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Jungian Strand

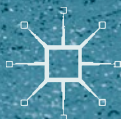
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Transatlantic

Modernism

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JAY SHERRY



The Jungian Strand in Transatlantic Modernism

Jay Sherry

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Cover illustration: Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, Beatrice Hinkle and other attendees at the International Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar, 1911. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-10504.

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To Charlie Boyd, who's heading up that last, long mountain valley

“The art of seeing nature is a thing almost as much to be acquired as the art of reading the Egyptian hieroglyphics.”

—John Constable

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INTRODUCTION

When the role of psychology in the master narrative of modernism is mentioned, it usually goes something like this, “William James, Freud, and others.” Carl Jung, their colleague and one of the preeminent psychiatrists of the day, is relegated to an occasional cameo appearance (Peter Gay’s sole reference is to Pollock’s Jungian therapy) and his photo is a blur in the poster for Clark University’s 2009 centennial conference honoring Freud’s only visit to the United States, one at which Jung also spoke (see Image 1). Why then has Jung been routinely down-played or afforded “no respect” from academics? Harold Bloom and Elaine Pagels took up Gnosticism but assiduously side-stepped his pioneering work in the field. This attitude originated in the psychoanalytic party-line that charged him with a suppressed, mystical anti-Semitism that became manifest after his break with Freud, a streak that irreparably tainted his life and work; the most recent iterations of this view are the two books by Richard Noll. At best, Jung is dismissed as a middlebrow intellectual who went on to peddle therapeutic nostrums little better than theosophy to wealthy Americans bored with their lives. As Clarence Oberndorf, an early New York psychoanalyst, charged “His theory and procedures have appealed to the inexactitude and fantasy of many laymen.”

While Freud got the highway, Jung was shown the byway, a situation that Henry May noted warranted further investigation since his “approach was obviously more acceptable than Freud’s in some quarters.” This situation began to change with work of Henri Ellenberger and Paul Roazen. It continues with the work of Sonu Shamdasani and the publications of the Philemon Foundation. My previous book focused more on Jung’s

Swiss-German political and cultural activities while here it's on his connection to a transatlantic, mostly Anglo-American network. This book aims to remove the varnish that has accumulated on this portrait of the man and more accurately locate his place in modernist culture during its formative years. The rabbit hole that I went down was the least-studied of the trips that Jung made to the United States. It was in 1913 and arranged by a doctor, Beatrice Hinkle who had become his key early American supporter; she had attended the Weimar psychoanalytic congress where she sat in a place of honor with Freud and Jung over either shoulder. Her translation of his magnum opus was the most talked-about book of psychoanalysis in 1916 and widely read on both sides of the Atlantic.

Being a generation younger than Freud, Jung was to take a keener interest in the psychological implications of emerging trends in science (nuclear physics) and society. His focus on the feminine principle led to a more nuanced consideration of gender that appealed to early feminists. Like others, he took up the question of the modern individual's relationship to the collective. For Jung, this involved studying the psychological dimensions of religion that transcended its traditional Eastern and Western incarnations to include tribal cultures and such popular group fantasies as séances and mass political movements. This attitude was closer to that of William James than was Freud's since both men saw the potential for a non-pathological understanding of spirituality, a view that became an increasingly marginalized professional position to hold. Jung's evolving model of the psyche appealed to many who found his emphasis on the creative function of the unconscious an appealing alternative to Freud's more pessimistic view. Besides helping to lift repressions, analysis could help people tap into unrealized potentials that could enrich their lives. His concept of "individuation" (personality development over the life-span) was the forerunner of the human potential movement's process of "self-actualization."

Virginia Nicolson defined a modernist as someone who "broke the rules, used allusions, drew from mythology, history, and fragments of past literature for his or her creation" (*Among the Bohemians*, Wm. Morrow, 2002, p. 204). While T. S. Eliot and Gertrude Stein may be among the first names that come to mind, the description applies equally to Jung. He was an avant-garde conservative who evolved into a modernist with contrarian traits. A good example of this transition can be seen in the opening pictures of the two parts of the Red Book where his style morphs from luxuriant art nouveau to more elementary forms reminiscent of Paul Klee and Juan Miro. He paid little attention to modernist developments in

music, photography, and architecture and was disdainful of the intellectual underpinnings of their aesthetic; his synthetic-encyclopedic-comparative methodology had gone out of fashion. Still, his ambition to bridge the divide between the natural and human sciences resulted in a body of work that attracted a cohort of feminists and progressives involved in early childhood education, modern art, dance, and theater.

I will reduce his social network and cultural activity-field to just three “degrees of separation” and view them through lenses that range from narrow to broad:

1. Direct contact: clients, friends, and colleagues.
2. Indirect contact: any of the above as intermediaries along with reading his work in books and periodicals.
3. Neo-Romantic common denominators like Nietzsche, ethnography, and Theosophy along with their mid-twentieth century after-lives.

In *Travesties*, Tom Stoppard reminds us that Paris was not the sole incubator of modernism by evoking a war-time Zurich but from which Jung is absent; this, in spite of his indirect, but influential role in James Joyce’s life when he lived there. My goal in writing this book was to connect some familiar dots to many of their missing links. To help navigate the field and identify the players, I refer readers to the sociogram in Appendix A. It illustrates a less familiar alignment of the modernist galaxy, one in which the city of Paris shines as one of the lesser lights.



CHAPTER 1

American Dream, Myth, Nightmare

*How many future presidents served with the Union army
during the Civil War?*

The answer is eight, seven of them were American (Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, and William McKinley) while the eighth, Emil Frey, was president of Switzerland in 1894. He was born in the canton of Basel-Land and educated in Germany at the University of Jena. Emigrating to Illinois, he joined the Union army at the outbreak of the war. He was captured at the Battle of Gettysburg and confined to Richmond's notorious Libby Prison, a former tobacco warehouse, where he had to survive on a diet of rats while being held in solitary confinement. After the war, he returned to Switzerland where he became active in national politics and served as the country's first ambassador to the United States (1882–88). Another immigrant from Basel-Land, Henry Wirz followed a very different career path. After marrying a widow, he moved to the South where, among other transient jobs, he worked as an overseer on a Louisiana plantation. He joined the Confederate army and eventually became commander of the large prisoner-of-war camp near Andersonville, Georgia. He was executed for the war crimes of neglect and physical abuse shortly after the war's end in 1865.

Frey was part of a large exodus of liberals who left Switzerland and Germany after the constitutional upheavals of the 1830s and 1840s.

Several years before his birth in 1838, the canton of Basel had a brief armed conflict between urban and rural forces that resulted in its division into the separate cantons of Basel-Stadt and Basel-Land. Sectional differences between the more conservative Catholic and more liberal Protestant cantons over the nature of their Confederation resulted in a full-scale civil war in 1847. The Catholic inner cantons formed the *Sonderbund* (“Separatist League”) but were defeated after a several-week campaign against federal troops. A new constitution was approved the following year, one strongly modeled on its American predecessor that greatly strengthened the powers of the central government and created the first provision for national citizenship. Frey’s father had been politically active in Basel politics and gave asylum to Friedrich Hecker, a leader of the liberal forces in the neighboring German state of Baden who was forced to flee after the suppression of the 1848 revolution there. Hecker moved on to Illinois where he became active in Republican politics and in 1861 raised a regiment of German-speaking immigrants. Other liberals who went to America were Carl Schurz and the parents of Peter Altgeld who was later elected governor of that state. Their bedrock republican values included a passionate commitment to the abolition of slavery. George Washington Carver was named after his “Uncle” George Carver, another German immigrant who had Anglicized his family name of “Schneider.” Carver hired men to rescue the boy after he and his family were kidnapped by Arkansas slave-hunters. In the years after the Civil War they supported the reform wing of the party and successfully enacted a program of progressive legislation on the city and state levels throughout the Midwest, one that was affectionately dubbed “sewer socialism.”

TO “DIE NEUE WELT”

The first Germans and Swiss who arrived in America had been spiritually motivated. The Protestant Movement had split into many different denominations over issues of doctrine and practice; the more radical wanted to emulate the communal spirituality of early Christianity by rejecting such holdovers from Catholicism as ecclesiastical organization and child baptism. They held views that were anathema to their orthodox neighbors and suffered imprisonment, exile, and death. Escaping this persecution by the Lutheran and Swiss Reformed Churches, they sought a new home where they could practice their non-conforming beliefs without state interference.

The Moravian Brethren came first. Their teachings were handed down from Jan Hus, an early religious dissident who was executed for heresy by the Catholic Church. After a period of success as a vehicle for Czech independence, his movement was defeated by the Hapsburgs and forced to go underground. In the early eighteenth century, its last adherents (“the Hidden Seeds”) accepted the invitation of Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf to relocate to his estate in Saxony. He was a Lutheran nobleman deeply influenced by Pietism, the new movement that downplayed theological dogma in favor of an emotional engagement with the Inner Light that was to be found in every human being. Their numbers grew and their universalist ethos led to far-ranging missionary ventures. Finding the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania a congenial destination, Zinzendorf founded the town of Bethlehem as the Moravian base of operations for converting the local Lenni Lenapes. Labeled the “Delaware” by the English, the tribe was the main branch of the Algonquian-speaking peoples who inhabited the mid-Atlantic coast and came under increasing pressure from American colonists to surrender their lands. Most of them went west to the Ohio Territory where they were ministered by the missionary David Zeisberger. He started several settlements for Christian tribal members who adopted a European life-style along with his Moravian pacifism and piety. Glowing reports induced Swiss Anabaptists known as Mennonites and Amish to follow the Moravians to Pennsylvania. Separated linguistically from their neighbors who called them “Dutch” (“Deutsch”), they followed strict communal codes of conduct and prospered as farmers. As their numbers grew, groups splintered off and formed new communities in Ohio and Indiana.

Another non-conforming group that chose to leave Germany was the Harmony Society founded by the self-styled prophet, George Rapp. He preached that Christ’s Second Coming was imminent and would inaugurate a new Kingdom of God on Earth. Rapp’s eclectic religious philosophy was strongly influenced by the mystical writings of Jacob Böhme and Emmanuel Swedenborg. Besides contributions to the new science of metallurgy and mine safety, Swedenborg wrote detailed accounts of heaven and hell based on his self-induced visionary trance-states. He lived for awhile amidst London’s sulfuric miasma where he attracted followers who started the Church of the New Jerusalem. William Blake affiliated with it before criticizing its teaching in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. The most famous of its American members was John Chapman, who was better-known as “Johnny Appleseed.” After the American Revolution, he moved from New England to the Ohio Territory which he crisscrossed for

years planting the seeds that became the orchards that produced a valuable regional commodity and a booming hard cider industry. He earned the respect of both white settlers and Native Americans for his generosity and non-violent, nature-loving personality. He fostered frontier literacy by leaving Swedenborgian tracts with the families with whom he stayed; his natural rapport with children was an intuitive anticipation of the “kinder-garten” (“children’s garden”) philosophy that would soon be imported from Germany. His balancing of the useful and the spiritual was the formula for success that was applied by the Rappites and the later-arriving Church of the New Inspiration in the farming/craft communities that they started at New Harmony, Indiana and Amana, Iowa.

Other German-speaking immigrants came with the country’s lucrative business opportunities in mind. John Sutter came of age in Basel-Land but left to lead a peripatetic life that took him to the Mexican province of California where he founded the colony of “New Helvetia.” His dreams of becoming a grandee were dashed after gold was discovered at his saw mill and his property was overrun by squatters. He spent the rest of his life lobbying the federal government for compensation under the provisions of his original Mexican land grant. To be near the politicians in Washington, he moved east to a Moravian town in Pennsylvania where he died. The Gold Rush of 1849 attracted thousands of people from around the world. Most never hit the mother-lode but some did find it at the cash-register. Levi Strauss moved to San Francisco to set up the West Coast branch of his family’s dry goods business and made their fortune after securing a patent on blue jeans. Before discovering ancient Troy, Heinrich Schliemann had worked as a banker in Sacramento where he obtained his US citizenship. Railroads were soon linking all sections of the country and accelerating the nation’s economic development. Immigrants escaping poverty in the Swiss canton of Glarus settled in Wisconsin where they introduced their native cheese-making styles. In near-by Milwaukee, Frederick Pabst helped make the city synonymous with the German-style pilsner beers that gained in popularity and national market share.

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE

America’s cultural life during the nineteenth century was more strongly stamped “German” than many people now realize. Its dramatic demotion occurred in 1917 after the United States joined the Allies and 100 percent American patriots went on a hysterical anti-German campaign.¹ This ran

the gamut from assaults on life and liberty, to the dropping of German-language courses and the boycotting of German composers. Until then, German had been the country's most-spoken second language and a requirement for those studying mathematics, philosophy, and science. Choral music played a significant role in Lutheran church services and immigrant German musicians filled the seats of orchestras across the country. By the 1880s, the operas of Richard Wagner surpassed Rossini's in popularity with the ticket-buying public. German literature, especially the works of Goethe, appealed to this same educated middle class. One noticeable social consequence of this appreciation was the frequency of the name "Margaret," the heroine of *Faust One*, which became one of the most common names for girls in the country.

Goethe and other Romantic writers argued for an "aesthetics of enchantment." Reacting to the one-sided bias of the reigning rationalist philosophy, they emphasized the role of imagination and intuition in the cognitive process. They coined the term *anschauung* to refer to a technique that aimed to "look into" in the objects of the visual world with an "inner eye" and discern their invisible patterns. To validate this approach, they turned to the sacred texts of the Hindoos, especially the *Bhagavad-Gita*, that were becoming widely available in the West. This transatlantic phenomenon influenced the transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson who wrote in his poem "Brahma" that "I am the doubter and the doubt, And I the hymn that Brahmin sings." Realizing that reality was far more fluid than most people imagined, the Romantics wanted to find a place for soul in a world increasingly defined in the exclusively mechanistic terms of commerce and the laboratory.

This Romantic philosophy permeated German science as well as art. It was central to the life-work of Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), the world's most famous scientist before his reputation was eclipsed by that of Charles Darwin. His expeditions spanned a life-time. While in his thirties, he ascended the upper reaches of the Orinoco River in Venezuela. The measurements he took helped redraw the map of South America; his massive collection of flora and fauna included samples of curare and guano, the dried sea-bird droppings found in quantity on islands off Peru. It became the locus of an international commercial frenzy after it was found to be the world's best source of fertilizer. His physical stamina and mental acuity were legendary and Emerson dubbed him the "Napoleon of Travelers." At the age of sixty, he was invited by the Czar Nicholas I to conduct an expedition across the Russian steppes to Siberia.

He was the last great scientific generalist before the age of specialization. His fields of study ranged from meteorology, volcanology, ocean currents, to human geography and colonial economics and sociology. Committed to the Enlightenment ideal of Liberty, he was a vocal critic of slavery and advised Simon Bolivar on the need for South American independence. On his return trip to Europe, Humboldt stopped off in Philadelphia and Washington, D C where he met Thomas Jefferson with whom he shared information about conditions in the Spanish empire. All this activity initiated a global network of correspondents who for decades updated him on their latest scientific findings. He synthesized these findings but knew that the Linnean method of classification was a necessary tool but one too static for understanding the dynamic interrelationships being discovered throughout the planet's intricate web-of-life.

Humboldt showcased this research and holistic approach in the multi-volume *Kosmos*. He adopted his title from the word used by ancient Greek philosophers for what has been defined as "the assemblage of all things in heaven and earth, the universality of created things constituting the perceptible world."² As an Enlightenment intellectual, his explanation of the natural world did not require "God" in any theological sense but depended on identifying the organizing principles operating within its many operating systems. Humboldt was adamant that the perceiving consciousness of the observer had to be included in the scientific process. "He argued that the natural historian had the duty to re-create in the reader – through the use of artful language – aesthetic experiences of the sort the naturalist himself had undergone in his immediate encounters with nature."³ He wanted to include the insights that could be realized by the perceiving self of the observer. This heightened state of consciousness was registered by an inner eye with a vividness that amplified the stimuli recorded by the rods and cones of the physical eye; in so doing, perception becomes vision. The book was translated into numerous languages and went through many editions, both legitimate and pirated, on both sides of the Atlantic. He wrote for a growing international readership with a philosophy that captured the interest of such differing creative temperaments as Walt Whitman and Edgar Allan Poe. Whitman called himself a "kosmos" with an imagination that ranged from the most distant nebula to the tiniest blade of grass. Poe was equally intrigued and dedicated his last work *Eureka*, a long scientific prose-poem, to the eighty-year-old scientist.

Humboldt promoted the careers of several generations of aspiring scientists. One of the later was the Swiss-born Louis Agassiz who became

America's leading scientist after securing a Harvard professorship that was supported by his letter of recommendation. Among the first to benefit from his generosity was Carl Gustav Jung's grandfather. The first Carl Jung (1794–1864) had been thrown into a Prussian prison for his liberal views after the Congress of Vienna (1815) tried to reset the political clock of Europe. Upon his release, he went to Paris where he met Humboldt whose recommendation helped him secure a professorship in the medical faculty of Basel University.

His grandson matriculated there and followed in his footsteps by becoming a doctor. The younger Jung (1875–1961) owned a copy of *Cosmos* and although he referred to it only once in his published writings, quoting that South American Indians called meteors “the piss of the stars” (CW 5, 315), his scientific *weltanschauung* was thoroughly grounded in the Humboldtian tradition. This approach had remained popular with a large number of German scientists after its appeal waned in the Anglo-American world with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859). This group included Jung's professors who taught him a comparative morphology derived from Goethe's theory of the *Urbild* (“original image”), a concept that became better-known as “archetype.” They opposed the growing dominance of a positivism that reduced the complexities of the life force to an aggregation of electro-chemical processes. The individual among them whom Jung most consistently identified as a major intellectual influence was Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869), a gynecologist and friend of Goethe who published a book about the workings of the unconscious mind called *Psyche*.

