz events because that is what they were—not particular jazz songs or specific jazz pieces. His sister had started listening to what she called progressive jazz. Her jazz of choice was pianist George Shearing as well as a jazz group led by two trombone players, J. J. Johnson and Kai Winding. They called their group The J & K Quintet. She had a few George Shearing and J & K records that she would play that sounded interesting to John. It was the sound of the musicians all playing together that really interested him.

In addition, there were a group of John's friends—Bobby, Gordon, Arnold, and Frankie—with whom he grew up. They bought jazz recordings with their lunch money and would go to each other's houses on the weekends to listen to their music. In a recent conversation with Arnold, he reminded John that during one of those listening sessions, they were knocked out by Ahmad Jamal's recording of "Poinciana." John remembers that recording well and especially liked the rhythmic groove that supported the melody. For John, that groove is amazing and only belongs to "Poinciana."

Eddie McDonald, who was a couple of years older than John, played drums and loved jazz! He would come home from school and practice all afternoon with his record player blaring some jazz tune he was working on. Eddie would invite John over to his house and listen to him practice. John's parents began to see that he was gravitating toward jazz. He would be over at Eddie's house listening to him practice as well as to his sisters' George Shearing and J & K records from time to time, and his friends would be in and out of each other's houses listening to their jazz records.

The Christmas of his freshman year in high school, Mother Lamkin and his dad bought a small record player and a 1958 jazz album called *The Sermon!*. The recording was by the renowned jazz organist Jimmy Smith. The cover featured a picture of Smith with his hands and arms extended and the expression on his face looked like he could be preaching. With the animated expression on his face, along with the complementary gestures with his hands and arms, he looked like he could be a preacher, preaching *The Sermon!*. John thinks that is what his mom saw when she picked that album for him.

When he began listening to that album, he remembered how excited he got. He had never heard anything quite like that and was thinking to himself, "what is this?" Of course, at the time he did not know it was just a simple medium tempo, 12-bar blues with the head being played twice by Jimmy Smith, as is customary when playing a blues head. After the head, Smith went right into his solo, which was far more interesting than anything John had heard. As he soloed, John could hear the drums and the guitar accompanying him, which was just as interesting as Jimmy's solo. Later John found out that the organ at church was the same Hammond B3 organ that Jimmy Smith was playing, but the church organ never sounded anything like that!

After the organ solo came the guitar solo played by Kenny Burrell. John had never heard a guitar player play like that. All the guitar players that John had heard were in R&B or Rock groups. Consequently, he did not know a guitar could sound like that. Next came the alto sax solo played by Lou Donaldson. As he played, John's interest intensified! His lines zigzagged around the horn with amazing fluency as he soloed on top of an even more interesting foundation laid down by Smith, Burrell, and Art Blakey, the drummer.

Then came the trumpet solo, played by Lee Morgan, which was completely mesmerizing! Preparing for this essay, John listened to his solo once more, and again got chills of delight. Lee starts playfully in the low register of the horn and begins to play syncopated lines using space and the half-valve technique. He continues using space between his ideas, some of which are developed using a double-tonguing technique, some using wide intervals, some using altered pitches like flat-5^{ths}, and most of them using unexpected syncopations. All these unique techniques, together with the space, create a feeling of laid-back, relaxed playing. Then, in

the eleventh chorus, he explodes with a double-time 16th note run and brings the solo to an end with a series of eight-note triplets. For John, Lee's solo was logical, soulful, and exhilarating.

The final solo played by tenor saxophonist Tina Brooks was also great but could not top Lee Morgan's solo. After Brooks' solo, the tune faded out as Jimmy Smith restated and riffed on the head. *The Sermon!* was 20 minutes long! John remembers trying to play along with Morgan's solo and getting completely frustrated. Although he has transcribed several jazz trumpet solos since and learned several jazz trumpet transcriptions, he never tried playing Lee Morgan's solo on *The Sermon!*, but at one time he could skat it note for note.

The impact this record had on John was profound. It was then that he decided to be a jazz trumpet player and musician, and started hanging out with the upperclassmen at the high school who were playing jazz. He started going to various musical bars and asking the bands if he could sit in (in the summer in Atlantic City, every bar had a band, and they were all playing jazz). He started hanging out with friends around the nightclubs in Atlantic City where jazz was being played. One such place he would "hang out" was on the corner of Kentucky and Artic Ave. We called it "KY and the Curb." It was in front of a nightclub called the Wonder Bar that featured an organ combo. One night, he and his friends saw Jimmy Smith playing in that club!

***Moanin'*—Bobby Timmons**

When Martin was eight years old, his brother, John, brought a record home. Martin was listening to something that he enjoyed on a 45rpm record playing on his record player. But the record John shared with him was a 1958 album by Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers. The title was *Moanin'*. This was his first introduction to jazz music. Can you imagine the impact this music had on an eight-year-old, who had never heard anything like it? The Jazz Messengers were a jazz quintet that consisted of: Lee Morgan, trumpet; Benny Golson, tenor sax; Bobby Timmons, piano; Jymie Merritt, bass; and Art Blakey, drums. The rhythmic drive and competent instrumental solos intrigued Martin. The harmony was different from that of church music, and it touched something in him that he did not understand at the time. However, from that point on, Martin followed a path of listening to and playing Jazz.

Shortly after his introduction to jazz, Martin started playing

the trombone. The first Jazz trombonist Martin became familiar with was Curtis Fuller (whom Martin later studied with). Later, he became familiar with J. J. Johnson, Kai Winding, and Wayne Henderson of the Jazz Crusaders.

Martin played in the marching and concert bands and orchestra at school, but the sound of jazz intrigued him the most. Martin later bought a record by Horse Silver entitled *The Cape Verdean Blues* on which J. J. Johnson played three tracks. The recording was released in 1966 when he was 16 years old. J. J. played a trombone solo on "Nutville," which was the best and most intriguing trombone solo Martin had ever heard. Despite knowing nothing of the structure, chord changes, or technique, Martin learned this solo note for note on the trombone.

After that, he continued to pursue jazz and jazz performance. This love of trombone and jazz has had a profound effect on Martin's life. He's played in many places in the United States, Canada, South America, and Europe. What marked his inspiration? Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers playing *Moanin'*.

Coda

The first major change in John's life was when he heard "Oh My Pappa" and he turned to the trumpet to be his instrument. The second major change was when he heard *The Sermon!* with Lee Morgan on trumpet and he turned to become a trumpet player and a jazz musician. This was also when jazz became his passion. The major change in his brother's life came when he heard *Moanin'*. He knew then that he wanted to be a jazz musician and play jazz music.

During their lives, John and his brother have played a lot of music. They have played in many jazz bands, both small and big bands. They have played classical music, jazz music, classical solo performances, and classical ensembles as well. They have played in major shows and have been on the road with touring bands. They have played on recordings. John has recorded two albums, one of which features his brother Martin playing trombone and also features one of Martin's compositions. The Lamkins are music educators who have taught music in the public school systems in Atlantic City, Chicago, South Carolina, and Baltimore. They have also taught at the university level as well and continue to share their knowledge and love for their instruments and jazz music. Today, as retired musicians and music educators, John and Martin still

teach regularly and play jazz music, and they are willing to share their passion for jazz with all those with whom they come in contact. Music set the course of their lives.

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Wedding Song

Willow Pearson Trimbach—CA Inst. of Integral Studies

Abstract: This paper illustrates how wedding songs conduct and facilitate community gatherings, social-emotional focusing, and symbolization of the marriage bond. It is exemplified by a music listening guide.

Keywords: Ave Maria, cello, eternity-knot, marriage, music, nonduality, song, union, wedding

Original Compositions

The "Ring" song that follows was part of a series of three wedding songs that I composed during my engagement, just before my wedding, and during my honeymoon. I offer it as an expression of preparing to join together with my husband in marriage. I will let it stand alone, open to interpretation and direct experience, as a portal to how wedding songs can capture the imagination of the emergent marital bond.

Ring

In the quiet
In the cold
Something growing
From the old

In the stillness

In the haze
Something clearing
From the maze

Ooooh, ooooooooh
Ha ha
Ooooooooh
Ha ha
Ooooooooh
Ha ha

The bell is ringing, it's time to go
Your heart is singing on the open road

Come on now, be strong
Come on now, be strong

In the presence
In the new
Something stirring
Deep in you

In the open
In the heart
Beginning….
Here we start

Ooooh, ooooooooh
Ha ha

Ooooooooh
Ha ha

Ooooooooh
Ha ha

The bell is ringing, it's time to go
Your heart is singing on the open road

Come on now, be strong
Come on now, be strong
Come on now…

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Music can play a key role in honoring and facilitating the life stage transition of marriage. Specifically, wedding songs facilitate community gathering and witnessing, social-emotional focusing, and symbolization of the marriage bond through emotional

containment and communication. It can play many roles in the celebration of a wedding, including songs for announcing the wedding party, songs for announcing the couple, songs for the couple's first dance, songs for the parent/child dance, songs for the cake cutting, songs for the bouquet toss, a dance party playlist, and live music performed for the ceremony itself and during the wedding reception. Some or none of these musical expressions may be selected for a specific wedding according to the culture and style of the particular occasion.

There are infinite ways that music can figure into a wedding, just as there are an infinite number of expressions of culture and gender that constitute weddings between two people. This paper offers but one illustration of a wedding, in this case between a bride and groom in a Western context. I center on two examples of wedding songs: the parent/child dance and the live music performance for the ceremony, using my own recent wedding to illustrate the depth of meaning, communication, symbolization, witnessing, facilitation, and emotionality that songs can provide in the embodiment of marital union, both for the couple and for the family and community.

Cello Dreams

I have a lifelong passion for the cello. I am told that it is the instrument closest to the human voice. The cello appears in my dreams regularly. Both on a conscious level and in the life of the unconscious, the cello is a vibrant part of my spiritual psyche. (For a discussion of the spiritual psyche, see the book I co-edited with Helen Marlo, *The Spiritual Psyche in Psychotherapy: Mysticism, Intersubjectivity, and Psychoanalysis*, published in 2021 by Routledge.)

For me, the cello represents the embodied transcendent. It is an instrument that I deeply admire and yet cannot play myself. As such, I have to go outside of myself to access it; I can only enjoy it through others' playing. This dependence on another to enjoy the music of the cello mirrors an enduring truth of marital relationships: loving the other (spouse or cellist), this person who is other than you yet united with you (in marriage or music) is a bridge and conduit between the internal and the external, between the self and the other.

Union and Distinction

As a complementary digression, before I continue with my

discussion of how a live cello performance figured into our wedding ceremony and celebration, another artistic rendering of the interpersonal and intrapsychic dance of "union and distinction" (Eigen, 2020, pp. 29-30) within marriage is also vividly demonstrated and symbolized by an eternity knot—a Kenyan soapstone figurine—that my husband and I received as a wedding gift. The eternity knot is a symbol of the everlasting nature of the bond between two marriage partners. It symbolizes two distinct souls, united, in the same way that musician and music listener are united yet distinct in an instance of music listening.

To return to how a live cello performance figured into our wedding ceremony and celebration, in the communication of the marriage bond and as an image of the eternity knot, a cellist performed classical music during the processional, *Ave Maria* during the ceremony, and original, contemporary compositions during the reception as dinner music. With each of these offerings, the cello served as a voice of emotion, facilitating the gathering and focusing on the social and emotional presence among the guests and for us as the couple. There is such a depth of myriad, swirling emotions involved in a wedding—empathetic joy, jealousy, exuberance, despondence, courage, fear, open-heartedness, loneliness, belonging, exaltation, and more—and that was true of our wedding as well. For many, who noted the impact of the music following the ceremony, the cello was a powerful conduit and container for this depth and complexity of emotional stirring. The cello served as an essential bridge among mind, body, heart, spirit, and community, allowing the *caesuras*—simultaneously the separations and unions—between them to be traversed, woven, and distinguished, back and forth, note by note, throughout and following the performance.

Communion and Separation

In the same way that, as an art object, the eternity knot simultaneously demonstrates and symbolizes the union and distinction of the marriage bond, and the live cello performance threaded an emotional presence for those gathered, the song that my husband and I chose for the parent/child dance at our wedding reception both contained and communicated the deep feelings of honor and respect, communion and separation, embodied by this specific wedding ritual. In our case, we chose the song "Kind and Generous" by Natalie Merchant to convey something of our gratitude, as children, to our parents, for providing us with the foundation for—and supporting us in—seeking lifelong love.

I, as the bride, danced with my father and, at the same time, my husband, as the groom, danced with his mother. The repetition of gratitude expressed through the melodic chorus of the song created a lulling, mantric expression of all that words alone cannot convey. The broadcasting of honor and respect that the song imparted helped to contain the simultaneous ongoing need to further individuate from our parents and the parallel ongoing need to pay homage to their parental guidance and example as well as to incarnate a new family system recognizing my husband and I as a married couple.

Through each of these musical experiences—the composing of original songs, the performing of solo cello, and the playing of "Kind and Generous"—the marital knot was tied. Each musical offering brought out and also held a meaningful dimension of the depth of feeling running through our sacred union, not only for us as the married couple but also for the community in celebration. For the unspeakable depths of emotional truth that brought us together, music created a voice and a chalice alike, emanating and containing a union of souls.

Music Listening: A Singing Practice

What threads each of these musical experiences, and allows for their emotional impact, is the capacity for attuned listening. One way to experience this directly is to listen to a song and sing along, as I will describe and invite here.

The first principle of music listening, applied here to singing a song, is this: all levels of conscious and unconscious awareness are always already emanating at once, whether these levels are distinctly registered or veiled in mind and screened out of awareness. Even so, quite paradoxically, there is just this one taste, which is the taste of equality. There are three stages of realization embedded in music listening—any one of them can be approached and open up an experience of the other stages, at any moment.