Artistic training was an integral part of the *Bildung* (“cultivation”) ideal of the Prussian educational system that had been reformed by Humboldt's brother Wilhelm. Budding scientists were expected to be competent artists and Carus became an accomplished landscape painter in a league with his friend Casper David Friedrich. They were taught to think visually and create work that satisfied the dual goals of intellectual *order* and artistic *adornment*. During his university years, Carl Jung painted a number of landscapes in this still-popular Romantic style. This visual training can also be seen in the diagrams these scientists were designing to convey the complex amounts of new scientific information being published. In his diagram of Chimborazo, a volcano in the Andes that he scaled, Humboldt correlated plant species with altitude, creating an intellectual tool that helped lay the foundation of modern ecological science. Jung was to adapt the era's omnipresent diagrams of geological strata and archeological digs

to help illustrate his ideas about the levels of the human mind.⁴ “Strata” is one of the major motifs that Jung employed in the Red Book. For example, compare the opening picture in each of its parts; the first depicts the zones of the cosmos from the earth’s hot magma core through its marine, terrestrial, and astronomical spheres done in an art nouveau style while the second is dominated by the fissures and faults of sedimentary rock layers in a semi-abstract, symbolist style. The following quote from the introduction to *Cosmos* expresses the scientific credo that Jung subscribed to throughout his career. “In the work before us, partial facts will be considered only in relation to the whole. The higher the point of view the greater is the necessity for a systemic mode of treating the subject in language at once animated and picturesque.”⁵

Both Humboldt and Jung were multilingual and shared a cosmopolitan outlook. Their interest in the grand experiment underway on the American continent was part of a long European tradition. Although overshadowed in the American imagination by Alexis de Tocqueville, the trip made by the German Prince Maximilian von Wied and the Swiss artist Karl Bodmer from 1832–34 is more illustrative of this. The prince’s career began in Paris where he had been a protégée of Humboldt and emulated his master by making a trip to Brazil. Now he was making a far more ambitious expedition across the North American land-mass. After landing at Philadelphia, the men visited Bethlehem and then took the National Road across the Appalachians to the town of Economy where they were shown around by George Rapp, Jr. They continued down the Ohio on a steamboat to the thriving town of New Harmony which the Rappites had sold to a consortium of utopian socialists. In making all these stops, the Prince was following a now well-publicized route for any German-speaker planning to go west. While in New Harmony, he spent his time gathering information from members of the local scientific community which gave Bodmer time to capture the local landscape in a series of watercolors. After provisioning in St. Louis, they journeyed up the Missouri River, eventually taking a keel boat all the way to the foothills of the Rockies.

The continent proved to be one vast living laboratory for the study of geology and plant, animal, and human geography. The full extent of “evolutionary deep-time” was only beginning to enter public awareness. The Prince had studied with Johann Blumenbach, the founder of physical anthropology and adopted his theories of *Bildungstrieb* (“formative drive”) and monogenesis which held that the evidence was mounting that, in spite of widespread differences among the peoples of the world, all of

them were descended from a common human ancestor. Ethnographic studies were in the process of establishing the fact that the indigenous peoples of the Americas were related to the Tatars of Mongolia. Bodmer's detailed portraits of the members of the Mandan tribe and their neighbors expressed an empathy that regarded them as fellow *Homo sapiens*, as individuals who deserved to be treated as more than mere specimens to be catalogued or savages to be deplored.⁶

THE WILD, WILD WEST

Second-generation Hudson Valley School artists like Edward Church and Albert Bierstadt followed in Humboldt's footsteps aiming to evoke a sense of the sublime in their viewing audience. The diminutive human presence in their paintings served the further purpose of conveying the perspective of being a spectator who came to see awesome sights, an aesthetic that meshed nicely with the nascent international travel industry. While the Rockies could trigger a sense of limitless grandeur, a more contemplative mood was evoked in the golden sunsets of the Luminist painters back East who had studied the harbor scenes of J. M. M. Turner. After reading Swedenborg, the artist George Inness began to explore the philosopher's theory of correspondences that proposed that every object found on the material plane had its spiritual counterpart. This led to his final phase where he treated the landscape around his home in Montclair, New Jersey in a more atmospheric way by blurring lines and the color spectrum.

Romantic ideas about dynamic metamorphosis were pervasive and influenced how history was studied and countries used ancient texts and local monuments to construct their national narratives. America's past seemed to be unique, if not unsettling, in this regard; it was treated as a tabula rasa, a virtual blank canvas that invited pseudo-scientific group fantasies that competed with more serious scientific studies for the public's attention. As settlers moved west they found a landscape covered with thousands of ancient burial, platform, and animal effigy mounds. Such engineering feats and the presence of copper artifacts seemed to indicate the presence of a civilized but now-vanished race unrelated to the degenerate current inhabitants. The Bible was the main source for the two most prominent candidates, the Phoenicians and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. The Rosetta Stone had recently unlocked the meaning of the hieroglyphics so in the eyes of the public a written language became another key benchmark for "civilization." Artifact hunters were particularly interested

in finding examples of this in the mounds they were excavating; this led to a cottage industry that involved forgeries like the Newark Stone and the Grave Creek Tablet which purported to support such Biblical sources. The most successful of these were the multiple texts written in an ancient script that Joseph Smith claimed to have discovered and translated; these include the Book of Mormon, which became sacred scripture for America's most famous home-grown religion. It was an era when amateurs debated the new breed of college-trained specialists out to debunk their version of the facts. One of these autodidacts was the Minnesota Congressman Ignatius Donnelly who spent his time in Washington prowling the stacks of the Library of Congress to collect a mass of geological and cultural data that he used to support his claim for geographical reality in *Atlantis, the Antediluvian World*, his 1882 best-seller.⁷

With expanding literacy and the invention of high-speed presses, the number of metropolitan daily newspapers and publishing companies jumped. The penny press thrived after editors discovered the power of sensationalism to sell copies or in later industry jargon, "if it bleeds, it leads." A fictional hero like James Fennimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo was morphing into a real-life celebrity like Buffalo Bill who fed the nation's appetite for thrills with his dime novel exploits and traveling show about the "Winning of the West."⁸

This aggressive mind-set fueled a sense of Manifest Destiny that took people down some bloody, spooky trails as they went west. Ever since the colonial period, frontier encounters with the racial "other" had routinely resulted in violence. Most of the ghosts that rattle around in America's closet aren't wearing white sheets. In *Moby-Dick*, Melville chose the name *Pequod* for Captain Ahab's ship. The Pequots were a Connecticut tribe that had been destroyed by a colonial coalition and their Native American allies; the survivors not divided among the victors were sold as slaves in Bermuda. No flower children, they had fought for control of the regional fur trade and flexed their muscle by crossing Long Island Sound to shake down the tribes of Paumanok ("the island that pays tribute") for wampum, an item whose commercial value now outweighed its original ceremonial function. The trail west took a wrong turn in Ohio at Gnadenhütten, one of the towns founded by the Moravian Lenni Lenapes. While most of their kinsmen sided with the British during the American Revolution, they remained true to their pacifist philosophy. This became an increasingly difficult position to maintain and one that did not save them from the

wrath of the Pennsylvania militia who occupied their town. The Lenapes were locked up and given the night to pray; in the morning, ninety-six men, women, and children were bludgeoned to death and scalped; the town, whose name meant “Cabins of Grace” was then looted and burned.

This long series of atrocities reached its tragic denouement along Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota in the sub-zero winter of 1890. A Lakota band that had left the reservation had been intercepted and ordered to surrender its fire arms. When a rifle discharged during a scuffle, a fire-fight broke out that was followed by a “mopping up” action that took the lives of scores of women and children. The government gave its official stamp of approval to the engagement by awarding twenty Medals of Honor for “meritorious conduct” during a one-sided action that lasted less than an hour; in contrast, not a single one was awarded to any African-American serviceman during either of the world wars.⁹

The blood that soaked the prairies included that of millions of buffalo who were slaughtered for profit and for sport. Deprived of their primary food source and forced to abandon their nomadic life-style, the Plains tribes were coerced into following federal regulations by insensitive and often corrupt reservation agents. This assault was spiritual as well as material since many traditional customs were now stigmatized and prohibited. This dire situation led the quick spread of a new message that was being preached by a Paiute holy man named Wovoka. He stressed education and cooperation as the best way to adjust to the white man’s path. The most important ritual that he taught was the Ghost Dance which blended his visionary experiences with what he had learned from his shaman father into a new, more communal-egalitarian ritual. Lakota traditionalists who were still mourning the death of Sitting Bull at the hands of reservation police looked to it as vehicle for non-violent cultural assertion and renewal. In *God’s Red Son*, Louis Warren argues that this religious movement needs to be understood in the broader context of the changes taking place in American religion during the period, as part of a larger and continuous American counter-tradition of alternative religiosities that challenge institutional churches. He connects it to the contemporary spread of spiritualism and the appearance of “holy rollers” who were in the vanguard of the modern Pentecostal movement. The Ghost Dance was another manifestation of this informal “Church of the Great Spirit” that had always accepted dreams and trance-states as integral parts of their non-conforming practices.¹⁰

A NEW CENTURY DAWNS

The racial ideology that developed in post-Civil War America was also on naked display in the South where lynchings terrorized newly freed African-Americans who were caught in a web of Jim Crow laws. The racial hierarchy was justified as a “natural” state of affairs by reliance on outdated interpretations of the Old Testament that identified Negroes as the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah who was condemned to serve his brother, the progenitor of the future “Caucasian” race. To bolster their case scientifically, its defenders clung to the theory of racial polygenesis propounded by Louis Agassiz, a staunch opponent of Darwin until the end of his career. This was bolstered by ideologues who argued that emancipation had led to increased rates of insanity among a population ill-equipped for success in modern society.

The official closing of the western frontier announced in the census of 1890 coincided with the redirection of expansionist ambitions toward exotic new overseas targets like Hawaii and the Philippines. This process accelerated with victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) and Teddy Roosevelt rode his Rough Rider celebrity to the Republican ticket in 1900. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy he had favored a muscular military policy that he pursued as president. There were heated debates over whether traditional republican values could be reconciled with the country’s new imperial ambitions. The Anti-imperialist League attracted members from across the spectrum of America, from Andrew Carnegie and Mark Twain to liberal stalwart Carl Schurz and Harvard professor William James.

James (1841–1910) was not by nature a political activist but took a public stand on the issues of the day, condemning lynchings and refuting the arguments used to justify America’s new colonial empire. He was raised in a Swedenborgian household and given a cosmopolitan education that included fluency in French and German. He attended Harvard and studied with Agassiz whom he accompanied on research trip up the Amazon which ended with an onset of health problems. Uncertain as to a career goal, he read widely and studied art in Newport, an experience that had a life-long effect on him. When he died, a son eulogized that his father was always “one half an artist. His imagination played over and around everything that held his attention. [A] penumbra of feeling always enveloped his thought.”¹¹

Harvard was being transformed by President Charles William Eliot into a world-class institution based on the German model that had become the

gold standard in higher education. The traditional curriculum based on the classics was now supplemented with research-based courses in the natural and social sciences. James helped establish the Psychology Department by teaching physiology and the latest laboratory techniques being developed in Germany. In the talk he gave at the opening of Harvard's Germanic Museum (now the Busch-Reisiger), he was exaggerating only slightly when he said that "Our university is Teutomaniac." His heart was not really in experimental work and he rebelled against the deterministic prejudice that minimized the role of agency and synthesis in psychological functioning. He was open to investigating the outer limits of the mind and found the career of Theodore Fechner, the founder of psychophysics, fascinating. Having established a method for measuring basic sensory stimuli, Fechner underwent an extended period of ill health and depression that altered his intellectual direction. He wrote *Zend-avesta*, a book whose title was taken from the sacred text of the Zoroastrians of Persia, in which he began to expound on the idea that the mind operates with both a day-view and a night-view. Such interest in "the other side" of things always appealed to James and had led him to join the American Society of Psychical Research which sought to apply rigorous scientific standards to the study of mediumistic trance states. Its members wanted to separate what might be authentic from the obviously fraudulent. Dismissing the founder of Theosophy as the "jaded Blavatsky," James relied on the work of the Swiss psychologist Theodore Flournoy and fellow psychical researcher Frederick Meyer on the subliminal self to help establish a non-pathological theory for religious feelings.

Harvard's admissions door was being slowly pried open. James helped in the *Bildung* of a generation of young agnostics that included its first black PhD candidate W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois took James's Theistic Ethics course and became an occasional guest at his home. He secured a fellowship that allowed him to study economics for two years at the University of Berlin, years that he considered among the happiest of his life because they were free from the racial prejudice that circumscribed his life back home. Other newcomers were Jews from Reform families North and South; they were part of a cohort of college grads who watched as continuous waves of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe arrived and began to give the American identity another one of its periodic make-overs. Meeting these unwashed masses in the settlement houses where they volunteered, they wanted to write the next chapter of a national saga that would go beyond Anglo-Saxon Plymouth Rock to embrace modern urban

culture, Negro spirituals, and the creation stories of the continent's aboriginal peoples.

The paradigm for understanding these stories shifted dramatically over the course of the century. For much of it, myths were popularly considered to be quaint relics from a time "back then." The best example of this attitude is the still-in-print handbook of mythology by Thomas Bulfinch, which provided the necessary cultural guidance to classical allusions in poetry and the paintings seen on the obligatory European grand tour. After the scramble for colonies escalated, this view was gradually modified by academic recognition that myths expressed a mentality that was still operative, but only among groups that were either socially "down" or geographically "over there." The theory of evolution had quickly been adopted as a guiding principle in the newly created departments in the social sciences, but was often co-opted to justify a conservative agenda. Inter-disciplinary cross-fertilization led other academics like Sir James Frazer to apply anthropological studies of "primitive thinking" to illuminate classical texts in his monumental *Golden Bough*.

By the end of the century, there was a growing realization that the ultimate source of myths was "in here." Writers were taking a new interest in the "primitive" and often "mad" interior landscapes of supposedly modern, "civilized" individuals. This call of the wild could unleash atavistic tendencies like those on display in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and *The Heart of Darkness*. Criminality as discussed in Nordau's best-selling *Degeneration* was only one possible outcome of such atavism, rejuvenation was another. This appealed to the generation of the 1890s who were reading Nietzsche and wanted to apply his philosophy in their personal lives. After repressions were lifted then potentials could be realized. Yes, "God was dead" but the gods, and goddesses, were very much alive!¹²

Jung was one of them. Fascinated by the workings of the unconscious mind, he wanted to understand the oracular utterances of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* by pursuing a career in psychiatry. Mesmerism's sketchy reputation was changing to one worthy of scientific consideration with the application of hypnosis as a tool for unlocking the hidden emotional dimensions of the human mind. To understand better the "so-called occult phenomena" (the subject of his dissertation), Jung attended séances and read "7 volumes of Swedenborg" (*MDR*, 99). Such immersive experiences resulted in his taking up the thorny relationship between science and religion in the lectures he gave to his fraternity brothers of the Zofingia Society at Basel University.¹³ After graduation, he studied in Paris with Pierre Janet and

became chief of staff at Zurich's cantonal mental hospital. Working under Eugen Bleuler, he became a vocal champion of the controversial new "talking cure" being developed in Vienna by Sigmund Freud. In their consulting rooms, they were to discover new meanings in the old Greek myths, which they then applied to larger cultural and social phenomena. ("The unconscious was able to keep paganism alive ... the readiness of the vastly older primitive mentality to rise up from the past can be seen in our own day, perhaps better than at any other epoch known to history" [CW 6, 18]).

Unlike Freud, however, Jung was to be intrigued by America's polyglot, multiracial society and developed a profile of the modern American personality-type, sub-genus *WASP*. Its first template was a published case study filtered through a lens dependent on a Romantic literary construction like Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. Jung would go off in a more idiosyncratic, psychological direction after repeat visits and a life-time of contacts with the country's landscape and Americans from many different regions and backgrounds. For example, the Pueblo elder Mountain Lake, a leader in the fight to win back tribal control of the sacred Blue Lake from the federal jurisdiction, would give him an earful about the white man's dark side. Wherever he traveled, Jung was sensitive to his subjective reactions to "the other" while gathering cross-cultural evidence to support his theory of the collective unconscious. He was to interpret heterodox visionary traditions as further corroboration that there was a religious instinct common to all humans whose ultimate goal was to create a life full of meaningful relationships that ranged from the personal to the social to the cosmic.¹⁴

NOTES

1. During the war, the Swiss embassy handled German diplomatic affairs.
2. Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos, Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 220.
3. Robert J. Richards, *The Romantic Conception of Life, Science and Philosophy in the Age of Goethe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 521.
4. In one of the "biggest" dreams of his life, Jung descended from the upper floor of a building down through successive historical levels until he reached a sub-basement. See *Memories Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989) [hereafter *MDR*], pp. 158–59.
5. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1864], pp. 36–37, E. C. Otté, translator. George Washington Carver's pantheistic attitude toward nature was similar to that

- of Johnny Appleseed's. His artistic skills were developed enough that his botanical paintings were exhibited at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. For more, see Gary Kremer, *George Washington Carver, In His Own Words*, 2nd ed. (Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 2017).
6. See *Karl Bodmer's America* (Joslyn Art Museum and The University of Nebraska Press, 1984), in particular, plates 249, 309, and 319.
 7. America's robust appetite for "ancestors" came to include the Vikings with Celto-Iberians, the Knights Templers, and extra-terrestrials more recently proposed for the family tree.
 8. By the by, George Armstrong Custer of Little Big Horn fame was a descendant of the Küster family from the Palatinate region of Germany while the famous 1896 Anheuser-Busch lithograph of his Last Stand was done by recently arrived German immigrant, Otto Becker.
 9. The best account of this tragic story continues to be Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1970).
 10. A famous account of the Ghost Dance by one of its participants is *Black Elk Speaks* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008). Christian fundamentalists prefer the stern God the Father of the Old Testament, liberals look to his loving Son Jesus of the New Testament, while non-conformists look for guidance from the Holy Spirit of the Pentecost.
 11. Robert Richardson, *William James, In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2006), p. 419.
 12. This activation was one more manifestation of the vitalist impulse that characterized late-nineteenth culture. For an in-depth account of this development, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation, The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009).
 13. In his *Zofingia Lectures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), Jung recognized the value of subjective, religious feelings of illumination to counterbalance the overly rationalistic theology of Albert Ritschl, see 96f.
 14. The shamanic element that Jung noticed in America's home-grown religious sects was accompanied by a growing interest in Eastern spirituality, for example, the World Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition. He saw this search for alternate modes of religious experience as a *ricorso* of the syncretism that characterized the Hellenistic Age of Greece.



CHAPTER 2

Beatrice Hinkle and the New Frontiers in Mental Health

By the 1870s, San Francisco was putting its Gold Rush boom-town days behind itself and developing into a proper city with all the amenities of modern life. A Victorian value system insured the establishment of the city's cultural infrastructure of churches, schools, and conservatories. Among the families coming west was that of Dr. Frederick Benjamin Moses who was of English parentage. He ran a business and married Elizabeth Benchley Van Geissen, who while pregnant, survived a carriage accident that killed him. The baby also survived and was born on October 10, 1870 and named Beatrice.¹ Dante was among the classics that were popular with the middle-class families and since co-education was among their top priorities, she was taught by tutors and in private schools.

She married Walter Scott Hinkle whose family had left Ohio and settled in Petaluma, Sonoma County north of the city. He clerked for W. H. L. Barnes, a prominent lawyer and politician, and was appointed as an assistant district attorney. While raising two small children, Walter and Consuelo, Beatrice dreamed of a professional career; discouraged by her husband from attending law school she decided to attend Cooper Medical College which later merged with Stanford University. One of eight women in the class of 1899 (25% of the total), Hinkle wrote her thesis on enuresis in children and graduated with an interest in neurology. Shortly afterward her husband died, she was appointed city physician of San Francisco and so became the first woman in the United States to hold a public health position. Although there were many important advances in the study of the structure and functioning of the nervous system, some

neurologists were becoming interested in the non-somatic causes of mental illness and healing. Hinkle was among them and later recalled how she wanted to understand why her success rate during an outbreak of the bubonic plague was higher than that of her colleagues. She attributed it to the emotional rapport that she had established with her mostly immigrant, working-class clients.

A year after arriving in New York, Hinkle joined the staff of a New Thought sanatorium in Kingston as a visiting physician. Something of its atmosphere is conveyed in the following description. Its “décor included reproductions of Greek sculpture, plaster casts of American Indians, bouquets of roses ... Treatment combined psychic experiments, ‘non-church religion,’ admonitions to ‘conquer the world with sheer sentiments of optimism,’ electric shocks delivered through a serrated crown, hypnotism, and suggestion.”² New Thought was a popular mind-cure movement that developed during the nineteenth century as a reaction to the Calvinist strictures of main-stream Protestantism. Mixing evangelical fervor with elements of Hegelian idealism and Emersonian transcendentalism, it sought to harness the spiritual powers of nature to heal those who came for treatment. Christian Science, which teaches that the mind is real source of disease, is one of its direct off-shoots.

The rapid industrialization of the country after the Civil War had created a large, urban middle class some of whom began to exhibit a set of typical symptoms that the New York neurologist Charles Beard (1839–1883) labeled “neurasthenia.” He attributed its prevalence to five social factors: “steam power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women.”³ One patient that Hinkle treated at the sanatorium was Max Eastman who had gone there for relief from a backache that developed following a thwarted college romance. After an unsuccessful hypnosis with her in New York, he began a psychotherapeutic odyssey that next took him to Bethel, Maine where he was treated by John Gehring, a doctor who had developed a popular psychotherapeutic program that included exercise, diet, and suggestion. He returned to New York where he was analyzed by Smith Ely Jelliffe, one of the country’s first psychoanalysts.

All this was taking place at a time when medicine was raising its standards in the pursuit of a more professional identity. As medical training was upgraded with the introduction of the latest clinical practices from Europe, specialized journals appeared and there was increased lobbying for legislation regarding licensure. This issue was especially acute in

regard to neurasthenia where there was a growing recognition that the causes were more mental than physical; consequently, non-medical practitioners were increasingly accused of “quackery” by the new medical establishment.

In New York, Hinkle joined the staff of Charles L. Dana, America’s leading neurologist, at Cornell Medical School where she helped him open one of the first out-patient psychotherapy clinics in the country. The announcement in *Medical News* said that its target population included “people with mild delusions, acute melancholia, victims of drink and drug habits.” The *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a paper that she had read to the New York Neurological Society on January 7, 1908 entitled “Psychotherapy with some of its Results.”⁴ In it she demonstrated her familiarity with recent developments in hypnotherapy by reporting her use of the methods of Bernheim, Liebault, and Bramwell, the European leaders in the field. After discussing her use of the hypnotic drugs bromide and paraldehyde she presented three cases: an obsessive, an insomniac, and a patient suffering from chronic esophageal spasms who had a particularly colorful case history. A “bicycle pacemaker” unable to hold down solid food he had already been to one hospital in Massachusetts and another in upstate New York where he was nicknamed the “human Waterbury watch” for the rhythmical sound of his contracting muscles. After a neurological examination indicated no organic cause, Hinkle began to treat him with suggestion in a series of “séances” (her word) where she induced hypnosis. Following a relapse, he sought further treatment elsewhere which led to his eating normally and gaining weight.

Hinkle had quickly become a leading figure in the fast-developing new field of psychotherapy. Her lead article and photograph appeared in the 1909 volume of *Psychotherapy* which was devoted to “sound psychology, sound medicine, and sound religion.” Its contributors reflected this eclectic approach and included pastoral counselors from the Emmanuel Movement and sympathetic alienists like James Jackson Putnam, the Boston neurologist who was soon to become Freud’s staunchest American supporter. Hinkle’s article gave a lucid exposition of the therapeutic value of such treatments as hypnosis, suggestion, and persuasion. Her portrait was featured in the issue’s front matter (see Image 2).

In August of that year, *Good Housekeeping* published an article by Hinkle that summarized the professional article for a lay audience. After explaining the various forms of treatment, she made a clinical observation that confirmed her early experiences in the tenements of San Francisco.

“The physician must possess the quality of knowing how to get into the patient’s mind and to obtain his complete confidence. Obviously, the bond of sympathy and interest between physician and patient is very strong.”⁵ This insight would later be called “the transference” and become a cornerstone of modern psychoanalysis.

Another of its cornerstones was the concept of “the unconscious.” An interest in unconscious mental processes was widespread long before the work of Sigmund Freud. First Romantic poets and then German philosophers like Schopenhauer and von Hartmann attested to the powerful influence it had on the human mind and experience. In France, it became the subject of a more scientific approach with the work of men like Jean Charcot and Pierre Janet who studied institutionalized patients. Finally, Frederic Myers and other reputable scientists founded the Society for Psychical Research as a forum in which to conduct controlled studies of mediums and the other spiritualistic phenomena. William James observed Mrs. Piper, a famous American medium and helped popularize the influential role that the “subliminal self” had on human behavior. What was taking place was conceptualized by Thomas Kuhn as a “paradigm shift” which occurs in a scientific field when it is subjected to the reappraisal of its fundamental premises. This is due not so much to the accumulated weight of new data but rather to a series of new questions and hypotheses that are proposed to explain them. James called Mrs. Piper his “white crow” (or what Kuhn called an “anomaly”) as his way of indicating her role in questioning the assumptions of the new positivistic orthodoxy. Psychiatrists, neurologists, and medical psychologists were in the process of reassessing their field’s focus on strictly somatic explanations by making room for a more psychological, functional understanding of mental activity.

CARL JUNG, PSYCHIATRIST AND PSYCHOANALYST

This was the professional world that Carl Jung entered after graduating from Basel University with a medical degree in 1900. He had been born in Kesswil, a village on the shores of Lake Constance where his father Paul was the minister of the local Swiss Reformed church. The family, which included his mother Emilie and younger sister Gertrud, later relocated to Klein-Hüningen, a suburb of Basel that served as the harbor for ships plying the Rhine River. He was a serious student and got the nickname “Father Abraham” from his classmates. A deeply introverted youth he was most happy when playing by himself or exploring the world of nature that

was just a short walk from the parsonage door. He struggled with religious questions for which he received no meaningful guidance from his father and turned to philosophers like Schopenhauer and Kant for answers. He eventually chose to study medicine, the same field in which his grandfather and namesake had made his reputation.

As he neared graduation he surprised his family and friends by choosing to specialize in psychiatry which at the time ranked low in both reputation and salary. When he read in Krafft-Ebing's textbook that psychoses were "diseases of the personality" he knew that he had found the specialty that satisfied his interests in both the natural and the humane sciences. An interest in parapsychology on his mother's side of the family led to his doctoral dissertation on his observations of séances involving his cousin Helene Preiswerk. In it, he concluded that the personalities that emerged in her somnambulistic states were not actual spirits but rather what he would soon call unconscious "complexes" often of an erotic nature that operated outside of her conscious control. The dissertation shows Jung's familiarity with all the current literature on the subject, especially Janet whose lectures he attended in Paris several years later. Janet's theory of dissociation would be of fundamental importance to Jung's emerging theory of the complex and remain so for his later, more developed theory of personality functioning.

Jung's career decision to pursue psychiatry led him to accept an appointment to the staff of Eugen Bleuler at the Burghölzli Hospital in Zurich, which was the canton's mental hospital as well as the clinic for the city's university. Under Bleuler and his predecessor August Forel the hospital had become a world leader in the treatment of mental illness. Its guiding philosophy was an activist and humane one that considered patients as individuals whose condition could be improved through a regimen of nutrition, social activities, and regular interactions with the staff. The monk-like dedication that was required to meet these goals did not deter ambitious young psychiatrists from around the world from joining its staff. In 1903 Jung married Emma Rauschenbach, heiress to one of the largest fortunes in Switzerland, and the young couple took up residence in the hospital like the rest of the staff.

Jung's capacity for work was enormous and his inquisitive frame of mind led him to develop the word association test which established scientific proof for the existence of complexes. His case material provided the basis for his 1907 work *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, a term that was soon renamed "schizophrenia" by Bleuler. The important thing was not to assign a diagnostic label but rather to find tools for understanding each

patient's life story and then design a therapeutic treatment plan to help relieve their suffering. To understand better the psychology of his patients, Jung turned to the work of the controversial Viennese neurologist, Sigmund Freud. To show his appreciation, he sent a copy of the book to Freud who invited him to visit Vienna in March, 1907; Jung remembered that they talked continuously for thirteen hours. Although having doubts about Freud's exclusively sexual interpretation of unconscious material, Jung did agree that dreams were the "royal road" to the unconscious. He began to publicly defend Freud at medical conferences and helped organize the first conferences of the fledgling psychoanalytic movement.

The Burghölzli attracted several American doctors like Frederick Peterson and A. A. Brill. Through papers and translations, psychoanalytic ideas began to reach a growing number of specialists in the United States. Americans got to hear Freud and Jung in person when in 1909 they delivered lectures at the twentieth anniversary celebration of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts; this was to be Freud's only visit to the United States, a country he famously dismissed as "a gigantic mistake." In her article in *Psychotherapy*, Hinkle who always followed the latest trend concluded with a brief account of "The Method of Psycho-analysis." There she wrote that "several German physicians have devised methods for bringing up from the depths of the patients' minds circumstances and incidents forgotten by them at the present time ... [but whose] emotions have produced psychic reactions."⁶

This quote serves as a harbinger of the career path Hinkle was soon to follow. She later recalled that "Freud's first work [on Hysteria] came into my hands. That was in 1909. Following this I went to Europe to study the new work. In my first discussion on the subject, with C. G. Jung in Zurich, I knew that I had found the key."⁷ Hinkle was joining the psychoanalytic movement at the time it was becoming more formally organized. In 1910 the International Psychoanalytic Association was founded with, at Freud's insistence, Jung as the president. She enrolled her daughter in a school in Germany and spent time in Zurich studying with Jung who referred to her as "an American charmer" in a letter to Freud.⁸ She traveled with Freud and Jung as part of a large contingent from Zurich that attended the Third Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar, Germany on September 21–22, 1911. The group photo included forty-eight of the fifty-five attendees and is the best class picture that exists of the early psychoanalytic movement. Hinkle was accorded a place of honor, sitting in the middle of the front row between Lou Andreas-Salomé and Emma Jung, with Freud and Jung standing over either shoulder.

PSYCHOANALYSIS IN NEW YORK

Hinkle returned to New York later that year and was made a member of the New York Psychoanalytic Society at its meeting on November 28. It had been formed in February and several months later the American Psychoanalytic Association was founded. The New York Society elected Brill as president and adopted a policy of Freudian orthodoxy while the APA, the majority of whose members lived in various Eastern and Midwestern cities, accommodated a wider range of views as to what constituted psychoanalytic theory and practice. Hinkle rejoined the staff at Cornell Medical School and began a private analytical practice in her apartment at #10 Gramercy Park. She was to become one of the most popular of the city's first analysts along with Brill and Smith Ely Jelliffe.

Jelliffe (1866–1945) was building his medical career in botanical research, journalism, and teaching. He was on the staff of Fordham University's medical school and was responsible for getting Jung invited to speak at its International Extension Course in Medicine in September, 1912. In his nine lectures entitled "The Theory of Psychoanalysis" Jung made public how his views differed from those of Freud. He first emphasized that Freud's one-sided emphasis on infantile sexuality ignored the equally important nutritive function. With this as his opening, he went on to question an exclusively sexual definition of libido using his clinical work at the Burghölzli as his supporting evidence. "In dementia praecox the loss of reality function is so extreme that it must involve the loss of other instinctual forces whose sexual character must be denied absolutely, for no one is likely to maintain that reality is a function of sex."⁹ In discussing the prominent role that fantasy plays in the life of neurotics, Jung stated that he no longer spoke of "father" or "mother" but rather of an "imago" since the libido was no longer invested in the actual parent but in a subjective, distorted image of them that was exerting a powerful emotional influence. After establishing the fact that fantasy systems had a collective dimension along with the individual, he connected them to mythological ideas whose role in dream-formation could be established by the comparative method.

Jung felt that psychoanalysts had become victims of what has been called "the fallacy of misplaced concretism" because of their exclusive fixation on childhood memories. His new insight was that this was a regressive strategy on the part of the neurotic that helped them avoid dealing with a psychological conflict whose cause must be sought in the

present moment. The neurosis was caused by a failure of adaptation and can only be overcome by developing a more mature psychological attitude. Therapeutically, the goal should be to access the libido attached to these fantasies and make it available for fulfilling life tasks in the real world. Jung's new emphasis was on the purposive, teleological nature of the psyche, an insight first developed by his colleague Alphonse Maeder. What was most important was helping a patient gain insight into their life goals rather than an interminable search for the origins of neurotic symptoms in childhood reminiscences.

Jung maintained a busy schedule that included daily seminars, clinical demonstrations at local psychiatric hospitals, and a talk to the New York Academy of Medicine. In the midst of all this, he found time to visit with Beatrice Hinkle whom we can assume attended some if not all of his lectures. One important consequence of this was that Hinkle introduced him to Charlotte Teller who interviewed him for an article in the New York Times Sunday magazine on September 29; she was also planning an article entitled "Jung – Psycho-Analyst" for the mass circulation magazine *Metropolitan* but which never appeared.

Teller (1876–1953) was the daughter of an attorney and the niece of a senator from Colorado. There was a strong streak of independence in the family, her uncle switched his political loyalties from the Republican to the Democratic Party and her father took up the cause of copper miners. She graduated from the University of Chicago and was briefly married to Frank Minitree Johnson, a civil engineer in Washington, D.C. An aspiring writer, Teller moved to New York with her grandmother and took up residence at the A Club at 23 Fifth Avenue, a cooperative apartment building filled with young radicals. It apparently got its name this way: when one of them said that they were forming a club, someone else quipped that it should be called the "A" Club. Later, a local wag suggested that the "A" really stood for "Anarchist." They made headlines by hosting the Russian revolutionary writer Maxim Gorky and his common-law wife after local hotels refused to rent them rooms because his divorce was not finalized. This treatment was due to czarist agents who tailed the couple and did everything they could to make their stay difficult. Teller befriended Mark Twain who lived nearby and would stop in regularly to enjoy a cigar and some lively conversation. A close friend of Kahlil Gibran who drew several pencil portraits of her, she was also romantically involved with one of his friends Ameen Rihani.

Teller recalled meeting Jung in a letter to a friend “Dr. Jung has been here a week and I have given all my time getting an interview for the New York Times ... I met him on Wednesday, the day he arrived – at Dr. Hinkle’s. He had a quick sense of humor and good English at his command. We walked up Fifth Avenue afterwards and he spoke of a prophetic dream about me. The next time I saw him he began his remarks (so startling from so stalwart and sturdy [a] Swiss) by saying ‘You have a poison in you which affects men terribly, what is it? You kept me awake all night ... You are dangerous ... I tell you this because you are already a terrible temptation to me although I know nothing about you – I did not even get your name’ ... He asked me to the West Indies and back to Zurich with him.”¹⁰

In the interview Jung discussed the role of race in the American psyche and while he did employ such stereotypes as the necessity of mastering the “savage races” he did make some perceptive observations as well. For example, “You today, are influenced by the Negro race, which not so long ago had to call you master ... In the South I find what they call sentiment and chivalry and romance to be the covering of cruelty ... they treat the Negro as they would treat their own unconscious”¹¹ He had observed Southern race relations first-hand two years before while in Chattanooga, Tennessee to treat a patient, Medill McCormick, who had suddenly left Chicago to visit the Civil War battlefields around that city. This experience later figured in a dream that Jung had while on his 1925 trip to East Africa in which the Negro barber he had in America tries to make him “go black” by kinking his hair with a curling iron.¹² The emotionally charged duality of Southern brutality and sentimentality was portrayed on the silver screen just a few years later in D.W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of a Nation*, the racist epic that was instrumental in helping to revive the Ku Klux Klan.¹³

Jung devoted much of the interview to discussing gender relations, in particular, how American men had invested so much of their libido in business that they had little left for their wives. All in all, though, he did admire the pioneer spirit that had propelled the country to the pinnacle of power and economic success but warned about the dangers in such a one-sided enterprise. “[The American] has to express himself in big buildings, in trusts, in systems, of which we in Europe have as yet only the beginnings. We envy you. We have not learned to think in such great abstractions – and we are not in as great a danger as you Americans.”¹⁴ For any New Yorker reading the interview the obvious example of this growth-drive was the soon-to-be-completed Woolworth Building, the “cathedral of

commerce” on Broadway that became the world’s tallest skyscraper and icon of Modern New York until superseded by the Empire State Building.