The first stage is to practice, to recognize moment by moment, the co-emergence of silence and sound. Psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion used to exhort his supervisees to "listen to yourself listening to the patient!" (see James Grotstein's *But At the Same Time and on Another Level*, *Volume 1*, p. 62) which is an excellent way to attend to how a patient makes you feel, and what you find yourself thinking about the patient, at once, not as a conscious or unconscious reaction, but as the beginnings of a music listening

practice, for there is the introduction of space to feel and space to think about the "emotional storm" that you and your patient are engaged in (Eigen, 2005). Translated here into a singing practice: listen to yourself listening to your singing of the song.

The second stage is to practice, to recognize, the co-emergence of what psychoanalyst Ofra Eshel (2019) calls "withnessing" with what Ken Wilber (2006) often presents as "witnessing." This is the communion of subjectivity and objectivity, the co-emergence of ontology and epistemology, engaged at the edge of openness to mystery—one aspect at the heart of the definitive meaning of any music listening practice. In genuine reality, being and knowing are inseparable, yet, even so, there is always the leading edge, albeit intertwined with emergent knowing, of ultimate subjectivity, of ontology, of being. This is an important teaching point. In other words, expand your feeling state even as you expand your capacity for observation. They are partners, not antagonists. (For in-depth instruction and training in clarity emptiness, bliss emptiness, and appearance emptiness, see teachings on *Love on Every Breath: Tonglen Meditation for Transforming Pain into Joy* by Lama Palden from 2019.)

A third point is that this is a song composed of, and from, the ever-present field of what the Buddhists call "clarity emptiness," another term that is akin to—yet not entirely confluent with—what Wilber refers to as "suchness." Allow the union of a full heart and a focused mind; they are companions. You can begin with the fruit of the music listening practice and allow the song you choose to express itself naturally, as you enjoy the singing, allowing each of these levels of practice to center you as the spirit moves. Sing from the heart of what the Buddhists call "bliss emptiness"—the union of an increasing development of desire, with a recognition that you are in a dream when you know you are dreaming. (For a presentation of integral dreaming, rooted in study with my principal meditation teachers, Lama Palden Drolma and Khenpo Tsültrim Gyamtso Rinpoche, see the forthcoming article from the *Jung Journal: Culture & Psyche* [*16*(4)] on an "Integral Relational Method of Dreaming the Caesura.")

Original Compositions

For a direct experience of Music Listening: A Singing Practice, I offer the following three songs as a trans-symbolic, nondual, and embodied expression of preparing to join together with my husband in marriage. I will let them stand alone, open to interpretation

and direct experience, as a portal to how wedding songs can capture the imagination of the emergent marital bond. These original compositions represent one of the aforementioned several ways that songs can figure in the ritual, ceremony, and celebration of a wedding:

The three songs, composed during the various stages of my personal wedding process, are entitled "Shown", "Ring", and "Your Hand." "Ring" was written on December 12, 2020, during our engagement; "Your Hand" was written on July 9, 2022, three weeks before our wedding day; "Shown," which came to me in a dream, was composed July 24, 2022, on the last night of our honeymoon. See the chapter "Welcoming dreams" in the forthcoming volume co-edited by L. Daws and K. Cohen, *Dreaming the Undreamable Object in the Work of Michael Eigen: Becoming the Welcoming Object*, published by Routledge.

You can listen to the songs and sing along (Willow Pearson Trimbach's music is available to hear through most streaming and downloadable music outlets). Once you catch the tunes, enjoy singing them on your own. Embellish each song with your signature voice!

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The Compulsion to Create: Scott Walker and Freud's Leonardo Compared

James L. Kelley—Independent Scholar

Abstract: Both Leonardo Da Vinci and musician Scott Walker grew up without a strong paternal presence, and both seem to have had neuroses connected to their creative drives later in life. A psychobiographical consideration of both subjects concludes that one contributing cause to their artistic difficulties lies in their compromised preoedipal development, which led Leonardo into procrastination and Walker into dissolution.

Keywords: Freud, homosexuality, Leonardo da Vinci, object-choice, object-relations, obsessive-compulsive-character, psychobiography, psychosexual-stages, Scott Walker

Previous psychobiographies of popular musicians have focused on their subjects' self-centered (or at least un-self-aware) early behavior, which usually comes to a head once their careers start to ebb. Substance abuse is common, and a pop star rarely makes it out of this world without at least one stint in a rehabilitation clinic or under a psychoanalyst's care. The present writing seeks to compare a musician, 1960s pop star Scott Walker (1943-2019), with an artist, the famous Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). Following a brief consideration of Scott Walker's biography, I will then outline Freud's analysis of Leonardo's procrastinating personality as a result of the great artist's ambivalence toward parental objects. Finally, I will number a few points of comparison between both men's object relations as they are revealed through their artistic productions.

Noel Scott Engel was born on January 9, 1943, in Hamilton, Ohio. His mother, Betty, was said to be as blessed with good looks as was her son. However, she was also noted to have possessed "a strong personality," which led her into conflicts with both her son and husband (Watkinson & Anderson, 1994, p. 1). Betty's intransigence even led to her being overly strict in disciplining Scott and must have contributed to her divorce from Scott's father, Walter Noel Engel, when the boy was six years old. Also factoring into the separation of Scott's parents was Walter's almost constant absence from the family, first during his stint as a Naval officer in the South Pacific, and later as a geologist who had to go wherever his work took him. A year after the divorce, an already emotionally traumatized Scott almost perished from a bout with scarlet fever.

For the rest of his life, Scott suffered from nightmares, and his penchant for writing macabre yet humorous lyrics was a way of reworking his childhood fears into aesthetic statements.

The breakup of the family hit young Scott particularly hard, especially since the boy was made to feel that he had to choose between his parents. He chose his mother Betty and did not see his father for years. Looking back at this crucial time, a grown-up Scott admitted his bitterness toward his father, but he gave his mother trouble as well, often playing with matches and even once setting his room on fire. Alimony from Walter Engel only went so far and, after mother and son moved to New York, a 14-year-old Scott found himself in his father's place, earning $300 a week performing in a musical.

After many twists and turns, Scott found himself the lead voice and most recognizable member of the pop music band The Walker Brothers, who had a pair of chart-topping hit records in the U.K. between 1965 and 1967; they were said in *The Walker Brothers: No Regrets—Our Story* autobiography to have had, at their peak in the summer of 1966, a bigger fan club than The Beatles (Walker & Walker, 2010). But by 1967, Scott had tired of the simple pop tunes and the audiences full of hysterical teenage girls. He wanted to become a serious album-oriented artist, so he released five solo albums between 1967 and 1971.

By the early half of the "me decade," Scott had lost his audience; indeed, he had lost his way. Stage fright could no longer be dispelled with the usual cocktail of alcohol and Diazepam. Scott began to regain his aesthetic footing with a track called "The Electrician" from an album put out by a reunited Walker Brothers in 1978. Both instrumentally and lyrically, the song signaled a new Scott: Tense droning notes from a baritone guitar precede the entrance of a haunting lead voice that sings of a government-hired torturer whose ability to "thrill" his detainee is likened to the intimate ecstasies of a pair of lovers. Scott next embarked upon a second solo career that produced four more experimental albums before his death from cancer in 2019.