Several days after the interview appeared, Teller wrote to the same friend. “He came over last Friday afternoon ... and then he told me he loved me with passion ... that he had a fearful struggle within himself until in true Mithraic fashion – the words were his – he had decided to sacrifice the bull to me – in order that I might be free at last. [He said] ‘you can only be freed by one who never touches you.’ ... [he said that] he was not a woman’s man – his wife and one other woman being the only ones in his ‘Unconscious’ ... He reminds me constantly that his work is the study of mankind and his desire, their freedom.”¹⁵

Two points about the letters should be made here. The first is note just how seductive Jung’s behavior toward Teller was when he met her, mentioning a prophetic dream about her then inviting her to travel with him. Remember that in the interview he discussed how American women, with husbands married to their jobs, were frequently attracted to “dangerous” European men. Consider that this scenario would also have included Jung himself whose “polygamous components” were constellated once again as he turned on the charm when meeting Teller. With his talk of sacrificing the bull, however, there is an important reversal as he decides to control his erotic impulses. Another point that needs to be made is that the second letter contains one of the first formulations of his as-yet unnamed concept of the animus. Teller writes “[Jung] said that until I admitted my ‘male-ness’ and took life consciously as a man – I could not conclude my undertakings. He told me that the feminine, in me, however ignored, would live of itself – but that the man I had always searched for as companion was within me.... I told him one of my very recent dreams and he pointed out that I always carried the male symbol – which was not merely a sex-symbol – but the symbol of creative-ness.”¹⁶

After the conference was over Jung spent several more weeks in the country. He first visited his patient Medill McCormick in Chicago then went on to Baltimore where he spent time with Trigant Burrow, a doctor who had studied with him in Zurich several years before. Finally, he was invited by William Alanson White, the director, to visit St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, DC where he studied the dreams of some psychotic Negro patients for cross-cultural support for his idea that some symbols were collective and emanated from the deepest levels of the unconscious.

In a long letter to Freud recounting the trip Jung wrote that “I also made room for those of my views which deviate in places from the hitherto existing conditions, particularly in regard to the libido theory. I found that my version of ΨA won over many people who until now had been put off by the problem of sexuality in neurosis.”¹⁷ Freud’s concerns regarding Jung’s new views on libido had been growing ever since the second part of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* [*Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*] had been published. Jung’s second sentence gave Freud an opening that he used to full advantage. “You have reduced a good deal of resistance with your modifications, but I shouldn’t advise you to enter this in the credit column because, as you know, the farther you remove yourself from what is new in ΨA , the more certain you will be of applause and the less resistance that you will meet.”¹⁸ When the two men met for an organizational meeting in Munich in November they seemed to patch up their personal relationship but its deterioration was soon evident in letters exchanged through the month of December. After New Year, 1913 Freud wrote “I propose that we abandon our personal relations entirely. I shall lose nothing by it, for my only emotional tie with you has long been a thin thread.”¹⁹ Jung agreed and thereafter their correspondence was confined to administrative and publishing matters; the last time they were to meet was at the Psychoanalytic Congress held in Munich in September.

THE AFTERMATH

The year 1913 marked a crossroads in Jung’s life. The year opened with the rupture of his relationship with Freud and closed with his “confrontation with the unconscious” which took the form of the active imaginations that he later recorded in his Red Book. Outwardly, the momentum of his psychoanalytic activities would carry him through to the Munich Congress where he was, after much acrimony, reelected president, a position that became more titular as the movement underwent a tectonic shift with distinct “Vienna” and “Zurich” Schools forming. At the Congress, he took the opportunity to announce his new theoretical formulation by speaking for the first time about the psychological types of introversion and extraversion.²⁰ After contrasting the centrifugal (extraverted) flow of libido characteristic of hysteria with the centripetal (introverted) flow found in dementia praecox, he reviewed how thinkers like William James, Wilhelm Worringer, Nietzsche, and Otto Gross had noted similar differences. He relativized Freud’s achievements by giving a hearing to the

“finalistic” theory of the apostate Alfred Adler that focused on the patient’s future life-course. Jung called for open-mindedness and concluded his talk by saying that “The difficulty of creating a psychology which will be equally fair to both types must be reserved for the future.” The majority of the members were furious that their president-elect would be so even-handed to someone who had departed their movement; with his mandate eroding, Jung resigned from office the next year.

Jung was now the head of the Zurich School of psychoanalysis and began to take concrete steps to promote its agenda. His first big break came when Jelliffe and White serialized “The Theory of Psychoanalysis” in the inaugural issues of *Psychoanalytic Review*, the first journal in the country exclusively devoted to the new field. Jelliffe later recalled it this way. “It was a bit of a misunderstanding that caused the Psychoanalytic Review to open with a contribution by Jung instead of one by Freud, some of the reasons for which are still unknown to me. Freud’s reply to our invitation was not very cordial. We were not then as well oriented to the developing differences of opinion within the inner circles nor to certain smaller aspects of politics as now. At all events the *Review* has gone its way with a certain eclecticism which has taken into consideration a broader grasp of home environmental factors than many of our confreres or colleagues have even as yet understood.”²¹ In his introduction, Jung maintained that his differences with Freud stemmed from his clinical experiences and were not an attempt to promote a schism which “can only exist in matters of faith.” He then went on to quote William James’s pragmatic rule: “*Theories thus become instruments, not answers to enigmas, in which we can rest.*”²²

Jung capitalized on this American exposure by returning to New York in March. The professional reason was to meet Edith Rockefeller McCormick with whom he had analytical sessions and whom he accompanied back to Switzerland along with her family. Edith (1872–1932) was the daughter of John D. Rockefeller, the founder of the Standard Oil Company and the world’s richest man. She was introduced to Jung by Medill McCormick to whom she was related by her marriage to Fowler McCormick, heir to the International Harvester fortune. She first met Jung when he was in New York for the Fordham conference and invited him to spend an afternoon with her father at Kykuit, his estate near Tarrytown north of the city. While in Zurich, she subsidized the founding of the Psychological Club by paying the rent on a building near the city’s fashionable Bahnhofstrasse. After returning to Chicago in 1921, she divorced her husband. Her son Fowler stayed close to Jung, accompany-

ing him on his 1925 trip to the American Southwest and visiting him throughout the rest of his life.

The official reason for Jung's visit was briefly noted in *Bulletin* section in the *Internationale Zeitschrift* this way: "Dr. C. G. Jung lectured on psychoanalysis on 27 March in the Liberal Club in New York (chairman: Rev. Dr. Percy Grant)." ²³ The Liberal Club which met at 132 East 19th Street near Gramercy Park was a progressive reform club that dated back to the early years of the century. One of its officers described it as being "Like all Gaul ... divided into three parts – the Greenwich Villagers, who are the extreme left; the Socialists, and the Ascencionites." ²⁴ The second group included Charles Edward Russell and English Walling who helped to found the NAACP and Theodore Schroeder, founder of the Free Speech League which became the American Civil Liberties Union. ²⁵ Another was Gilbert Roe, a former law partner of the Progressive Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin. Finally, Hamilton Holt and Lincoln Steffens were muck-raking journalists. The other two groups originally belonged to the Public Forum founded by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, the pastor of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension at Fifth Avenue and 11th Street. He promoted the Social Gospel and began many out-reach programs that included the Forum which he had started in 1907. It met on Sunday evenings in the church hall to discuss current social issues, among its guest speakers were Booker T. Washington, the president of the Tuskegee Institute and Margaret Sanger, the birth control crusader. Besides interested parishioners it attracted a contingent of young radicals who lived in the neighborhood. At some point, the Forum merged with the Club and Grant became president.

Hinkle was a member and would have been the one responsible for inviting Jung to speak. It was quite a coup since psychoanalysis was one of the hottest topics among New York intellectuals and Jung was its biggest celebrity. His *Times* interview with Teller, who had helped Grant organize the Forum, put the new movement on the front page. Although Brill is usually given credit for introducing Greenwich Villagers to psychoanalysis in 1914 at Mabel Dodge's salon, it is now clear that Jung deserves that honor since they heard him speak one year earlier.

The topic of his talk was dreams and although no record of it seems to exist, we can get some idea of what he would have said from a paper he wrote shortly afterward entitled "The Psychology of Dreams" that was revised as "General Aspects of Dream Psychology." ²⁶ He was now making his differences with Freud more explicit. "The view-point of causality is

obviously more in accord with the scientific spirit of our time, with its strictly casualistic reasoning. Much may be said for Freud's view as a scientific explanation of dream psychology. But I must dispute its completeness, for the psyche cannot be conceived merely from the causal aspect, but necessitates also a final point of view."²⁷ Since the psyche was a living system it was as necessary to understand its directionality as well as its antecedent states. "A dream has also a *progressive* continuity ... since dreams occasionally exert a remarkable influence upon the conscious mental life... These occasional after-effects are usually seen in a more or less distinct change in the dreamer's frame of mind."²⁸ This had practical as well as theoretical consequences since a dream presents material that compensates for the one-sided attitude of the dreamer. He compared it to the effect that a one-sided or incomplete diet would have on a person's physical well-being. This law of compensation became a fundamental feature of Jung's understanding of the psyche as a self-regulating system; this is analogous to the research that Walter Cannon was conducting on the homeostatic systems controlling various physiological functions of the human body. To help the healing process, Jung proposed that psychoanalysts needed to be constructive rather than reductive in their approach by helping the patient build a bridge to the future.

This article provides the clues about what "the key" was that Hinkle said she found in Jung. First, it reflected a philosophy of progress and improvement to which she was deeply committed. Jung's visit coincided with the high-water mark of the Progressive Movement in the United States. Woodrow Wilson had won the election of 1912, an election that attracted a record number of voters who wanted government to address political and economic inequities by voting for Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party as well as for the Socialist Party. Jung was attuned to this mood. In a letter congratulating Jelliffe and White for founding the Psychoanalytic Review, Jung wrote that "I am free to admit that this enterprise is ambitious and highly creditable to the liberal and progressive spirit of America."²⁹

One major reform movement of the era was the suffrage campaign to secure women the right to vote. As more middle-class women across the country mobilized, questions that went beyond the ballot-box were being raised about the future status of the New Woman. It was here that Jung provided a psychological approach that Hinkle preferred to what she saw as Freud's patriarchal bias with its fixation on the Oedipus complex and its unsatisfying explanation of feminine psychological development. Hinkle was a member of the Heterodoxy Club, America's first feminist organiza-

tion.³⁰ Founded in 1912, the group met every other Saturday to discuss their experiences in life and the work-place. Hinkle introduced Jung to some of these women at a dinner party that they hosted at Patchin Place in a Greenwich Village town-house where some of them lived. Carl Zigrosser, one of the husbands, later recalled an anecdote from that evening. "Guests ranged from university professors and writers to distinguished labor administrators... Patchin still talked about a visit by the famous analyst, Carl G. Jung. The atmosphere had been rather stiff and formal until Jung broke the ice by addressing a pet dog who was misbehaving with his leg: 'Come, come, be reasonable, I'm not a female.'"³¹

Unlike the "uptown" professional venue of the Fordham conference this visit had a decidedly "downtown," bohemian flavor. Jung was meeting men and women who actively sought a radical transformation of American culture and society. His charisma led at least one of the Heterodites to leave for Zurich where she did analysis with Jung's research assistant Maria Moltzer. We might infer the identities of some of other guests at the dinner. The university professor was very likely Joel Spingarn, a professor of literature at Columbia University whose wife Amy would later go to Zurich for analysis. The labor administrator was most likely Crystal Eastman who was an investigative lawyer and worked for the US Commission on Industrial Relations. She was Max's sister and could have heard about Hinkle through him as well as knowing her personally through their membership in the Heterodoxy Club. Some of these women were part of the Liberal Club's radical wing led by Henrietta Rodman, a public high school teacher, who engineered a split later that year and moved the Club to 137 MacDougal Street where it became the de-facto headquarters of the Greenwich Village avant-garde.

Jung was introduced to the artist-poet Kahlil Gibran by Hinkle whom she would have met through Charlotte Teller. Gibran (1881–1931) was born in Lebanon to a Maronite Christian family and emigrated as a boy to Boston with his mother and siblings. He was "discovered" by Fred Holland Day, a local aesthete and pioneering photographer who encouraged him to develop his artistic skills. He then became the protégé of Mary Haskell, the headmistress of a local girl's school, who became his soul-mate and long-time financial supporter. This allowed him to spend two years in Paris where he developed a style inspired by Rodin and a popular artist of the day named Eugène Carrière. His work inspired Gibran to draw idealized nudes with symbolic titles like "The Greater Self" and "The Heavenly Mother." Wanting to escape the provincial atmosphere of

Boston he moved to New York where he rented an apartment in the Studio Building on West 10th Street, the first building built specifically for the need of artists for light that had been home to many artists since the 1870s. It was here, a two minute-walk across 6th Avenue from Patchin Place, that Gibran would have drawn his pencil portrait of Jung that later appeared in *Temple of Art*, his book that included the portraits of other celebrities of the day like Sarah Bernhardt and William Butler Yeats.

This trip gave Jung the opportunity to begin crafting a new post-Freudian identity that was to include a place for the artistic-poetic tendencies that he had not had a chance to express during his psychiatric and psychoanalytic periods. One topic of conversation between Jung and Gibran might well have been the English visionary William Blake. A Blake revival was underway at this time and Jung owned a copy of a 1913 book of his quotations. Along with Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Blake was a major influence on the artistic style that Jung adopted in the Red Book. Blake had become Gibran's role model ever since he bought a copy of his work in a second-hand bookstore in Paris. "Blake is the man, the god-man ... no one can understand Blake through the intellect. His world can only be seen by the eye of the eye – never by the eye itself."³² In their conversation, Gibran could also have told Jung about the American visionary artist Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847–1917). In his last years, Ryder had acquired an iconic status among younger American artists that was on display at the Armory Show where Ryder got to see his dark, symbolic paintings receive the public recognition that had eluded them for so long. Gibran befriended the nearly forgotten artist who lived as a recluse in a dingy room piled high with hoardings several blocks from his studio; he drew his portrait and wrote a memorial poem after the artist's death.

Jung was in New York while the Show was still going on (it closed on March 17th). It was the exhibition that introduced the American public to such modern artists as Matisse, Picasso, and Brancusi and was a smashing success. Although no documentary evidence currently exists in the public domain proving that he was there (Hinkle's papers were destroyed as per her will), strong circumstantial and textual evidence indicate that he was. This is based on four points. First, Jung had a very strong interest in art and visited museums like the Louvre and the Metropolitan whenever he traveled. He wrote Freud about how he had "gorged" himself on art in Munich (August 5, 1909), how when it came to objets d'art he could "easily go *non compos mentis*" (January 18, 1911), and how he went "rather breathlessly round Germany visiting various art galleries" and

improving his education (January 9, 1912). Second, Hinkle lived just five blocks from the Armory in a building where Robert Henri, America's leading realist painter, had his studio and where he painted the nude prominently on view in the Show's lobby. Most, if not all, of the people Jung was meeting including Gibran, had seen it and would have been talking about it. In fact, it is hard to imagine him *not* seeing the show. Now to the textual evidence found in a 1925 English-language seminar. "There was once exhibited in New York a painting called the *Nude Descending the Stairs*. This might be said to present a double dissolution of the object, that is in time and space, for not only have the figure and stairs gone over into triangles and squares, but the figure is up and down the stairs at the same time, and it is only by moving the picture that one can get the figure to come out as it would in an ordinary painting where the artist preserved the integrity of the figure in time and space."³³ Although Jung does not explicitly say that he saw Duchamp's painting, the comment's perceptiveness indicates that he did. It is highly unlikely that he could have made such an analysis based on the reproductions found in the popular press (cartoonists had a field day parodying it). The painting was bought by a San Francisco collector and disappeared from public view for many years. A last piece of evidence involves the French Symbolist painter Odilon Redon who was given star treatment and ended up having the most sales of any artist on exhibit. Jung preferred symbolism to cubism and it is likely that Jung acquired two books for his library after having seen Redon's work there; one was a volume of Redon's complete graphic works and the other was a study of the artist by the French critic André Mellario.

Modern French philosophy as well as modern French art was in vogue in New York while Jung was visiting. Henri Bergson had recently delivered lectures to standing-room-only crowds at Columbia University. His ideas were in the air and Jung employed Bergson's concept of *élan vital* to support his new theory of libido. At one point, he enlisted Bergson's critique of a purely casualistic, materialistic explanation of natural phenomena for its one-sidedness. "The other half is due to the peculiar attributes of living matter itself, without which the specific reaction formation could never come about at all. We have to apply this principle also in psychology. The psyche does not merely *react*, it gives its own specific answer to the influences at work upon it"³⁴

Jelliffe shared this Bergsonian understanding of the libido with Hinkle who published an article entitled "Jung's Libido Theory and the Bergsonian Philosophy." She wrote that many of Bergson's conceptions

were analogous to “analytical psychology” which was one of the first public references to the new name for Jung’s approach. Starting with Bergson’s insight that intelligence and instinct provide the means for people to transcend their own nature, she then compares it to the psychoanalytic tenet that the goal of therapy was deepened self-awareness. Bergson identified the instinctive force that is a form of creative energy as *élan vital* which was similar to Jung’s new conception of libido as “psychic energy.” While acknowledging the role of sexuality, Jung had broadened it to include other manifestations. This became important for the treatment of neurosis since it shifted the origin of the problem from a childhood fixation to the current life-task that the patient was unable to overcome. She again turned to Bergson’s theory that “presents the evolution of life into individuals and species as dependent upon two series of causes, ‘the resistance life meets from inert matter, and the explosive force – due to an unstable balance of tendencies – which life bears within itself.’”³⁵ What separates the neurotic from a normally functioning person is not the existence of the Oedipus complex but the inordinate influence that childhood reminiscences have on the neurotic’s mind. This infantile response creates a conflict and an inability to tap into the libido that would help the neurotic face their problem in a constructive manner. After reviewing three cases she concluded by saying “If one can accept the fundamentals of Bergson’s *Creative Evolution* one can accept Jung’s libido theory and his modification and extension of Freud’s psychology.”³⁶

Her preference for Jung had professional consequences. She had let her membership in the New York Psychoanalytic Society lapse so at its meeting on April 22, 1915 her name was put forward by Doctors Frink and Obendorf for readmission. At the meeting of October 22, two other candidates were approved but the vote on Hinkle was postponed. The issue was not addressed at the November meeting but finally settled on January 25, 1916 when she was rejected by four black balls. The eight-month interval indicates a situation marked by uncertainty and politicking. Psychoanalysis was in the process of establishing its professional identity and this involved deciding who was “in” and who was “out.” The major litmus test had become whether the analyst acknowledged childhood sexuality as the primary explanation for neurotic symptoms. Sensitive to charges of “occultism” by conservative neurologists and psychiatrists, psychoanalysts sought scientific respectability by leveling the same charge against Jung and his Zurich School. In Jung’s opinion, this strategy was based more on a profession of faith than on scientific open-mindedness.

He wanted this new field to which he had dedicated himself to continue evolving as new data led to theoretical revisions and continued to explore topics that were increasingly taboo.

NOTES

1. Horoscopes in the possession of the Hinkle family establish the fact that 1870 not 1874 was the year of her birth.
2. Nathan Hale, *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1917* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 246.
3. quoted in Gortz, Chmura, Lanska, “Part I: The History of 19th Century Neurology and the ANA,” Wiley-Liss, 2003.
4. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 50, 1908, pp. 1495–1498.
5. Vol. 49, #2.
6. *Psychotherapy*, pp. 16–17.
7. *Recreating the Individual* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1949 [Harcourt, Brace, 1923]), p. 5.
8. *Freud/Jung Letters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 269.
9. CW 4, p. 121.
10. Minis Family Papers [Collection #2725], Box 24, File 159; Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
11. *C.G. Jung Speaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 16. [hereafter *CGJS*] Jung first spoke of the “Negro complex” of white Americans after this visit, see “Report on America” (CW 18, p. 551) and the *Freud/Jung Letters*, f.n. 6, p. 377. “With Americans it is a Negro or an Indian which represents the individual’s own repressed sexual personality, and the one considered inferior.” *Psychology of the Unconscious*, p. 205.
12. *MDR*, pp. 273–274.
13. For the most complete history of the film see Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
14. *CGJS*, pp. 17–18.
15. Minis Family Papers, op. cit. For Jung’s analysis of the Mithraic sacrifice see CW 5, pp. 261–262 and his letter to Freud of June 26, 1910, pp. 335–337.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Freud/Jung Letters*, p. 515.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 539.

20. CW 6, pp. 499–509; the latter term was converted to “extroversion” and is now common in the popular press and mainstream psychology.
21. “Glimpses of a Freudian Odyssey,” *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* [Vol. 2, 1933], p. 326.
22. CW 4, p. 86.
23. *Freud/Jung Letters*, p. 545, f.n.1.
24. “Dr. Grant Quits the Liberal Club,” *New York Times*, September 12, 1913.
25. David Levering, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), pp. 387–390.
26. CW 8, par. 443–476.
27. *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*, 2nd ed., Constance Long, tr. (London: Bailliere, Tindall, and Cox, 1917), pp. 309–310.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
29. *Letters, Vol. I*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 30. That Jung was sensitive to popular American culture is indicated by a quote later dropped from the Introduction to “The Theory of Psychoanalysis.” To bolster his case for differing with Freud he wrote that he agreed with “Mr. Dooley, that witty humorous of the New York Times, when he says, defining pragmatism: ‘Truth is truth “when it works.”’” Dooley was a fictional Chicago saloon keeper who commented on the passing scene in a column created by Peter Dunne that was widely syndicated. In spite of being a frequent target of his humor, Teddy Roosevelt enjoyed reading it and invited Dunne to the White House on more than one occasion.
30. See Judith Schwartz, *Radical Feminists of HETRODOXY: Greenwich Village 1912–1949* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: New Victoria Publishing, 1982) and Kate Wittenstein, “The Feminist Uses of Psychoanalysis: Beatrice M. Hinkle and the Foreshadowing of Modern Feminism in the United States”, *Journal of Women’s History* (1998, 10, pp. 38–62). The records of the Club reside in the Schlesinger Collection, Radcliffe College Library.
31. Carl Zigrosser, *My Own Shall Come to Me*, (Haarlem, The Netherlands: Joh. Enschede en zonen, 1971), pp. 100–101.
32. Quoted in Suheil Bushrui and Joe Jenkins, *Kahlil Gibran, Man and Poet* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998), p. 89.
33. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 59.
34. CW4, p. 287. For more on the relationship of Jung to Bergson see Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 224–230.
35. *New York Medical Journal* (May 30, 1914), p. 1081.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 1086.



CHAPTER 3

Cultural Ferment in Greenwich Village

In the first years of the twentieth century, New York was becoming an international crossroads where Boston and Chicago met Paris and St. Petersburg. It was the destination of choice for ambitious college graduates from all over the country. Arriving from Harvard, Yale, Vassar, and the Midwest at a time of optimism and opportunity, they launched their careers and fought for social justice. Most were socialists and supported the revolutionary movements taking place in Russia and Mexico as well as the Industrial Workers of the World, the radical labor union known as the “Wobblies.”

They congregated in Greenwich Village which was always a place apart with its zig-zag maze of streets at odds with the city’s dominant grid pattern. They paid nominal rents in the brownstones around Washington Square that were being sold to landlords who were subdividing them into apartments; with the arrival of automobiles, stables were being converted into garages and artists’ studios. They all rode the 6th Ave. El and ate cheap spaghetti in the restaurants being opened by the Italian immigrants who worked in the many nearby garment factories. When workers jumped to their flaming deaths in the Shirtwaist Fire, they helped organize the protest marches that kept the cause of workers on the front page of the city dailies. Many of them traveled out to Paterson, New Jersey to support striking silk workers and publicized their plight by staging an event at the old Madison Square Garden known as the Paterson Strike Pageant. Large community pageants expressing themes of a historical/patriotic nature were popular all around the country at the time, but in this one Robert

Edmond Jones adapted modernist staging techniques learned from continental directors Gordon Craig and Max Reinhardt to promote a social revolutionary event. In it, the city of New York became the stage and the performance blurred the boundary between actors and audience. Randolph Bourne wrote “Who that saw the Paterson Strike Pageant in 1913 can ever forget that thrilling evening when an entire labor community dramatized its wrongs in one superior outburst of group-emotion?”¹

These young Greenwich Villagers were dubbed the Lyrical Left because they balanced their social activism with a rejection of bourgeois taste and conventions. They were all reading Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy* and embracing his celebration of the life-affirming, pagan values of ancient Greece. They questioned the sanctity of monogamy and adopted a lifestyle that extolled freedom of choice in matters of sexuality. Their activities were endorsed by their neighbor Margaret Sanger who tangled with the Roman Catholic Church over her vociferous promotion of birth control among immigrant women. They planned and attended riotous costume balls at the Kit Kat Klub and Webster Hall. With dance crazes like the turkey trot sweeping the country, the body was being freed from the grip of constricting fashions and Puritan inhibitions to express its naturally flowing energy. Isadora Duncan donned “Grecian” robes and ushered in modern dance with her performances and training classes. Adventurous women followed her lead and led revels across stages, beaches, and forest groves from the Atlantic to the Pacific.²

One such pioneer was Mary Wilshire who learned about psychoanalysis in London from David Eder became going on to Zurich to work with Jung and Maria Moltzer. After returning to Los Angeles with her “million socialist” husband of Boulevard fame, she began to practice as a psychoanalyst and was regularly featured in local newspapers, being dubbed by one of them “the Dream Lady of Pasadena” where she and Gaylord became neighbors and close friends of the Upton Sinclairs.

For Nietzsche, the creative genius of the ancient Greek city-state was sustained by the participation of individual citizens in the political and cultural activities of their community. Greenwich Villagers, favoring culture over commerce, experiment over tradition, put this into practice. They attended art classes and frequented Alfred Stieglitz’s avant-garde 291 Gallery where art photography and modernist European art were first on display. William Zorach announced their philosophy in his personal artistic credo. “A modernist’s whole idea was to free himself from the academic point of view, to see the world with a view as primitive and

unsophisticated as a child and then go on from there to build his own art forms and see color with a new vision.”³ He and his wife Marguerite Thompson painted the hallway of their W. 10th Street apartment, just doors away from Patchin Place, with a Garden of Eden scene complete with a red and white snake wrapped around the tree.

Technical advances in photography and the invention of the x-ray were altering how people viewed the seen and unseen worlds. The new atomic theory was discovering that matter was not the solid entity people had imagined, but actually consisted of varying quanta of energy that were in constant states of transformation. This created a crisis of “objectivity” in which the traditional, epistemological status of the observer was called into question. A detached, logocentric consciousness now had to be seen as only one zone in a continuum that ranged from the subliminal self to what the alienist Maurice Bucke called Cosmic Consciousness in his book about mystical experiences by that name. The spiritually inclined began to explore ways to connect with these other dimensions of self. During the Armory Show, “The then cryptic words ‘significant form’ were in the air.”⁴ Susan Glaspell, a founder of the Provincetown Players, said of her husband George Cram Cook that “His sub-conscious mind had control – with infinite subtlety. Every object in the room, every thought that came floating across the mind, had relations and meanings running down to the roots of the world, spiraling into the fourth dimension.”⁵

Benjamin De Casseres, called a man with a “4th dimensional mind,” was a self-educated New York journalist and regular contributor to Stieglitz’s *Camera Work*. He was a committed Nietzschean and adopted the philosopher’s aphoristic style in his essays. In “The Brain and the World” (#31, 1910), he wrote “We never come into contact with things, but only with their images... . What we term matter is the effigy of our images.... [it] is something fashioned by our brains, an eidolon of the will, the symbol of an image; The practical person tries to grasp the symbol; the poet tries to grasp the image.” In “The Unconscious in Art” (#36, 1911): a great artist “is a tool in the hands of the Unconscious” and “The roots of [an artist’s] imagination lie deeper than his personality.” In “The Renaissance of the Irrational” (Special Number, June, 1913): “Dionysus dances in maenadic frenzy on the skulls of Darwin, Spencer, Taine, Buckle, and Haeckel.” And “Out of the heart of the most practical people in the world – the Americans – have come the three supreme Irrationalists of the age, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman.... fathers of the cubists and futur-

ists, for they reported what the *felt*, not what they *saw*. They let themselves go. They risked the open sea at each moment”

Jung’s probes of the unconscious had led him to theorize the existence of a deep, collective level of the unconscious common to all mankind that expressed itself through emotionally charged patterns of functioning that he initially called “*imagos*” and later called “*archetypes*.” Trigan Burrow, like his colleagues in the American Psychoanalytic Association, tried to be even-handed when Freud and Jung parted ways. “While psychoanalysis shatters the image, it leaves unimpaired the *essentia* whereby it is animated. Though it efface the symbol, there remains the reality discernible behind it.”⁶ He would later criticize Jung for his mystical tendencies but could still write in a vein that would have received Jung’s full endorsement. “People will permit the intuitional element into art-forms of reality but they still deny it to its scientific form.”⁷

AND WHAT OF CHARLOTTE TELLER?

All these ideas and individuals were busy crisscrossing the Atlantic by cable and ocean liner. Charlotte Teller’s flirtation with Jung had complicated her relationship with her fiancé Gilbert Hirsch but they got married and went to Europe where they met other expatriates like Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, and Marsden Hartley. Hartley said that they were “people who know me and have come over to Berlin again from N.Y. Two Americans Mr. and Mrs. Hirsch – good friends – who know my personality rather well – I knew them in Paris.”⁸ It seems likely that Teller was the “occultist” who told Hartley that his paintings were full of Kabbalistic signs and symbols. Although he denied it, they did reflect motifs found in the mystical writings of Böhme that he was reading at the time.⁹ She also needs to be considered as an unrecognized influence on Hartley’s choice of Indian motifs for the “*Amerika*” series that he painted in Berlin (see Image 3). He certainly did visit the local ethnographic museums and understood the commercial appeal of Native American iconography for German art buyers, but it also seems likely that he heard from her something about Jung’s observation about the idealized role that Indians had come to play in the white American psyche and culture.¹⁰ It struck a chord since he wrote Stieglitz “I find myself wanting to be an Indian – to paint my face with the symbols of the race I adore, go to the west and face the sun forever...”¹¹ Teller and Hirsch visited wartime Germany and filed stories with several American

publications; after visiting him in Berlin, she wrote about how he and his work had changed since Paris.

What was before New England philosopher with a touch of the bird of prey is now Indian, – the old, rare eagle-like Indian whom we have betrayed without counting the loss to the land whose life he knew back to Aztec days He has caught Germany and America and grapples with them in the depths of their unconsciousness. Planetary things there are in his work, gracious and balanced, weird and restless – “sensations” he calls them for fear of intellectualizing the emotions he has I feel them, as I might feel a lyric from Sanscrit [sic] if it were read to me by one who knows that our modern speech is buried deep in this old language and must inevitably echo forth. When the rhythm swings round and round within the four sides of the frame, I know it as rhythm, although I might not be able to tell what begot it. When the motion, set up by color and line goes sweeping out beyond the frame, beyond the walls, of the room, beyond Berlin and Europe, and the age we live in, I get the excitement of it, and I don’t mind the loss of breadth.¹² (See Image 3).

AND WHAT OF HINKLE?

The Reviews

A major milestone in the history of Jungian psychology was Hinkle’s translation of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* [*Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*] as *Psychology of the Unconscious*. It is possible that she learned German in medical school since it was the leading language for science and technology. She would have honed her language skills while living in Europe and attending the Weimar Congress. In her translator’s note, she thanked a Miss Helen I. Brayton for her assistance in rendering the difficult material and complicated German phrasing. In a letter to the poet Louis Untermeyer who was responsible for the German literary translations, she wrote “Thank you so much for the poems. I am delighted with them. I hope as soon as you have the others done, you will have time to come down with them for I want to have a little talk with you about them and other things concerned with the book. It will be finished entirely, if the poems come in, this week, and in the hands of the publishers, I hope.”¹³ Her estimate of its completion date was overly optimistic since the book was not released until April, 1916 by Moffat, Yard and Company, a small firm founded in 1905 by two Princeton graduates that had a respectable book list of medical titles especially in the new field of psychoanalysis. Besides Jung it published books by Adler, Freud, Maeder, and Rank. In 1925 the

company was acquired by Dodd, Mead, and Company which periodically reprinted *Psychology of the Unconscious*; by accepting miniscule royalty payments, Hinkle insured that the book never went out of print.¹⁴

It quickly became a best-seller, garnering reviews in newspapers and magazines all over the country. Since her “Introduction” was singled out for particular praise, the company decided to release it as a separate publication that became a popular guide to the now-public theoretical differences between Jung and Freud over the nature of libido and its therapeutic implications.¹⁵ A sampling of the reviews indicates that the book functioned like a Rorschach ink-blot for opinions about Jung in particular and psychoanalysis in general.¹⁶ “[Freud’s] successes have led to numbers of investigations, among which Dr. Jung’s efforts to construct a philosophical psychology of the unconsciousness [sic] is an ultra development.... The work is scarcely cautious enough to merit confidence as a scientific production, but it abounds in valuable suggestions and incorporates a vast amount of information.” (*Continent* [Chicago], June 29); “Jung can’t see anything but sex as the origin of everything. His psychology is a revel of much learning in a morris-dance around a phallus. It is science gone mad upon a theory of the idealization of our primitive bestialities” (*Reedy’s Mirror* [St. Louis], July 7).

Vanity Fair (December) solicited a celebrity review from the British occultist Aleister Crowley who was traveling in the United States at the time. To him, the quarrel between Freud and Jung was a fascinating commentary on a social landscape where “our grandmothers dance the hula-hula at Montmarte or at the Castles in the Air, until the dawn breaks.” He argued that Jung was as much a determinist as Freud since he reduced everything to an expression of the child’s struggle to free itself from the mother. His conclusion captured the faddism that had so quickly appropriated psychoanalysis by telling the reader to “ask your pretty neighbor at dinner to-night whether she has introverted her Electra-complex; because it will surely become one of the favorite conversational gam-bits of the coming social season!”

The book was heavily promoted by *The Masses*, the radical Greenwich Village publication edited by Max Eastman and Floyd Dell. A preliminary notice in the April issue opined that Jung was the “clearest, sanest, and wisest” of the psychoanalytic writers. A book notice appeared in the June issue along with an ad that quoted the poet James Oppenheim and Stanley Hall, the president of Clark University who had invited Freud and Jung to lecture, who said that the book “shows how man, through a deeper self-

consciousness, is destined to become in truth the shaper of his own destiny." In that month's Book Section, Untermeyer called it "the greatest contribution to the history of thought that our generation has produced. Jung's interpretation of *libido* shows man reaching through sex and savagery toward a greater self-consciousness and vaster creative possibilities."

Dell's lengthy review "The Science of the Soul" followed the next month. He noted that both Freud and Jung held "romantic" (i.e., unscientific) notions about what constitutes a clinching argument, a situation due in part to the nature of their technique of dream-analysis. Jung saw that Freud's theory of childhood sexuality was becoming a new orthodoxy; that the preoccupation with the patient's past was a regressive strategy that led the patient to avoid dealing with current life tasks. The fundamental issue was not an oedipal struggle to overthrow the father but a struggle to achieve separation from the mother, not the real-life woman who gives birth but the collective world of fantasy and emotion that she evokes. Jung's line of research merited watching. Dell concluded the article with the rousing Nietzschean hyperbole that the book "is indispensable to the student who wishes to keep in touch with science as it is being made – who wishes to stand in the forge and see the sparks fly as the sword of a new and splendid and terrible knowledge is being hammered out."