If we recall what is perhaps the first psychobiography ever published, Freud's (1957/1910) *Leonardo da Vinci: A Memory of His Childhood*, many parallels to Scott Walker's life come to mind. Both Leonardo and Scott lived their preoedipal years largely apart from their fathers. Both men were accused of laziness, were known

to work slowly, and would leave projects dangling. Strangest of all, both were suspected of covert or overt homosexuality, though in Scott's case, this was largely because of his longtime platonic friendship with music industry personality Jonathan King, a man who much later was convicted of sexual acts with a number of school-age boys.

Freud believed that Leonardo's interest in other men originated in his passing through the oral and anal psychosexual stages without a father and with a mother who was too affectionate with him, compensating as she was for the loss of her husband, da Vinci's father. Before Leonardo could repress his sexual expression during the phallic phase, he already had to push his erotic feelings for his mother, intact, into his unconscious during the oral and anal phases. By the time of the phallic or Oedipal phase, Leonardo had no father to help him distance himself from his mother's tendency to envelop the entire psyche, in this case forcing Leonardo to cast himself as the mother who chooses himself as a child. In real life, this meant Leonardo-as-matron kept his feelings for his mother hidden, yet they did not diminish as he chose young men as love objects, as in so many Leonardo-proxies. Luckily, so Freud thinks, Leonardo was able to sublimate his sexual feelings into his love of knowledge so that his "ideal [sublimated] homosexuality" precluded the great artist from taking advantage of the underage boys in his charge (Freud, 1957/1910, p. 28). Instead, Leonardo became a great investigator of nature, with his sex drive invested in his artworks and in his engineering endeavors, many of which reflected, obliquely, Leonardo's affection for his beloved (yet, at the same time, frightening) matron.

Leonardo's Oedipal situation did not resolve optimally, according to Freud. We might think of it thusly: Leonardo's father was absent during the years leading up to the phallic phase, so once he appeared in his son's life (at about age five, when Leonardo was introduced into his father's household), the paternal object was not established properly in the superego. In other words, Leonardo's father was not established as a rival, as an off-setter of the pre-oedipal, merging-enveloping type of love associated with the mother. Neither did Leonardo possess a proper internal object-representation of the wider social-cultural world, with its indirection, its ambiguous rules, and its shifting expectations. As a result, Leonardo became a procrastinator, or, more specifically, an artist who lost interest in his art objects, not cathecting them deeply

enough to avoid discarding them once it became apparent that their completion required a severe curtailing of his pleasure seeking. Freud does, however, portray the great artist as finding ways to modify his behavior to counter his obsessive, indecisive tendency. In fact, according to Freud (1957/1910), Leonardo became one of the great investigators of nature, and in his later works, especially *Mona Lisa* and *St. Anne and Two Others*, he was able to objectify somewhat his ambivalence toward his birth mother.

It could be argued that Scott Walker followed a path similar to Leonardo's in that both attempted to overcome early neuroses by turning to a life in the arts, and both were at least partially successful in their attempts to undo early maladaptive life strategies. In Scott's case, he stopped his abuse of prescription medication at the end of the 1970s and curtailed his drinking from the injudicious level it had reached during the years just before the *Nite Flights* album in 1978, as reported in *The Walker Brothers: No Regrets—Our Story* autobiography (Walker & Walker, 2010). Also, Scott made the difficult transition from singing middle-of-the-road material during the Walker Brothers' first stint to writing and recording more personal and artistic music during his later years.

It is perhaps no coincidence that a number of Scott's later songs have to do with a lover or associate of a dictator or king. In the case of "Clara," it is Mussolini's mistress; and in "The Day the 'Conducator' Died (An Xmas Song)," we have Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu's wife Elena sharing her husband's fate via firing squad. The obscure lyric of "SDSS14+13B (Zercon, A Flagpole Sitter)" tells the story of one of Attila the Hun's jesters, who imagines himself living up in the sky, anywhere but in the wooden palace that is his prison, and in which he earns his keep by making brutal, unsmiling masters laugh. In each of these songs, we have a dictatorial father figure paired with an accomplice whose involvement seems to fall somewhere between "willing" and "unwilling," as in "Clara," in which the Italian leader's mistress chooses to give up her life to be with Mussolini, but for motives that go beyond politics, beyond anything we can puzzle-out as onlookers. Is the smile the clown Zercon brings to Attila's lips any less "enigmatic" than that of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*? We may guess that Scott, not unlike Leonardo, mediated unconscious extremes of parentally-directed love and hate by projecting them onto so many historically-framed canvasses of song, allowing both the creators of the artworks as well as their consumers (and, perhaps, those figures

obliquely portrayed therein) to express their disappointment toward their own fathers and mothers, all the while establishing a reparative distance.

James L. Kelley's biography can be found on page 281.

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Memorial

Remembering Jay Y. Gonen (1934-2022)

Paul H. Elovitz—The Psychohistory Forum

At the age of 88, psychologist Jay Y. Gonen died on December 19, 2022, in Sarasota, Florida of cardiac arrest after a 16-month struggle with ill health. This talented psychohistorian was born in Haifa in British Palestine and educated at Hebrew University. Reflecting on the dead bodies he saw as a soldier during the Suez Crisis of 1956 led him, while earning advanced degrees in Cincinnati, to decide to not return to defend Israel in the Six Days War and instead apply for American citizenship. He served as professor of psychology at the University of Cincinnati and the University of Rochester Medical Center; he devoted most of his professional career to treating former soldiers in a Chicago veteran's hospital.

As a psychohistorian, Gonen's publications included the articles "The Israeli Illusion of Omnipotence" in the *Journal of Psychohistory* (Fall, 1978) and his "The Impossible Palestinians and Israelis" (*Clio's Psyche*, December 2002, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 125 -127); his books included *A Psychohistory of Zionism* (1975); *The Roots of Nazi Psychology: Hitler's Utopian Barbarism* (2000); *Yahweh versus Yahweh* (2005); and *Faustian Bargains* (2021). He served as president of the International Psychohistorical Association but eventually left this group in frustration over the issue of academic standards. After the death of his first wife, he married a fellow psychohistorian which you can read about

in my "An intellectual Partnership: Jay Gonen and Mary Coleman" (*Clio's Psyche*, March 2001, Vol. 7, No. 31, pp. 167, 189-198). This psychohistorical couple spent 32 happy years together listening to Viennese music, going to the opera, entertaining friends, writing books, and studying the ancient languages of Akkadian and Sumerian (Jay already knew English, French, German, Hebrew, and Arabic).

Jay is survived by his wife Mary, brother Yariv Gonen, and children Julie and David Gonen.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is editor of this journal and may be contacted at cliospsycheedietor@gmail.com. ❑

The Psychohistory Forum and *Clio's Psyche*
Honor Psychohistorians

Festschrifts have been held for Peter J. Loewenberg (2012), Robert Jay Lifton (2013), Vamık Volkan (2013), David R. Beisel (2022), Howard Stein (2022), and Lawrence J. Friedman (2023). Festschrifts for William McKinley "Mac" Runyan and Peter W. Petschauer are scheduled for 2023 and 2024 respectively.