A critical review of the book by Walter Lippmann, "An Epic of Desire" in *The New Republic* (May 6), identified certain opinions of Jung's style that were to become clichés in the years to follow. Lippmann had studied at Harvard under William James and became a journalist after moving to New York and founding that liberal magazine in 1914. The editors' goal was to promote a pragmatic philosophy that addressed the new forces at work in American politics; they generally supported a progressive agenda and studied the power of the mass-media to shape public opinion. In *Preface to Politics* (1913), Lippman became one of the first public intellectuals to apply the Freudian concept of sublimation to group behavior. In the review, he felt Freud was empirical and scientific in a way that Jung was not. "For most of us, the book must be I think a little bewildering; the more careful and more ignorant will feel worried at the speed of his analogies, though impressed and fascinated by the curiosity of his learning." Jung had written a philosophical treatise akin to Lucretius and Schopenhauer that indulged in grandiose generalizations about human destiny at odds with Freud's careful inductions from his clinical practice. Two weeks later, Oppenheim wrote a letter-to-the-editor in Jung's defense. He criticized Lippmann's partisan

Freudian position but without making a point-by-point rebuttal. Instead, he quoted Jung at length from the author's note about the importance of non-dogmatic investigations into psychology by open-minded scientists.

After the United States declared war in April 1917, a wave of anti-German hysteria swept the country. Along with numerous assaults on lives and liberties, all things German were now suspect; German language courses were cancelled, music by German composers dropped from programs, and Nietzsche painted as an apologist for Prussian militarism. Jung's book was smeared with this brush when it got labeled a piece of German propaganda by James Scherer, the president of Throop College that later became the California Institute of Technology.

The Readers

While living in Hawaii and taking opium to mitigate a variety of ailments, author Jack London experienced a burst of creativity that resulted in a series of short stories based on traditional Polynesian folklore. It was triggered by his reading of the Hinkle translation that he probably got from Mary Wilshire whom he knew from the California Socialist circuit. After a life-time as a Nietzschean materialist with pronounced racist views, London was intrigued with Jung's case for the relevance of mythology for living a meaningful, modern life. He now found psychological value in a people and a culture that had been denigrated and exploited in their own native land. He told his second wife Charmian "Mate Woman, I tell you that I am standing on the edge of a world so new, so terrible, so wonderful that I am almost afraid to look over into it."¹⁷ Facing death, he confronted unresolved feelings about his mother while adopting for his plots the death-and-rebirth motif that he marked in his copy of Jung.¹⁸

Mary Wilshire catalogued the passages from the book's "Introduction" that he marked and then wrote a five-page psychological assessment.

The supreme ego of Jack voices itself through the words of Dr. Hinkle and brings its legitimate expression into harmony with the social and yet satisfies the creative soul of the artist Jack has left us two stories which show his feet had crossed the threshold of Psychoanalytical understanding and it is interesting to turn to Dr. Jung's 'Psychology' of the Unconscious' and see the words marked by him that flashed to the inspiration for these stories ['When Alice Told Her Soul' and 'The Water Baby'].¹⁹

Charmian acknowledged that in writing about Jack's last days, she was guided by her friend Mary whose words she paraphrased along with adopting

her somewhat breathless tone. "He was delving into soul-stuff of men and women as they never would have dared analyze the significance of their own repressions. He went to startling lengths in this risky game of 'playing with souls.' Old curiosities, long since laid, were resurrected, to be dipped in the alembic of psychoanalysis"²⁰ "With quick, incisive mind he apprehended the scope of the Freudian method in contemplation of the material thus acquired, and then with Jung moved on into the realm of cosmic urge of which man's psychic energy is a part."²¹

Back east, the book was making the rounds in Provincetown where the Greenwich Village crowd had decamped for another summer. The Liberal Club under Floyd Dell had already staged several amateur theatrical performances and during the previous summer *Suppressed Desires*, a spoof about the craze for psychoanalysis written by Susan Glaspell and George Cram Cook with a set by Robert Edmond Jones, proved to be a hit. Interest was strong to build on that success by securing a regular performance space. Mary Heaton Vorse, A Club alumna, *Masses* editor, and founder of a Montessori school, made the fishermen's wharf that she owned available and so was born the Wharf Theater and legendary Provincetown Players. Among those who participated were B. J. O. and Margaret Nordfeldt who were alumni of the A Club and got married in Tangiers while on an extended trip to Europe. The group decided to stage a play written by an unknown young playwright, Eugene O'Neill called *Bound East for Cardiff*. It would have been over that summer that he read and talked about Jung because he later reminisced that "The book that interested me the most of all those of the Freudian school is Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* ... If I have been influenced unconsciously, it must have been by this book more than any other...."²²

Kathleen Pyne wrote that Alfred Stieglitz's copy of Jung's book shows that he underlined many passages in Hinkle's "Introduction."²³ In fact, since they so far outnumber the passages that he marked in Jung's text that one wonders how far he actually got in the book! She points out that he recommended it to his protégé Katherine Rhoades who had refused to surrender herself to him. He felt that she might benefit from Jung's analysis of how crippling childhood attachments could be to the development of a well-adjusted, adult personality. His recommendation did not seem to convince her so they drifted apart as his attention turned in other directions.

The Armory Show had created a market for modern art and he found himself having to compete with a growing number of new galleries,

publications, and taste-makers. With his monopoly threatened, he began to pivot his focus toward a group of American modernists that came to include Arthur Dove, Marsden Hartley, John Marin, and Georgia O'Keeffe. O'Keeffe was teaching in Columbia, South Carolina and had sent Anita Pollitzer, her best friend from art school, a group of recently completed abstract drawings called "Lines and Spaces in Charcoal." On New Year's Day, 1916, Pollitzer took them to 291 where she showed them to Stieglitz who announced, according to the letter she wrote to O'Keeffe that evening, "Finally a woman on paper."²⁴

Pollitzer's father Gustave was from a German-Jewish immigrant family who relocated his cotton business from New York to Charleston, South Carolina after the Civil War. Moving to New York to study art brought Anita closer to her Uncle Sigmund and Aunt Alice and cousins Margaret and Aline. When O'Keeffe came back to New York in the spring of that year, Anita arranged for her to room with Aline who was taking an art course at Columbia Teacher's College with their old teacher Arthur Wesley Dow. Given the fact that Margaret was then helping Margaret Naumburg start the Children's School with a manifesto explicitly based on Jung's ideas about creative self-expression, the circumstantial evidence is strong that his book was in the house at the time of O'Keeffe's stay (see Image 5).²⁵

Since Stieglitz recommended Jung to Rhoades, it seems natural that he would have also talked about him with O'Keeffe after they met (the first time that O'Keeffe went to 291, the Caribbean-born elevator operator, Hodge Kirnon told her that Stieglitz was out on jury duty). Any exposure to Jung at this time would have been less of a revelation than a confirmation of her decision to create art by trusting the artistic intuitions of her inner self that she had learned from Dow's Buddhist-inspired aesthetic theories and Kandinsky's *The Spiritual in Art*. She had been particularly keen on a book about the costumes that Leon Bakst had done for the Ballets Russes that Pollitzer had sent her. She began to be featured in *Camera Work* which reported in October, "Miss O'Keeffe's drawings besides their other value were of interest from a psychoanalytic point of view. 291 has never before seen woman express herself so frankly on paper." Male critics soon began to analyze her work from a decidedly Freudian perspective. One can wonder if implicit in the artist's adamant rejection of these interpretations, was a preference for an alternative aesthetic explanation that now included Jung along with the others who shared in a tradition of visionary art going back to the Romantics.

THE SEVEN ARTS AND ITS DEMISE

Hinkle was the catalyst for the start-up of the literary magazine *The Seven Arts*. She advised one of her patients Annette Rankine, a wealthy socialite, to do something useful with her money who then promptly sold her collection of Whistlers in order to fund the venture. Hinkle introduced her to another patient, the poet James Oppenheim who became its founding editor along with a staff that included Waldo Frank and critics Van Wyck Brooks and Paul Rosenfeld. In its brief existence, they published new talents like Sherwood Anderson, Robert Frost, and D. H. Lawrence. Oppenheim exclaimed that "We weren't aiming at any 'little magazine,' anything in an ivory tower. The tower we had in mind was more like the Woolworth!"²⁶ He dedicated his *Songs of the New Age* (1914) to Hinkle and in the preface to *The Book of Self* (1917) wrote that "it is through analytic psychology that the surface of the modern is again connected with the ancient roots.... especially as it is developed by Dr. Carl Jung in Zurich and Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle in New York. To the latter is due even a certain sort of phrasing." His friend Untermeyer felt that his enthusiasm for Jungian analysis had a negative impact on the quality of his poetry and gradually reduced his place in the best-selling anthologies that he was beginning to produce. Untermeyer gave a public reading of T. S. Eliot's poem "Prufrock" (1915) which was remembered this way. "No one could keep a straight face – no one that is except the psychoanalyst who said, 'I think a lot can be done for him – it's a muddled case of infantile repressions and inhibitions'."²⁷ The unnamed psychoanalyst would have been Hinkle who was analyzing Untermeyer's wife Jean Starr at the time and who later remembered her treatment this way. "The less said about Dr. Hinkle the better. I found her shallow in insight, expedient rather than constructive in her advice, and in a time of crisis – the death of my father, who, incidentally was paying for the analysis – inadequate and inhuman as well ... if, in my sessions with Dr. Hinkle, I did not progress as far in self-knowledge as I had hoped, I did 'learn about women' from her."²⁸

Culture wars were brewing in New York. The editors of *The Seven Arts* generally favored an expansive, lyrical style of poetry indebted to Walt Whitman and were critical of what they considered the formalist eccentricities of the more experimental new poets. The same attitude was evident in the article that Alice Raphael wrote about Gibran for the March, 1917 issue. "For amidst the deluge which has overwhelmed our world of

art, when Cubists collide with Vorticists and both are submerged by the onrushing of the Orphicists – when school and type arise and swiftly decline in the quest of the new, and the age is seeking a picture of its soul in barbaric imitation of genuine barbarism – it is of inestimable value to come upon an artist who is fulfilling himself in his work apart from any claptrap of modern devices.”²⁹ Untermeyer made the wry comment that Gibran, who designed the magazine’s cover, was “a soothing blend of William Blake, Rabindranath Tagore, and Maxfield Parrish.”³⁰ This tri-*fecta* proved to be a winning combination however, since Oppenheim introduced Gibran to Alfred Knopf who took a chance on publishing him, a gamble that paid off with *The Prophet* that became a best-seller that still turns a profit for the company.

America’s entry into the war triggered a crisis for the magazine. Oppenheim’s strong anti-war stance led him to add Randolph Bourne to the staff after he was let go by *The New Republic* with its pro-war stance. Bourne’s blistering denunciation of Wilson and his intellectual supporters like John Dewey made Rankine so uncomfortable that she terminated her subsidy. The editors had an emergency meeting at Hinkle’s apartment to salvage the situation but there was no hope of rescue and it folded. Although short-lived, the magazine’s agenda was carried on by *The Dial* that adopted its mission and many of its contributors. Bourne was to have been featured but died during the influenza pandemic of 1918. In the last year of his life, he wrote his friend Dorothy Teall about a job opening as Hinkle’s secretary, explaining that she is “a doctor-lady who deals in psychiatry and psychoanalysis. She is *a friend of James Oppenheim* is [crossed out] the translator of Jung, and rather well-known in the field.”³¹

At this point, it is important to mention an important demographic concerning Hinkle’s extended circle, namely how many of them had been raised in Reform Jewish families. Among them were Oppenheim, the Untermeyers, Alice and Claire Raphael, the Pollitzers, Margaret Naumburg and her husband Waldo Frank, Joel and Amy Spingarn, and Alice Lewisohn who started the Neighborhood Playhouse in conjunction with Lillian Wall’s Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side (the source of the Stieglitz exhibition of children’s art). Their common denominator was a liberal upbringing that put a premium on independent thinking and social reform. Their main link to Hinkle was through her role in the Heterodoxy Club. She was older than them but as a pioneering woman in medicine she

served as their New Woman role model. She acted like their “den mother” who held what would later be called “consciousness-raising” sessions where attendees were encouraged to explore the intersection of their personal, professional, and public lives in a radically new group setting. Her reputation was memorialized by one of their friends Clement Wood in a bit of light verse this way “We marched in a body to Hinkle – jung sybil she were; She taught us so much about symbols and such, that we learned about women from her.”³²

Busy with the translation and her analytical practice, Hinkle still managed to find time for her family. Prior to leaving for her European trip, she had married Philip Eastwick, a businessman, in what seemed to have been a marriage of convenience, a way to provide the children with a father figure. Eastwick was a shadowy figure in her life; they spent a considerable amount of time apart and he eventually sued for a divorce in 1926 while on a business trip to China. Walter Jr. went to boarding school then to Williams College; after graduating from Harvard Law School, he worked for the YMCA serving with US forces stationed in Murmansk, Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution. Consuelo attended Bryn Mawr before leaving to pursue a singing career in Europe.

This “demure, modest, pretty little wren of a woman” (as Hinkle was patronizingly called by one of her reviewers) also took care of her “nest” in another way, she had a good eye for real estate. She lived at 10 Gramercy Park until 1919 when she bought a brownstone down the street at 31 where she lived until her death in 1953 (city records indicate that Eastwick participated in the purchase). In 1912, Hinkle bought a colonial-era house, “Roughlands,” in rural Washington, Connecticut. Its primary purpose was to serve as her personal retreat from the social and professional demands of big-city life. She could get dirt under her finger nails in her rock garden on the slope below her house where she cultivated rows of iris, delphinium, and hollyhock. Her appreciation for the healing power of nature led her to invite patients to come up for extended stays to continue their therapy in a tranquil, rural setting. She expressed this philosophy in the closing words of her Introduction where she made an admiring reference to a fellow Californian, the “plant wizard” Luther Burbank who said that the secret to plant improvement was a knowledge of its inner tendencies. Hinkle had a similar therapeutic goal, namely helping her patients realize their unconscious potentials, best summarized in the phrase “As in the garden, so also in life.”

NOTES

1. "Pageantry and Social Art", Randolph Silliman Bourne Papers, Box 7, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
2. This California cultural moment is beautifully captured in Ed Hearn, Shelley Rideout, and Katie Wadell, *Berkeley Bohemian, Artists and Visionaries of the Early 20th Century* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2008).
3. *Art is My Life*, (Cleveland: The World Pub. Co., 1967), p. 73.
4. Milton Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show* (New York: The Joseph H. Hirschhorn Foundation, 1963), p. 18.
5. *The Road to the Temple* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1926), p. 122.
6. "Psychoanalysis and Society" in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* (Vol. 7: 1912–1913), p. 343.
7. Letter to Sherwood Anderson (March 11, 1922) in *A Search for Man's Sanity, the Selected Letters of Trigant Burrow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958) p. 63.
8. James Voorhies, ed., *My Dear Stieglitz: Letters of Marsden Hartley and Alfred Stieglitz 1912–1915* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), p. 200.
9. See Barbara Haskell, *Marsden Hartley* (New York: Whitney Museum/New York University Press, 1980), p. 29 and p. 93. Also, Bruce Robertson, *Marsden Hartley* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1995), p. 45.
10. For the most comprehensive study of Hartley in Berlin, see Dieter Scholz, ed., *Marsden Hartley, The German Paintings 1913–1915* (New York: D.A.P. for the Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin/Los Angeles County Museum, 2014). German fascination with the American West is epitomized by the work of Karl May. See *Karl May, Imaginäre Reisen* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2007). Elizabeth Hutchinson's *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009) explores the intersection between the adoption of a non-European aesthetic and its commercial marketing to a department store shopping public.
11. *My Dear Stieglitz*, p. 172.
12. "From Berlin" in *The Little Review* (November, 1916), pp. 25–26.
13. January 4, 1914; Louis Untermeyer Papers, University of Delaware Morris Library Special Collections, Box 11, Folder 198.
14. In a letter to Walter Hinkle dated December 11, 1962 the company wrote "We find that there is a small but steady demand for the very fine book by Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle entitled PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS." I want to thank Philip Hinkle for making this letter available to me. The complete correspondence between Hinkle and her

- publisher is in the Dodd, Mead Manuscript Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
15. It is unfortunate that Princeton University chose not to include it when the book was reissued in 2001 as Supplement B to Jung's Collected Works.
 16. From the collection in the Kristine Mann Library, New York.
 17. Charmian London, *The Book of Jack London (Vol. 2)* (New York: Century Co., 1921), p. 323.
 18. In the Jack London Collection (JL 1007), The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
 19. Ibid., "Summary of Jack London's quotations from Dr. Beatrice Hinkle's Introduction to Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious*", p. 2.
 20. *Book of Jack London (Vol. 2)*, op cit., p. 324.
 21. Ibid., p. 355.
 22. Louis Sheaffer, *O'Neill: Son and Artist* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1973), p. 245.
 23. See Kathleen Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice, O'Keeffe and the Women of the Stieglitz Circle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 175; Stieglitz's copy of Jung is in the collection of the Georgia O'Keeffe Research Center, Santa Fe.
 24. Quoted in Sarah Peters, *Becoming O'Keeffe, The Early Years* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2001), p. 35.
 25. Anita spent the rest of her life lobbying for the Equal Rights Amendment as a top operative for Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party. In 1928, she married Elie Edson, a theater press agent who was Pete Seeger's uncle, and lived in Manhattan for the rest of her life.
 26. Oppenheim quoted in Lillian Schlissel, ed., *The World of Randolph Bourne* (New York: Dutton, 1965), p. xxxv.
 27. Harriet Monroe, *A Poet's Life, 70 Years in a Changing World* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 394–395.
 28. *Private Collection*, (New York: Knopf, 1965), p. 48.
 29. It was used as the forward to his *Twenty Drawings* (1919) and now appears in *Poems, Parables, and Drawings* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2008), p. 99.
 30. *From Another World, an Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939), p. 83.
 31. Randolph Silliman Bourne Papers, Box 2, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; *Psychology of the Unconscious* is listed in his list of Yearly Readings for 1918, Box 8.
 32. See *The Greenwich Village Blues* (New York: Harry Harrison, 1926), p. 22.