The first-ever **Lifetime Achievement Awards in Psychohistory** were given on January 14, 2023, to David R. Beisel, Alan C. Elms, Robert Jay Lifton, and Peter Loewenberg. On March 18, 2023, Lifetime Achievement Awards were given to Herbert Barry III, Daniel Dervin, Lawrence J. Friedman, Howard Stein, and Jacques Szaluta. Henceforth, all recipients of a Festschrift will receive a Lifetime Achievement Awards Celebration.

Book Reviews

Masud Khan: Paradox and Enigma

Candace Orcutt—Clinical Social Worker & Psychoanalyst

Review of Linda Hopkins and Steven Kuchuck's (Eds.) Diary of a Fallen Psychoanalyst: The Work Books of Masud Khan 1967-1972 (London: Karnac Books, 2022), ISBN 978-1-913494-65-0, 364 pages, $60 (paperback), ISBN 978-1-913494-66-7, Kindle, $49.09, Paperback, $60.

The *Diary of a Fallen Psychoanalyst: The Work Books of Masud Khan 1967-1972* is a significant accomplishment. It is a unique, thought-provoking work that allows us to look over the shoulder of an originative figure in psychoanalysis as he writes daily journal entries about the world and his own sensibility. Also, it contributes to the anamnesis of a troubling episode in the history of psychoanalysis.

Masud Khan, the inheritor of a feudal estate in the Punjab (once part of India, now in Pakistan), was for a time considered a potential heir to the creative leadership of psychoanalysis. Notably, in 1975, Erik Erikson is reported to have said: "The next decade in psychoanalysis belongs to Khan" (Hopkins, 2006, p. 253). Khan's consummate editorial work remains unquestioned: this included influential editorship of *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* as well as the compilation, organization, and referencing of the otherwise scattered articles of the reticent Donald Winnicott. His own writings, except for his last controversial book, are acknowledged as brilliant and original, particularly regarding the schizoid personality and the nature of perversion. He has been the subject of three biographies, the last of which, by Linda Hopkins, is in itself an achievement of biographical research and objective narration.

How is it possible that Khan is barely mentioned these days? Or worse, is quickly dismissed as "anti-Semitic"? Khan was incorrigible: He was outspoken with behavior to match; his insights and actions could range from provocative to outrageous to unethical (including affairs with patients). However, he was not called into account formally by the British Psycho-Analytical Society until his final, strangely self-destructive book, *When Spring Comes: Awakenings in Clinical Psychoanalysis* (1988), lent itself to the charge of

anti-Semitism. This charge was mistakenly based on the misreading—as a statement of Khan's personal opinion—of a shocking (but clinically successful) analytic intervention (Orcutt, 2019). The charge of anti-Semitism spearheaded the professional exile of analysis' problem child and has cast even his substantial contributions into obscurity ever since.

The Work Books (especially read in tandem with Hopkins' biography) invite us to reach our own conclusions. We are introduced first-hand to Khan's piercing perceptiveness, self-importance, haughty condescension, and unexpected empathy, his dogmatic assessments that are nonetheless open to new experience, his capacity for childlike enthusiasm, and his ultimate vulnerability (e.g., "…the pent-up fear and pain will always spill into rage at others," p. 268). What emerges is a sense of Khan's personal force, pushing and pulling at the reader and skillfully retained in the masterful editing of Hopkins and Kuchuck.

This impressive editing had unique literary and historical challenges of its own. The 359-page volume is winnowed from the first 14 of Khan's 39 volumes of personal observations and reflections from 1967 to 1980 (4,000 pages in all!). The result is seamless and steadily draws together a unified sense of its complicated subject. In addition, this book represents a literal rescue operation. The one surviving set of *The Work Books* copies barely escaped both accidental and intentional loss—from random handling and the deliberate destruction in 2019 of the remaining Khan archives. The editors deserve our thanks for their dedication and outright heroism in preserving this contribution to a dramatic passage in psychoanalytic history.

The Work Books, like Khan himself, first present themselves as intriguing parts of a puzzle waiting to be fully assembled. We see Khan as a shrewd observer and participant in the psychoanalytic scene (in England, France, the United States, and Germany), with his colleagues (including Winnicott, Klein, Anna Freud, Balint, and André Green), in his involvement with the arts (as represented by friends such as Julie Andrews and the Redgraves, his prima ballerina wife, Svetlana Beriosova, and his own immersion in literature, Shakespearean theater, and refuge in painting and decoupage), and in contemplation of the nature of the world and its politics (especially the personally felt encounter of East and West). But beneath all this activity and bravado, there is a growing undertone of feeling—an isolation and sadness, which the editors describe as

"A Muslim man without a country…" who for a while was "…the centre of international psychoanalysis and perhaps the most popular writer and speaker in that world" (pp. xiii-xiv). This perception deepens as we follow Khan's close relationship with Winnicott, his anxious concern with Winnicott's physical fragility, and then Winnicott's loss—one of a devastating sequence of losses that leaves Khan feeling "empty and alone" (p. 357).

Volume 2 of *The Work Books* is promised, and perhaps time will tell the full story of this paradoxical figure who has been simultaneously admired and reviled. For now, we are left to consider a closing entry in *The Work Books* that speaks to the paradoxical tension felt by many who retained their devotion to Khan despite their dismay: "Love has such a small voice but much to say; while rage has vehement spread and range but in the end says so little" (p. 359).

Candace Orcutt, MA, PhD, is a clinical social worker and psychoanalyst, and author of *The Unanswered Self: The Masterson Approach to the Healing of Personality Disorders* (2021) and *Trauma in Personality Disorder: A Clinician's Handbook* (2012). A former Associate of James F. Masterson, MD, she serves on the faculty of The International Masterson Institute, The New Jersey Institute for Training in Psychoanalysis, and is a Research Associate of the Psychohistory Forum. She may be contacted at Candacephd@optimum.net.

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Hopkins, Linda (2006). *False self: The life of Masud Khan.* Other Press. (Reissued 2022 by Karnac Books, London.)

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A Perilous Journey

Ona Lindquist—Postgraduate Psychoanalytic Society

Review of Richard Wood's A Study of Malignant Narcissism: Personal and Professional Insights (London: Routledge, 2023), ISBN 978-1-032-16059-7, pages i-xvi, 212, paperback, $39.95.

Richard Wood writes "Though we may think of ourselves as mostly intrepid explorers of our psyches, many of us continue to

find a trip through our own interiors to be a very aversive and dangerous endeavor" (p. 189). Yet in *A Study of Malignant Narcissism: Personal and Professional Insights*, he does just that, traveling into his fears, becoming an intrepid explorer of his psyche, and inviting the reader to do the same. Through deeply personal experiences, he explores the professional, academic, and political manifestations of malignant narcissism, calling this psychological disorder "the most destructive form of human personality." His multidetermined knowledge of malignant narcissism offers a comprehensive overview useful to both mental health professionals and society at large at this fragile time in our history.

Reflecting pools between puddles of mud describes the complex terrain of Wood's book both psychologically and intellectually. It is tragic, enlightening, and well-written, as well as, at times, emotionally difficult to get through, reminding me of the continual importance of the ability to embrace opposing feelings simultaneously.

He writes with a sensitivity and openness that invites the reader to vicariously experience what his life living with a malignant narcissist felt like. The difficulty I had in reading the book seems to have mirrored the author's admitted difficulty he had in writing the book as he recounts the horrors of the unwelcoming world he grew up in. For example, I found myself recoiling at the author's admissions of animal cruelty, learned from his cruel father, while empathizing with his curiosity about why he lacked empathy at that point in his life.

The book is a veritable inventory of dark self-states: aggrieved, accusatory, aggrandized, cruel, contemptuous, compulsive, demeaning, exploitative, envious, invasive, indignant, intransigent, intimidating, intolerant, misanthropic, predatory, rapacious, remorseless, and transgressive. These words describe the malignant narcissism of his father, a "hoary wrath holder," "beset by unbearable vulnerabilities, intractable cynicism, and disabled empathy." They also resonate with uncanny accuracy to the current political landscape, leaving me in awe of the author's (and the nations') capacity to endure.

The political timeliness of the book is worth noting. The reader is repeatedly reminded of the eroding spirit of a nation damaged by Trump and company as Trump's pathology continues to cast a pall across our country and the world. Plus, the American

Psychiatric Association has said it is unethical for its members to diagnose someone you have not worked with directly. Wood makes a compelling case to do just this, enumerating the endless relational dynamics and potential consequences of living under the rule of a malignant narcissist. I found myself, at times, imagining this book as a movie, specifically an R-rated psychological thriller.

By Wood's own admission, he couldn't find the "human parts" of his parents; his mother would disappear for months at a time to the Virgin Islands, leaving him alone with his father. This book is partly about how Wood found the human parts in himself. It is his humanity that makes the subject matter of the book digestible and in that way useful. In light of his evolved insights, learned empathy, and extensive understanding of his depraved childhood environment, Wood was not only able to survive but live to tell his tale with compassion and an incisive voice, turning his pain into productivity.

As he tells us, the only time his father would let his guard down, making him approachable as a parental figure, was as a storyteller. In these times he became a role model, setting the stage for the author to learn how to tell his own story and along the way develop his abiding interest in the stories of others, becoming not only a writer but a psychoanalytic psychologist as well.

Wood talks about hating himself and hating his father for despising him. He believes that hating his father gave him important insights, allowing him to better understand his father and develop a degree of compassion along the way. This compassion helped to moderate the level of toxicity in his own system. Sometimes, for some people, the harder they have to go up against another's rigid, dysfunctional defensive structures, the stronger the will to not only survive but also thrive can become.

The relentless toxicity of the subject matter is also mitigated with a scholarly, comprehensive literature review of malignant narcissism. The extent of his review underscores the importance of growing intellectually when compromised emotionally. Worth noting, Wood holds Eric Fromm as "the most intricate, nuanced elaborator" on the subject.

As much as the book has to say on the subject, I am also left with how much more there is to say. The book demonstrates the results of a painstaking process of gathering knowledge, both personal and professional. However, the process does not necessarily

lead to knowing. Importantly, Wood considers his many insights regarding malignant narcissism only "approximations."

To paraphrase John Steinbeck, we never really know who we are and how we came to be that way. As analysts, we certainly try to find out. Richard Wood makes a serious effort to find out who he is, uncovering and considering his truth and leaving us a roadmap for finding ours. Along the way, he shines a very bright light on the dangerous space malignant narcissists can take up in our lives, whether personally, professionally, and/or politically.

Ona Lindquist, LCSW, is a psychoanalyst and senior supervisor in private practice in Brooklyn, NY. She is the author of "One Glorious Noise: *how the voice of Bruce Springsteen entered my consulting room*"; "A Barter To Be: *a psychoanalysis in art and verse*" (2018); "Swimming in Space: *fragments of a therapy in verse*" (2015); and "What a Blackbird Told Me is Real and Alive" (2011). She may be reached at onalindquist@gmail.com. ❑

Kohut's Fine Exploration of Empathy

Geoffrey Cocks—Albion College

Review of Thomas A. Kohut's Empathy and the Historical Understanding of the Human Past (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), ISBN: 978-0-367-42578-4, 166 pages, paperback, $44.95.

Historian Tom Kohut has written an excellent introduction to the role played by empathy in understanding human beings in the past. Kohut is the son of psychoanalytic self-psychologist Heinz Kohut and is himself a leading historian and psychohistorian. He is the author of two significant works of psychohistory: *Wilhelm II and the Germans: A Study in Leadership* (1991) and *A German Generation: An Experiential History of the Twentieth Century* (2012), as well as "Psychohistory as History" in the *American Historical Review* (1986). While *Empathy and the Historical Understanding of the Human Past* mentions and discusses the views of a wide range of historians, philosophers, psychoanalysts, sociologists, psychologists, and neuroscientists, its erudite survey of historiographical thinking is a concise, clearly written, and accessible handbook for both practitioners and students of history. It can be

read with profit by anyone with an interest in human beings past and present and features an excellent bibliography and index.

Kohut defines empathy as "vicarious introspection," which in psychoanalysis is the process whereby "the analyst seeks to identify and understand the meaning of that feeling for the analysand based on what the analyst knows about the patient" (p. 98). Following Dominick LaCapra, Kohut's book emphasizes a reciprocal cognitive *and* affective "relationship that exists between the historian and the past, particularly past people," concluding that we "do not simply project ourselves onto them; they project themselves onto us" (p. 99). For Kohut, there is a categorical distinction to be made between sympathy, "a response coming from the position of the external observer" (p. 128), and empathy, "a response reflecting the position of the historical subject" (pp. 128-129). In prioritizing the historian's understanding of past human beings rather than the events and ideas of the past, Kohut contests philosopher of history Hans Georg Gadamer's insistence that historians cannot escape the horizon of their own time and place. For Gadamer, historical work consists of recasting past answers to questions "to produce new answers connected with the past but transcending it to become relevant in the present day" (p. 104).

Kohut does not attempt to provide a critique of historical reason. He notes that Wilhelm Dilthey attempted—and failed—to establish once and for all the distinction between the human sciences and the natural sciences. Dilthey first posited the idea that "objective knowledge in the human sciences was possible because we and the people we study are fundamentally similar psychologically" (p. 11). He later adopted the "more Hegelian notion that historical understanding was possible because the historian and the past both partake of some ill-defined 'objective spirit,' which he called 'life philosophy'" (p. 11). Dilthey's desire to establish the possibility of objective knowledge of the past led him, as Jürgen Habermas observed, into somewhat of a wilderness of epistemological circularity. Nevertheless, he was influential on such thinkers as Benedetto Croce and Georg Simmel, who stressed his idea of "'inferences by analogy'" (p. 85).