IMAGE GALLERY

Image 1 Jung's life mask (1915). © 2007 Foundation of the Works of C.G. Jung, Zürich

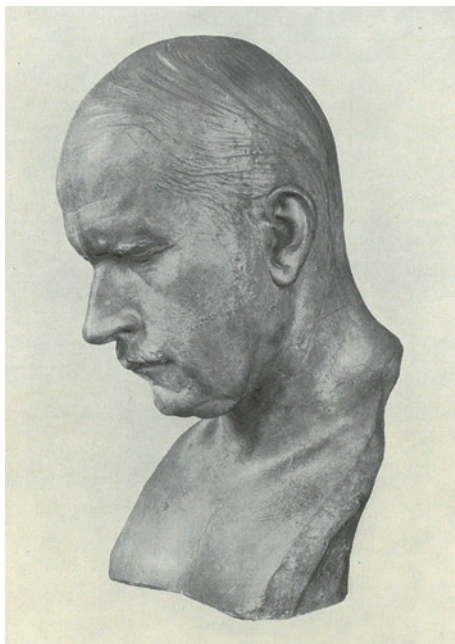


Image 2 Beatrice Hinkle (1909), front piece of *Psychotherapy*. Courtesy of the Kristine Mann Library, New York





Image 3 “Indian Composition” (1914) by Marsden Hartley. Part of the “Amerika” series. Oil on canvas. Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, gift of Paul Rosenfeld, 1950.1.5



Image 4 “Mabel Dodge” (circa 1912) by Mary Foote. Beinecke Library, Yale University

Image 5 “Miss O’Keefe looks like a thoroughbred horse” (Anita Pollitzer notebook, 1915). Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society



What Caveman Instincts Have You?

STRANGE relics of thought and belief, of habit and custom, live on in our subconscious mind and influence in countless little ways the things we do and say to-day. You have certain instincts and impulses that can be traced back across the ages to your savage ancestors—habits and customs of life from which you cannot escape, so thoroughly are they a part of your primitive personality.

We like to marry in June—do you know why? Because there existed in the dawn of life a *human pairing off system* which took place at a time corresponding to what is now June.

We throw rice after a bride—do you know why? Because we dare not say, in words, what this curious old custom suggests.

We have “coming out” parties for debutantes—do you know why? Because in primitive life, the young girl was actually kept imprisoned until she reached marriagable age, and when she “came out” to be bartered as a bride, there were great tribal celebrations.

Link by link it stretches back across the ages, the chain that binds us to our savage level. Slumbering within the very best of us is the caveman who lived long ago. Though the mode of life has changed, human nature is very much the same as it was when civilization was young.

“Primitive man was the true pioneer of civilization” writes Lillian Eichler in “The Customs of Mankind.” “What we of the twentieth century are prone to call by the name of ‘civilization’ is just a thin film of idealism spread over the top of a million years or so of human savagery.”

Slumbering within all of us are savage instincts that can be traced back to our brute-man ancestors. Age-old passions and impulses are crowding constantly through us.

Here is the most fascinating reading in the world—your own self revealed to you as it has never been revealed before.

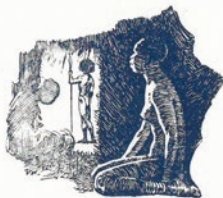


Image 6 Ad copy for *The Customs of Mankind* by Lillian Eichler (Doubleday, 1925). Penguin Random House



Image 7 The Polzeath Conference (1923), from left: Jung, daughter Gret, wife Emma, Toni Wolff, Charles Aldrich, Peter Baynes, George Porter. Courtesy of the Kristine Mann Library, New York



Image 8 The Bailey Island Conference (1936) by Frances S. Bode. Courtesy of the Kristine Mann Library, New York

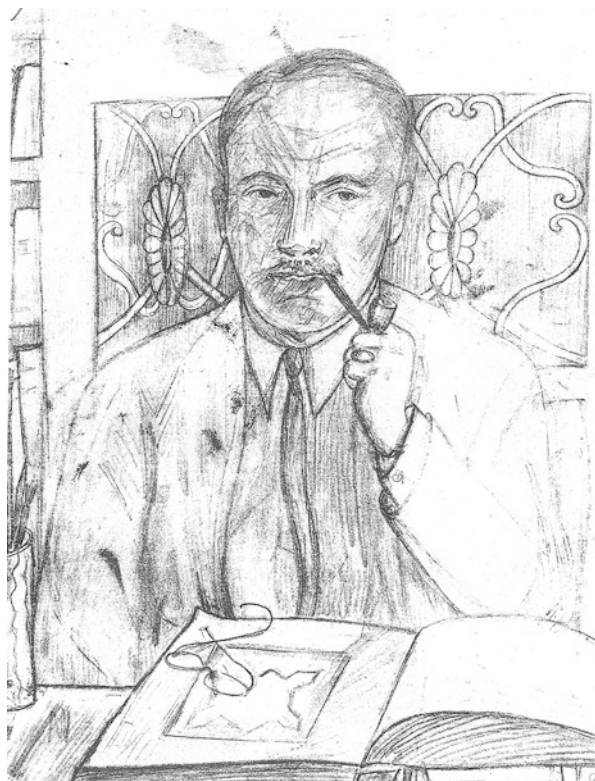


Image 9 Jung (1928) by Amy Spingarn. Courtesy of the late Amy Spingarn

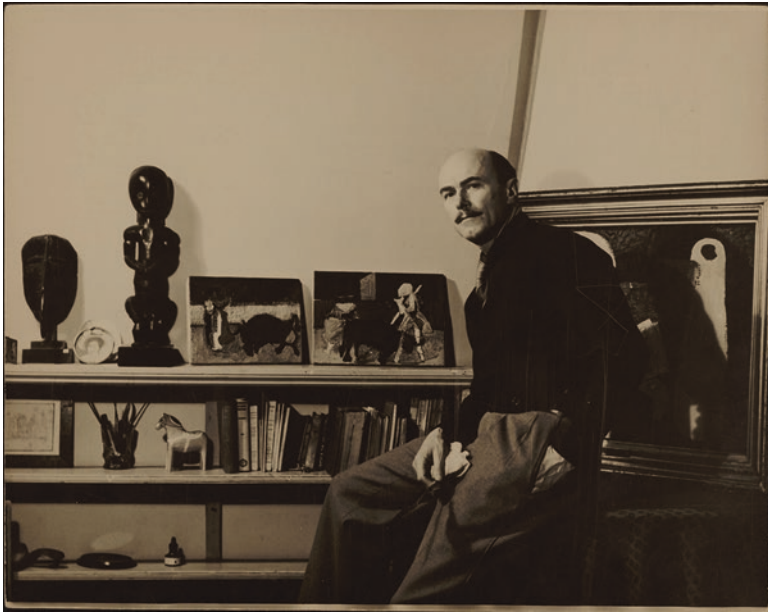


Image 10 John Graham, 1939 / unidentified photographer. John D. Graham papers, 1799–1988, bulk 1890–1961. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Image 11 Joseph Campbell and Jean Erdman in Japan. The Joseph Campbell Foundation



CHAPTER 4

Moving On in the 1920s

After the Armistice in 1918, war-time hysteria and paranoia morphed into fears about the spread of Bolshevism. The Red Army invaded newly independent Poland and the radical wings of socialist parties through Europe adopted the revolutionary cause; a communist government led by Bela Kun briefly came to power in Hungary while in Zurich the Swiss army quickly subdued a general strike. America's first Red Scare led to the harassment or arrest of thousands of anarchists, socialists, and pacifists; several hundred of the most prominent, including Emma Goldman, were loaded onto the steamship *Buford*, dubbed the "Red Ark," and deported to the Soviet Union.¹

The First World War had caused such enormous human and economic losses that even the victorious European powers were traumatized and in debt. Economic recovery depended on the availability of American capital; New York banks lent money to Germany for reparations payments to Great Britain and France who in turn used it to repay war-time loans to those very same banks. This global circulation of American capital generated enormous profits and made New York City the undisputed center of global finance. Credit was readily available so Americans went on a spending spree, using the new installment plan to buy everything from cars to stocks and real estate. The pro-business policies of successive Republican presidents that relaxed government regulations resulted in extremely risky investment behaviors that culminated in the Stock Market Crash of 1929.

The growth of the radio industry and the popular press meant that Charles Lindberg's transatlantic flight was not just another technological "first" but something brand new, a media event that turned him into one of the first international celebrities. The Hollywood studio system was learning to satisfy the public's insatiable appetite for non-stop entertainment; nobodies could become somebodies overnight and have their faces plastered on the cover of fan magazines sold in drug stores from the Big Apple to Gopher Prairie.

With victories on the battlefield and at the ballot box (the amendment granting women the right to vote was ratified in 1920), Americans turned their attention from serious national issues to more hedonistic pursuits; a collective chorus of "Let's have fun!" was raised and F. Scott Fitzgerald's fraternity sheiks descended on speak-easies to drink bathtub gin and dance the Charlestown to hot jazz bands. The postwar literati mocked dime-store patriotism and exposed the hypocrisy of established churches and the prohibition movement's moral crusade to ban alcohol. Mencken mocked the boobies who sided with William Jennings Bryan in the Scopes "monkey" trial. The lyrical style popular with their older brothers and sisters was passé so they explored their experiences of war in the new machine-age, skyscraper landscape with an elliptical style crackling with wit astringent.

THE POSTWAR CLIMATE IN PSYCHOLOGY

The 1920s saw the ascendancy of Freudianism and Behaviorism as the two dominant schools in American psychology. Freudian theory began to dominate psychiatric training while the experimental simplicity of Behaviorism appealed to those committed to a strictly positivistic methodology. Although seemingly at odds, one probing the world of subjective, emotional experience which the other flatly rejected for its introspective vagueness, they did share certain assumptions. They both relied on a reductionist analysis of discrete systems of mind and behavior within a deterministic model of the psyche. Their findings from consulting room and laboratory were soon utilized by the advertising industry. Edward Bernays, one of Freud's nephews, was a pioneer in this emerging business, one that sought to create demand for consumer products by appealing to wish-fulfilling day-dreams about sex and social status. John B. Watson, the founder of Behaviorism, was forced to resign his position at Johns Hopkins University after his affair with a graduate student was made public; he

moved to New York and joined the advertising agency of J. Walter Thompson where he eventually rose to the position of vice-president.²

One window into just how much psychoanalysis was penetrating mainstream culture can be seen in the *New York Sunday World* for January 11, 1925. H. M. Russell wrote the following in his introduction to the day's cross-word puzzle "At last Psyche has broken into puzzlement. Here students of the subconscious will find lots of words from this particular jargon, and unconverted puzzlers can enlarge their vocabularies. We hope you have no inhibitions about Scotch and obsolete words. *A few will crop up in almost any puzzle*, regardless of our hatred of them. We hope you won't have bad dreams over the unkeyed letters" (italics added). Among that day's words were "dreams," "Freud," "instincts," "sexual," "ego," and "complex."

Widely recognized as a major contribution to psychology, Jung's *Psychological Types* was published in English in 1923 and featured in Ogden's *International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method*. In it, he further differentiated his introversion–extraversion scale to include four "functions" or dominant modes of consciousness: thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition. Along with his word association experiments, this was his greatest contribution to the field of applied psychology; it stimulated the development of personality testing and influenced Eysenck's research into personality traits. After this success, however, Jung's work, which was becoming more explicitly holistic and cross-cultural, was generally ignored in the professional literature or panned for his perceived retreat from science into mysticism. His use of the word "soul" and continued interest in spirituality and the paranormal as legitimate topics of psychological investigation placed him beyond the pale. Among psychiatrists, Freud's ideas were in the process of getting "the highway" while Jung's were being shown the "by-way." His approach did, however, continue to appeal to many individuals active in overlapping artistic, literary, and educational circles that included the founding members of the first informal Jungian groups in the country. Their "common denominator" was a continued commitment to the optimistic, vitalistic philosophy of the pre-war period that emphasized personal growth and social betterment.

Beatrice Hinkle's career during this decade provides our best lens for this development. Although she had been black-balled by the orthodox New York Psychoanalytic Society, she maintained friendly relations with several members of the more eclectic American Psychoanalytic Association like Trigant Burrow and L. Pierce Clark and continued to publish in its

journal, *The Psychoanalytic Review*. Licensure for the new profession of psychoanalyst was a major issue in the country; to insure professional acceptance, A. A. Brill and the New York Psychoanalytical Society diverged from Freud over the question of lay analysis and lobbied to make it a medical sub-specialty. To protect their reputation, they voted at their March 25, 1919 meeting to report several people to the New York County Medical Society for practicing medicine without a license.

What is most significant about those named, James Oppenheim, Elida Evans, Thomas Libbin, and Herman De Frem is that, besides their lay status, three out of the four had direct connections to Jung.³ Oppenheim stayed close to Hinkle and went to Zurich for analysis in 1921. After the demise of *Seven Arts* he had difficulty supporting himself; after writing a series of pamphlets and books popularizing Jung's psychology, he spent his last years working for the YMCA. Elida Evans and Thomas Libbin were referred to Jung by Jelliffe, Evans after working as his assistant. She wrote a book *The Problem of the Nervous Child* (1920) to which Jung wrote an introduction (CW 18, 807–808) and attended his 1925 seminar. He praised the book for emphasizing one of his own key insights into childhood neurosis, namely, the strong psychological influence exerted on the child by the parents whose unresolved personal issues created a family atmosphere that could negatively impact the emotional development of their children. The book was given a favorable review by William Alanson White in the *Psychoanalytic Review* but was criticized by the reviewer in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* for an interpretation of libido that was “wildly figurative if not utterly mythical.” Her ideas were “often preposterous (to anyone, at any rate, who is not a follower of the ‘Zürich School.’)” [Vol. XV, 1920–21, p. 423].⁴

Jung identified Libbin in a letter to Jelliffe as a successful patient but not as someone who should be considered his pupil.⁵ He is mentioned in a long letter to Gaylord Wilshire from fellow California socialist Prince Hall who was in Zurich for analysis at the same time as Libbin. Hall wrote detailed observations of the goings-on of Psychology Club members, prominent among whom was Maria Moltzer, one of its founders who maintained an active analytic presence even after her estrangement from the group.⁶ After Libbin returned to Los Angeles, he helped start a Psychoanalytic Study Group, joining Mary Wilshire in spreading the psychoanalytic cause there.⁷

The last of those named was Herman De Frem whose link to Jung was less direct than that of the others. He was a flamboyant Greenwich Village

personality married to Henrietta Rodman, the radical public high school teacher who had engineered the Liberal Club split in 1913. They would have been learned about the Zurich School directly from Beatrice Hinkle who along with Rodman was a member of the Heterodoxy Club. If he did not attend Jung's Liberal Club talk, De Frem would certainly have heard about it from those who had. Although they were named because of their lack of credentials, the fact that they were all sympathetic to Zurich School ideas would have been well-known to the Psychoanalytic Society. It should be noted that Jelliffe himself had an on-going and problematic relationship with the Society regarding his membership.

In 1919, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) sponsored an international Conference of Women Physicians in New York. Eleanor Bertine was one of its organizers and invited Kristine Mann and Hinkle to participate. There they met Constance Long who was in many ways Hinkle's British "twin-sister," an MD with a background in public health (she was past president of the Association of Registered Medical Women) and an interest in the psychological dimension of illness. Along with David and Edith Eder who, with Maria Moltzer, translated several of Jung's early papers into English, Long had aligned herself with Jung after his split with Freud. Mann decided to go into analysis with Hinkle while Bertine followed Long back to London to do the same. They all participated in Jung's first English-language seminar held at Sennen Cove in Cornwall. After the seminar was over, Jung stopped in London for consultations; besides Long he likely met with Maurice Nicoll and James Young who had also attended the seminar. Several years later, the men hosted him at a summer cottage in the Vale of Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire where Jung had one of his major spook experiences. What is less well-known about that stay is that the group spent their time decorating the walls with pictures, or "active imaginations" as Jung was calling them, a technique that he was pioneering in the Red Book and introducing to his followers. Their murals were remembered this way "Maurice's very tall green Tree of Life and on the white wall opposite Dr. Jung's painting of the Soul taking the Middle Way, a small figure of a man toiling along a narrow path, a high mountain one side, a precipice the other – full of dramatic color."⁸

Hinkle opened a residential treatment facility, Smoky Hollow Lodge, in a renovated farm house down the road from her country home in Washington, Connecticut. An attendant and cook were on staff to serve the needs of the patients who stayed in its semi-private rooms. Besides dealing with their complexes in private analytic sessions, they also had a

chance to work them out in a social setting that provided valuable practice sessions for life in the “real world.”⁹ Smoky Hollow represented one of the newest developments in mental health treatment. The movement to create more effective therapeutic communities had led to the expansion of large private and public sanatoria in the decades after the Civil War to treat a growing population of middle-class neurasthenics. The trauma of that war and the growing stress of corporate careers led to a growing preoccupation with health and self-improvement.¹⁰ Now, in the wake of an even more devastating war, psychoanalysis was promoted as an effective technique for helping soldiers overcome shell shock. There was a great deal of therapeutic experimentation going on and, with her Heterodoxy Club experience, Hinkle was expanding analytic boundaries to include small-group settings. Dude ranches, Dale Carnegie public-speaking courses, and self-help books appealed to the many less introspective people who were looking for rejuvenation and professional success (see Image 6).