Both the virtues and the limitations of Kohut's study are evident in Chapter 4, "Three Examples of Empathy in Historical Understanding." First, Kohut tackles the question of the reasons for the failure of democracy in Weimar Germany. Part of the standard explanation, Kohut writes, was the failure of the Social

Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) to challenge the established conservative economic and political culture in Germany. The SPD was content to create a parliamentary political system that was unable to survive two major economic crises in the 1920s because an alliance of traditional authoritarian elements in Germany with the Nazis eventually brought the Weimar Republic down in 1933. Kohut argues that this standard explanation has been "made from the position of the outside observer who knows what the historical participants did not, namely the ultimate consequences of their actions" (p. 57). This interpretation, according to Kohut, ignores the fear of German socialist politicians that events in Germany would follow those in Russia, where civil war among the revolutionaries had led to the Bolshevik seizure of power; so for the sake of stability and order, "the majority Socialists could not afford to break the power of the forces of reaction" (p. 59). An empathic point of view, thought Kohut, would understand the world as the German socialists saw it at the time. One might argue, however, that such an understanding would not come purely from the process of empathy, but as much as or even more from the traditional historical concern with the relevant individual, institutional, and cultural contexts unmentioned in Kohut's account.

Kohut's other two examples concern the perpetrators and victims of the Holocaust. Practicing what Holocaust historian David Cesarani once called "cold empathy," Kohut asks us to imagine the feelings of the participants at the Wannsee Conference in early 1942. Kohut focuses on the discussion at the meeting of how to define the Jews who would be subject to extermination. The SS leadership wanted to define the doomed in the widest possible terms while the political leadership was worried, especially in the wake of some popular unhappiness with the regime's killing of mental patients, about "popular unrest, even protest, if Jews connected to non-Jewish Germans were to be deported" (p. 63). Finally, in what we might call the application of "warm empathy," Kohut asks us to consider both the uniformity and the multiplicity of the responses of Jewish Holocaust victims. Kohut concedes there are dangers in venturing too far "onto the thin ice of speculation" in the attempt at balancing determinism with contingency (p. 69). Still, in a nice—if brief—section on his struggles with countertransference when writing about young Germans in the Third Reich, Kohut displays a post-Freudian insistence on the usefulness of empathy ensuing from the very awareness of countertransference.

Geoffrey Cocks, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of History at Albion College. He is the author of *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich: The Göring Institute* (1985, 1997), *The Wolf at the Door: Stanley Kubrick, History, and the Holocaust* (2004), and *The State of Health: Illness in Nazi Germany* (2012). He can be contacted at gcocks@albion.edu. ❑

Fleshing out Freud's Undeveloped Psychosexual Stages

James L. Kelley—Independent Scholar

Review of Daniel S. Benveniste's Libido, Culture, and Consciousness: Revisiting Freud's Totem and Taboo (New York: IP Books, 2022), ISBN 978-1-949093-99-5, pages i-xiii, 473, soft-bound, $35.00.

Benveniste's book attempts to flesh out Freud's underdeveloped notion that psychosexual stages originated with our ancestors' traumatic prehistoric experiences. Though Freud wrote about his "phylogenetic fantasy" (this term derived from the title editors gave to an English translation of one of Freud's unpublished papers) throughout his later life, it is in his 1914 *Totem and Taboo* that we find the fullest expression of his idea that humans inherit memory traces of their forebears' traumatic experiences. The work spoke of a "primal horde" that was lorded over by an alpha male, a "primal father" who kept all the women to himself and subjugated or drove away all of the weaker males in the group. These disinherited sons banded together, killed and ate their father, and agreed to cooperate to forge a society that was gentler and more equitable. However, the repressed guilt over the patricide influenced the creation of totemism and exogamy, practices that defined the fraternal society that succeeded the primal horde.

As Benveniste (2022) summarizes Freud in *Totem*, "The two principal taboos of totemism are the taboo against harming the totem and the taboo against sexual relations within the clan" (p. 18). Freud has, in effect, linked a stage in human history with a psychosexual stage (phallic), a cultural practice (exogamy), and a myth/religious ritual (totemism/totemic feast). *Libido, Culture, and Consciousness* wishes to extend this kind of analog into each of Freud's psychosexual stages, and also into suitably adapted ver-

sions of Erik Erikson's psychosocial stages.

Is Benveniste successful? A simple "yes" or "no" would doubtlessly be misleading. The author is humble enough to admit that we cannot ever be sure what happened before writing was invented; thus, even Freud's "primal horde" theory itself is conjecture, however inspired. Also, the author is careful to point out that his linking of "universal" myths to Freud's stages and broadly-defined cultural stages (the dating of which, the author admits, is little more than guesswork) is not the final word on the matter, but rather an attempt to provide an up-to-date synthesis for the 2020s.

Instead of the chapter-by-chapter summary typical of short book reviews, I will use the remainder of this piece to zero in on the portion of the text which I have been taken with the most. Chapters Three and Five link the oral stage to the Upper Paleolithic era humans whose nomadic culture had not achieved the clear separation from nature that their Neolithic successors would do. Not unlike an orally-fixated child sucking a thumb, these Paleo-nomads developed funeral rites to help assuage their fear of death. These funerals helped the living work through psychical ambivalence toward dead relatives. These two chapters (pp. 61-81, 143-181), along with the appendix on "Orality in Psychoanalytic Theory" (pp. 366-370), yield numerous insights into the oral stage. I especially favor the appendix, which alerted me to a trio of articles that I am quite sure I will be citing in my ongoing work on the psychosexual stages.

A sizable part of Chapter Three is taken up by Benveniste's able analysis of a set of drawings by one of his autistic patients. The author suggests that the little boy's scrawled circles and lines were numerous mouths that threatened to torment him. The artwork was paired by Benveniste with recordings of interviews with the child, during which the words "mouth" and "teeth" were frequently heard. It seems that this patient was expressing his fear of being devoured by his environment. Whatever the truth of it is, the case casts light on the oral stage by painting a picture of the terrifying reality of being unable to surpass it. In terms of references, Benveniste calls upon names such as Bettelheim and Tustin to establish severe autism as a candidate for the oral stage's peculiar pathology. Never mind that recent literature on autism was not surveyed. There are plenty of books out there that score higher marks than Benveniste in the bibliography category. This book has other virtues.

All in all, *Libido, Culture, and Consciousness* is a treatise from which many both inside and outside of the psychoanalytic community could profit immensely. As a final attempt to pique your curiosity, the book contains a great number of color photographic illustrations from the author's own travels, one of which depicts the author himself side-by-side with a Yanomami shaman (p. 194)!

James L. Kelley's biography can be found on page 281. ❑

Letter to the Editor Addendum

Dear Editor,

In the historiographical essay "Psychohistorians of Music and Musicians," published in the Psychoanalysis of Music/Musicians & Poetry About Music: Part I section in *Clio's Psyche* (Winter 2023, Vol. 29, No. 2), I called attention to a disturbing trend I see in the scholarship of a number of psychohistorians in recent years. That trend is the failure to integrate the earlier work of psychohistorians directly relevant to the paper being presented. I am troubled not only by incomplete references but also by the number of presentations that never acknowledge related studies even exist.

I am embarrassed to find myself in the company of those I criticized. My essay failed to mention "Women's Voices in Opera: A Psychohistorical Perspective on Three Arias," by Ellen Toronto and Emily Wood Toronto in *The Journal of Psychohistory* (Fall 2019, Vol. 47, No. 2). I am happy to add this contribution to the other works cited in my essay.

David Beisel

Go to the *Clio's Psyche* websites (CliosPsyche.org, PsychohistoryForum.com, PsychobiographyForum.com) to learn more about the journal, psychohistory, and to view back issues from 1994-2021.

Bulletin Board

2023 CONFERENCES: The first Winter Psychohistory Forum Work-In-Progress seminar was held virtually on **January 7th** when **Jerome Blackman** (MD, Eastern Virginia Medical School), **Paul H. Elovitz** (*Clio's Psyche*), and **Inna Rozentsvit** (Object Relations Institute) presented on the Psychology of Anxiety and Fear. The Psychohistory Forum held the first-ever **Lifetime Achievement Awards in Psychohistory** on **January 14th** honoring four distinguished colleagues virtually: **Peter J. Loewenberg**, **Robert Jay Lifton**, **Alan C. Elms**, and **David R. Beisel**. On **February 5th,** the Forum co-sponsored with the **International Psychohistorical Association's** (IPhA) virtual celebration of **Arnold Richards'** publication of his autobiography, *Unorthodox: My Life Inside and Outside Psychoanalysis: A Memoir*. On **February 25th,** the Research and Publication Group of the Psychohistory Forum inaugurated the **Psychobiography Reading Group** with a James W. Anderson chapter on D. C. Winnicott and the author speaking to the group after its discussion. On **March 18th,** the Forum has scheduled the second **Lifetime Achievement Awards** virtual ceremony with recipients being: **Lawrence J. Friedman**, **Howard Stein,** and **Jacques Szaluta**, as well as *in absentia* **Herbert Barry** and **Daniel Dervin**. Additional meetings will be hybrid or virtual and announced to the membership. In-person meetings will be at the Lincoln Center of Fordham University thanks to Professor **Harold Takooshian**, who hosts them, and each has a virtual component. Other presentations are currently being planned for 2023. The **German Society for Psychohistory and Political Psychology** (Gesellschaft für Psychohistorie und Politische Psychologie—GPPP) conference will be held **March 24-26** in Munich, Germany. The **IPhA's** 46th Annual conference will be held virtually on **May 18-20**. The International Society for Political Psychology's (ISPP) meeting will be in Montréal, Québec, Canada, on July 9-11, at the Omni Mont-Royal; the Association for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society (APCS) will meet at the Rutgers Inn and Conference Centre in New Brunswick on October 26-29; and the Interdisciplinary Conference of the Forum for Psychoanalytic Education (IFPE) will meet on October 26-28 in Pasadena, CA. **CONGRATULATIONS:** To Susan Kavaler-Adler on the publication of *Selected Papers by Susan Kavaler-Adler: Developmental Mourning, Erotic Transference, and Object Relations Psychoanalysis, Vol. I* (IPBooks, 2023); and to **Merle Molofsky** on the publication of the edited *Jew Hating: The Black Milk of Civilization* (IPBooks, 2023). **WELCOME NEW MEMBERS:** Daniel Benveniste, Jerome Blackman, **Joseph Boskin**, **Jim Clark, John Lamkin**, **Ona Lindquist**, and **Stephen Whitfield**. We have now created a new category of *overseas-only* electronic members to

which we welcome **Sven Fuchs** and **Pilar Damião de Medeiros**. **DEATHS**: **Michael Maccoby** died on November 5, 2022, at age 88, and a memorial is scheduled for our next issue. **THANKS:** To Benefactors Peter Barglow, Herb Barry III, David R. Beisel, Thomas Ferraro, Eva Fogelman, Peter Loewenberg, David Lotto, Jamshid Marvasti, Candace Orcutt, Arnold Richards, William McKinley (Mac) Runyan, Mary Peace Sullivan, and Duke Wagner; Patrons Theresa Aiello, Claude Barbre, Donna Crawley, Paul H. Elovitz, David James Fisher, John Fitzpatrick, Denis O'Keefe, Peter W. Petschauer, Joyce Rosenberg, Jacques Szaluta, Duke Wagner, and Richard Wood; Sustaining Members Daniel Benveniste, Jerome Blackman, James R. Booth, Marilyn Charles, Susan Charney, Mary Coombs, Lawrence J. Friedman, Susan Kavaler-Adler, Danielle Knafo, Ruth Lijtmaer, Judith Logue, Burton N. Seitler, and Talia Shafir; and Supporting Members Joseph Boskin, Scott Eberle, Kenneth Gross, Ona Lindquist, Peggy McLaughlin, Marcie Newton, and Stephen Whitfield. Our special thanks for **thought-provoking materials** to Cassandra Atherton, Joseph Boskin, Michael Brown, Dwight F. Burlingame, Katurah R. Christenbury, Geoffrey Cocks, Jim Clark, Pilar Damião de Medeiros, Ronald E. Doel, Scott G. Eberle, Janice Berry Edwards, Paul H. Elovitz, Lawrence J. Friedman, Tom Gibbs, Abigail Jareño Gómez, Odile Heynders, Susan Kavaler-Adler, James L. Kelley, Robin Alfriend Kello, Peter Kuznick, Martin J. Lamkin, John R. Lamkin II, Ruth Lijtmaer, Ona Lindquist, David Lotto, Candace Orcutt, Peter W. Petschauer, Joyce M. Rosenberg, Inna Rozentsvit, Willow Pearson Trimbach, Mark I. West, and Stephen Whitfield. To Nicole D'Andria for editing, proofing, and Publisher 2016 software application and Professor Paul Salstrom, Tobi Ologundudu, and Divine Sylvester for proofing. Our special thanks to our authors, editors, and numerous overworked referees who must remain anonymous. ❑

We Wish to Thank Our Talented Authors, Diligent, Hard-working, and Prompt Editors, and Our Loyal Referees Who Must Remain Anonymous.

Clio's Psyche Call for Papers on Psychobiography and the Autobiographies of Psychobiographers

Fall 2023 Issue

(Papers due 6/01/2023)

Some possible psychological/psychoanalytic/approaches include:

- What makes the person you wrote on so interesting?
- When did the subject's specialness first manifest itself?
- What is the relationship between the subject's childhood and adulthood?
- What obstacles and traumas did your subject face and overcome?
- Why did you choose to write a particular psychobiography?
- Write a 1000 word or less review of a just published psychobiography.

We seek articles from 2,000-4,000 words—including a 25-word abstract, 7-10 keywords, and your brief biography ending in your e-mail address—by 06/01/2023.

<>

Call for Articles for *Clio* Festschrifts

Subject and Date for Submission

William McKinley "Mac" Runyan June 1, 2023 for the fall issue
Peter Webb Petschauer October 1, 2023 for the Winter 2024 issue
Paul H. Elovitz January 15, 2024 for the Spring 2024 issue

<>

Clio's Psyche Publishes Papers on a wide range of subjects of psychohistorical interest.

First preference is given to papers relevant to special features, Festschrifts, issues, and symposia. The normal word limit in files accepted are 1,000 words for review essays, 1,500 words for symposia responses, 2,000 words for articles, 3,500 words for symposia, and 4,000 words for psychobiographies. *Case studies are encouraged. Send articles and inquires to cliospsycheeditor@gmail.com.*

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