Before the war, many creative types had spent time in a network of artists’ colonies inspired by the Arts & Crafts philosophy of William Morris. There they could develop their talents and help revive such traditional handicrafts as pottery, textiles, and printing. In Ireland, the Celtic Revival helped bring into fashion a taste for the religion of the goddess and the lunar world of “Faerie.” Practicing a communal life-style outside the mainstream, many of them were committed feminists and socialists; they debated new theories about the matriarchal stage of human development and championed feminine values as the antidote to the ills of modern industrial society.¹¹ Most of these colonies did not survive the war and ended their days with rising debts and dwindling memberships. Some that did survive were those with more individualistic living arrangements in towns like Woodstock, New York, Provincetown, Massachusetts, and Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. In Peterborough, New Hampshire, Edward MacjDowell, one of America’s leading composers, and his wife Marian started a rural retreat where musicians, artists, and writers could find an environment conducive to their creative work. After his early death, Marian worked tirelessly to keep it funded through philanthropic support and a network of MacDowell Clubs that were started in cities nationwide to support local cultural endeavors.¹²

As the decade progressed, Hinkle shifted her writing from professional journals to mass-market periodicals.¹³ In 1923, her one book *Re-Creating the Individual* was published, and she discussed the history of marriage in the United States in her contribution to the *Book of Marriage*, an anthology

compiled by Jung's new German friend, the philosopher Count Hermann Keyserling.¹⁴ The shifting boundaries of marital relations were evident in her personal life as well. After her 1926 divorce from Philip Garrett Eastwick, she moved on to new, more emotionally satisfying relationships. In her book, she discussed bisexuality in terms of her own classification of psychological types as either "objective" or "subjective." Androgyny became popular for those comfortable with a more fluid sense of self who chose to live outside conventionally defined gender roles.¹⁵ Hinkle grew close to Constance Long and to whose memory she dedicated her book. Hinkle had Long's ashes scattered at Roughlands and remembered her on a memorial plaque with the inscription "She Followed the Gleam," a verse taken from a Tennyson poem that was popular among members of the YWCA and functioned as something of an unofficial motto among them.¹⁶

Although she was the only psychoanalyst in New York to clearly align herself with the Zurich School, her relationship to Jung was distinctly different from that of the better-known trio of Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding. These had come to know Jung as students and never lost their positive transference to him; she, on the other hand, had met him as a professional equal and always maintained a more independent point-of-view. In the preface to her book, she wrote "Although my work is closely related to Jung's, I do not present this book as an exposition of Jung's ideas."¹⁷ This independence did not sit well with Jung who criticized her in private, especially for her alternate theory of types that, as we shall see, was to get the attention of a number of American and British social scientists.¹⁸

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

Psychoanalysis helped turn the American family upside down, encouraged a more liberal attitude toward divorce, and revolutionized child-rearing practices. The goal was to create happier, better adjusted adults and children free from the repressive family atmosphere of previous generations. This process naturally expanded from debates about the nuclear family to include a radical re-evaluation of the American educational system. Psychoanalysis was part of a growing trend that applied what was being learned by child psychologists to the classroom. John Dewey criticized the factory-like mentality and rote-learning that characterized most American schools; his advocacy of activities that made children active learners helped make Teachers College, Columbia University a center for educational reform.

Another educational innovator was Maria Montessori who attracted progressive women from around the world to her school in Rome where she trained the first cadre of teachers in her child-centered methodology. Among them were Mary Heaton Vorse and Margaret Naumburg who started the Children's (later, the Walden) School in Greenwich Village. Naumburg felt that Montessori's overly structured approach did not allow children enough opportunity for individual self-expression. She was in analysis with Hinkle and incorporated what she was learning about Jung's new ideas about the creative potential of the unconscious into her curriculum. In the School's founding manifesto, she used Jung's theory of two kinds of thinking, directed and undirected or fantasy, as the rationale for her educational philosophy. Reacting to the overly intellectual approach to teaching traditional subjects, she nurtured the emotional development of children through a program that made art, music, and performance central to the curriculum. Many progressive parents like A. A. Brill and Joel and Amy Spingarn sent their children there, their daughter Honor was in the school's first class. Jung's sole reference to Montessori was added to a 1913 letter he wrote to Dr. Löy, and likely prompted by what he had heard recently in New York.¹⁹

Besides influencing the choice and design of classroom activities, she insisted that her staff be psychoanalyzed since one of her goals was that it be composed of psychologically mature individuals. Prominent among them were her sister Florence Naumburg Cane, Claire Raphael Reis, and Margaret Pollitzer Hoben. What these women had in common besides their Reform Jewish upbringing was their espousal, via Hinkle, of Jung's new brand of psychoanalysis. Raphael and Pollitzer had grown up in the South and came to New York to start their careers in education. Claire taught music at the school and her sister Alice, a friend of Hinkle and Oppenheim, had written a laudatory article about Gibran's artwork for *Seven Arts* which was then reprinted as the forward to his *Twenty Drawings*. Pollitzer, whose cousin Anita famously introduced the work of her friend Georgia O'Keeffe to Alfred Stieglitz, became head of the Walden School after Naumburg's departure and went to Zurich for analysis.

The progressive education scene in New York was a small arena with some out-sized personalities and competing philosophies. The Ferrer Center favored anarchism while the Rand School taught evolutionary socialism. The Play (later City and Country) School was started by Caroline Pratt with a constructivist philosophy in which the students acquired skills and a sense of responsibility by working cooperatively on

projects like running the school store and producing a newsletter. The modern artist William Zorach taught lessons in exchange for his children's tuition payments. Fola La Follette, daughter of the progressive senator from Wisconsin was a teacher there; she worked with Hinkle and later became a member of the Analytical Psychology Club of New York.²⁰

Hinkle was known in other Greenwich Village educational circles as well. She attended dinner parties at the home of Wesley Mitchell and his wife Lucy Sprague who started the Bank Street School. There she exchanged ideas with John Dewey and was almost certainly the female analyst to whom Dewey's daughter Evelyn was referred by Naumburg.²¹ It should be pointed out that at this early stage of American psychoanalysis, people took an eclectic approach toward their choice of analysts; many of them rotated among the Jungian Hinkle, the Freudian Brill, and Jelliffe who was seen as straddling the two schools. Adding to the mix was the popularity in this circle of F.M. Alexander's technique of physical exercises aimed at increasing conscious control over unconscious, inhibited muscle and organ systems.²²

Hinkle's reputation led to her being invited to be the keynote speaker at the 1925 conference of the recently formed Child Study Association, her address entitled "New Relations of Men and Women to the Family." The conference was also attended by Dr. Leta Stetter Hollingworth, Assistant Professor of Education at Teachers College and Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Director of Greenwich House, a settlement house with classes designed to meet the needs of the neighborhood Italian immigrant population. Around this time, Frances Wickes, a psychologist at St. Agatha's School in New York, was introduced to Jung's psychology and went to Zurich for analysis. This experience led to her writing the *Inner World of Childhood* for which Jung wrote the introduction. He used some of her cases to illustrate a lecture that he gave in London (1924), to the International Congress of Education founded by Beatrice Ensor. He also spoke to the organization at Territet, Switzerland (1923) and Heidelberg (1925).²³ Ensor had helped start the International Bureau of Education in Geneva under the auspices of the Institute Rousseau which was later reorganized with Jean Piaget as a co-director.²⁴

Jung's new direction was well-known to the progressives who started The New School for Social Research in Greenwich Village in 1919. Some were professors who left Columbia because of their refusal to take the loyalty oath required by the university after the country entered the war; others sought to escape academic conformity by creating a non-degree,

adult educational center where ideas could be freely debated in small evening classes. A short list of its founders includes Dewey, the historian Charles Beard, economists Thorstein Veblen and Wesley Mitchell, and the journalist Alvin Johnson, editor of *The New Republic* who became its first president.²⁵

It was at The New School where Ruth Benedict took her first course in anthropology. It was with Elsie Clews Parsons, a Heterodoxy Club member who was doing field work among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Benedict then studied with Alexander Goldenweiser, a brilliant theoretician who wrote the first textbook in the field but was so difficult to deal with that he only was able to find work as a visiting scholar, one stint was spent teaching at the Walden School. Interested in what psychology had to offer the new science of humanity, he first turned to Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* and then to Freud's radical new ideas about the role of the Oedipus complex in the origins of human society.²⁶

Goldenweiser recommended Benedict to Franz Boas, the sole tenured professor of Anthropology at Columbia University who had supervised his dissertation. Boas was well aware of how psychology could enrich anthropology, having been on the faculty at Clark University where he clashed with Stanley Hall and attended the 1909 conference at which Freud and Jung spoke. He was responsible for establishing American anthropology as an academic discipline independent from the natural history museums with their rapidly growing ethnological collections. Through field-work and careful analysis of data he trained a generation of students who started similar programs at universities around the country. Grand theories based on misconceptions about race or diffusion were scrutinized, disproven, and replaced with a more comprehensive and objective theory of culture.

In conjunction with anthropology, archeology was making dramatic discoveries in the Middle East about the agricultural origins of civilization. This, along with the fact that women were entering the field and asking new questions about gender relations in "primitive" societies, led to a shift in interest from the nomadic, buffalo-hunting culture of the Plains Indians (Benedict had done her armchair dissertation on the vision quest ritual) to the settled farming communities of the American Southwest. There was a paradigm shift in interest from "masculine" values (the "rugged individualism" of Teddy Roosevelt) to a new appreciation of the "feminine" values of matrilinear, cooperative societies); "It is not the female sex, but the feminine principle which is in ascendant"²⁷

The main theme in all of Hinkle's writings was the psychological impact that women's new-found independence was having on modern society; educational opportunities led to careers outside the home and called into question traditional definitions of "masculine" and "feminine" abilities and activities. Using examples from sociology, anthropology, and her analytical practice, she made the case for uncoupling gender from biology by using her personal elaboration of Jung's introversion–extraversion scale. She wrote an article entitled "On the Arbitrary Use of the Terms 'Masculine' and 'Feminine'" where she argued that there were no fixed mental and psychological differences between men and women; for evidence, she cited the newest scientific research, her own clinical work, and observations she made among the Malays of the Philippines, most likely when she was there with her husband who was serving with the US Army. Hinkle advocated a more fluid understanding of gender, one based on an appreciation of the different psychological orientations of introverts and extraverts. "Since type is found in both sexes, it would appear clear that the individual, whether man or woman, contains both masculine and feminine principles, and it is a matter of relative emphasis within the individual, together with the effect of social heredity" that determines which is the more strongly developed.²⁸

Both type theories were popular among New York intellectuals during this period. Margaret Mead was at Barnard where analyzing each other's behavior was all the rage in her circle of friends, the Ash Can Cats.²⁹ She then transferred to Columbia where she studied anthropology under Boas and Benedict. The two women used type theory to understand their personal relationships and as a tool for understanding the dominant psychological orientation of the cultures they were studying. What Benedict and the other students of Boas were in the process of creating was the "Culture & Personality" school of anthropology. She was interested in determining the integrating factor that shaped culture and discussed "Psychological Types in the Southwest" (1928) with Parsons and used Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy in her book *Patterns of Culture*.³⁰ Mead's fellow anthropologist and lover Edward Sapir discussed Jung's typology with Goldenweiser at the 1924 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Toronto.³¹ Their discussion was prompted by C. G. Seligman's presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute given the year before and entitled "Anthropology and Psychology: A Study of some Possible Points of Contact." In it, he recommended that anthropologists apply Jung's type theory to the societies that they were studying.³²

GETTING PUBLISHED

During and after the war, a series of short-lived magazines owed much of their original inspiration to *Seven Arts*. With that journal's demise, members of its staff had gone their separate ways. Randolph Bourne, the hunchback genius of his generation, died in a cold-water flat in Greenwich Village during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Oppenheim began to publish works explaining Jung to the mass market; his booklet *The Psychology of Jung* (1925) was published in the Little Blue Book series along with hundreds of other titles that covered such hot topics as sex education explained by advocates like Margaret Sanger.³³

The first major postwar cultural manifesto of the younger generation was Waldo Frank's *Our America* which opened and closed with shout-outs by and for Walt Whitman. "Ours is the first generation of Americans consciously engaged in spiritual pioneering."³⁴ This group was influenced by contemporary vitalist philosophies and life sciences that were conceptualizing "energy" in new, more psychological ways: Bergson and psychoanalysis sparked interest in the investigation of intuitions emanating from the deepest recesses of the human mind. Frank knew about Jung from his wife Margaret Naumburg and wrote "I believe that the time has now come when such words as extraversion and introversion may be admitted to the common language. The terms were, I think, first employed by the famous Swiss psychologist C. G. Jung ... as general terms of characteristic tendency, they are indispensable."³⁵

Frank borrowed his diagnosis of America's repressive Puritan heritage from his *Seven Arts* colleague Van Wyck Brooks who had looked into the shadows cast by the Anglo-Saxon façade of the Genteel Tradition and its commercial counterpart. A re-evaluation of the cultural canon included original interpretations of Mark Twain, Herman Melville, and the visionary painter Albert Pinkham Ryder. A more inclusive national mythos was called for, one that would express the country's transcendentalist heritage in a more diverse way, one in which Native American craftspeople and Charlie Chaplin joined more familiar icons in the national pantheon. Frank paid homage to Brooks who studied American culture "not to dissect, but to heal" (196) and find in it a "usable past" that could serve as a bridge to the future. Brooks himself had joined the staff of the *Freeman* where he wrote a column and met Lewis Mumford.

Frank was the subject of a portrait taken by Stieglitz on the porch of the photographer's family retreat on Lake George. This occurred in the fall of

1922 when he visited with Naumburg and their baby son. In an unpublished letter addressed to “Margy” and signed “291” Stieglitz talked about rummaging through his negatives and coming “across some snaps that I made of Waldo + the ones of you. – I enclose the one of you. – Waldo’s print turned out too dark. Much so. – I’ll make another print soon + send it along.”³⁶ Naumburg was in the process of resigning from the Walden School and turning over the leadership role to Margaret Pollitzer Hoben; Stieglitz himself was about to embark on one of his most ambitious projects, his series of cloud photos called *Equivalents* which he said expressed his “most profound life experience, my basic philosophy of life.”³⁷

Poetry, A Magazine of Verse started in 1912 by the Chicagoan Harriet Munroe, helped jump-start a renaissance of poetry writing, becoming the clearinghouse for works that ranged from the conventional to the most experimental. The catalyst for the latter was Ezra Pound, the magazine’s first foreign editor who relocated to London where he championed *vers libre* and the new school of Imagist poetry. A “poetry war” soon developed that pitted the increasingly experimental style of these modernists against the Whitmanesque lyricism of poets like Vachel Lindsay and Carl Sandburg which they found to be emotionally excessive. The editors of *Secession* announced that their magazine existed “for those writers who are preoccupied with researches for new forms. It hopes that there is ready for it an American public which has advanced beyond the fiction and poetry of Sinclair Lewis and Sherwood Anderson and the criticism of Paul Rosenfeld and Louis Untermeyer.”³⁸

Following his involvement with the *Masses* and *Seven Arts*, Untermeyer continued to write poetry but became more influential as an anthologist. He was associated with Harcourt Brace which paid him a \$110 monthly retainer and published his best-selling collections of American (1919) and British (1920) poetry; he divorced his wife Jean Starr after meeting another woman at the Mac Dowell Colony where they had stayed in 1925. He was also on the staff of *The Liberator* where he worked with his old colleagues Max Eastman and Floyd Dell.³⁹

Harcourt Brace was founded by two Columbia University graduates who left the Henry Holt Company and soon had a stellar house list of fiction and non-fiction writers. It became Jung’s primary US publisher, starting with *Psychological Types* (1923) and continuing with a series of his other book and articles in the coming years. Besides Untermeyer, two other staff members had connections through their wives as a factor in Jung’s association with the firm. Melville Cane’s wife Florence was

Margaret Naumburg's sister and had helped her start the Walden School based on Jung's developmental psychology.

The other was Joel Spingarn whose wife Amy Einstein was in analysis with Beatrice Hinkle and went to England for Jung's conference at Swanage in 1925. One of the things that she had to confront was Jung's attitude toward Jews. In unpublished reminiscences, she remembered asking him "Why do you say that Jews lack a primitive side, I have a friend that acts like an Indian, why they have a volcano inside them. Oh, he answered 'they are so far away from the volcano they have grown cold.' And as he said this, he presented so massive a front of untouchableness that I turned on my heels and left." Back in New York, she discussed this with Hinkle who told her about "all the most unpleasant things Jung said of Jews, they were untruthful and concrete minded." Spingarn overcame any reservations about Jung this created and went to Zurich in 1928 for analysis. She visited him in his home office and did a pencil sketch of him. In a letter to her friend Ruth Reeves, she wrote that her attempt was unsuccessful but while packing up to leave, the situation took a turn. After an awkward moment when he discussed a portrait that had captured his external features, he said that "Gibran had done [a portrait] of his spirit, but nobody has gotten the two.... MOST PEOPLE WONT ACCEPT THE EARTHY SUBSTANCE IN HIM, THE BRUTALITY OF HIS MOUTH, THE THING HE HAS BATTLED to keep sa (sic) Force, SOMETHING UNCOMPROMISING. As he talked in this vein, I started another swift sketch – a bit Chinese – Then the door bell rang and I got up and said 'Thank you for the last ten minutes.'"⁴⁰ (See Image 9).

All these old friends shared a commitment to artistic freedom, but one in which new topics were expressed in more traditional literary forms; this made them targets for younger critics whom they, in turn, accused of chasing every passing fad.⁴¹ The lightning-rod for this split was the 1922 publication of T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" in *The Dial*. The poet Conrad Aiken wrote to Untermeyer: "You have always missed T. S. E. completely: he simply does not register on you ... You like broad effects – there are no broad effects in him. You like yea-saying – he says neither yea nor nay."⁴² The problem that the older group had with Eliot was not so much with his imagist innovations but with the poem's tone of hopelessness that they felt left readers depleted. Years later, Jean Starr reminisced about Eliot's influence with "sycophants among the critics and epigones by the dozen among less-gifted poets...."⁴³ This cultural dueling could at times get up-close and very personal. It included such adolescent antics as the fistfight

between Waldo Frank and Malcolm Cowley which ended with them rolling around in a muddy field near Woodstock. It took a more intellectual turn in the elaborate hoax perpetrated by Witter Bynner and Arthur Davison Ficke who used pseudonyms to publish *Spectra*, a collection of poems from several “new” Imagist poets, but since the literati failed to catch the joke, they eventually had to make their hoax public.

After psychoanalysis left the strictly clinical realm and started to be applied to cultural products, new debates over the psychological source of artistic creativity began, with Jung taking exception to the conclusions that Freud reached in his paper on da Vinci. “When the Freudian school advances the opinion that all artists are underdeveloped personalities with marked infantile autoerotic traits, this judgment may be true of the artist as a man, but it is not applicable to the man as an artist Art is a kind of innate drive that seizes a human being and makes him its instrument.”⁴⁴ For Jung, da Vinci’s paintings of the infant Jesus with Mary and Anne, were not just products of his personal experiences from childhood but also influenced by an impersonal, “imago” of “dual mothers,” a deep psychological pattern that he explored in *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* that he later termed an “archetype.”⁴⁵ He later supported this position by quoting his avowed forerunner, the doctor and landscape painter Carl Gustav Carus who wrote about the artistic “impulse for constant growth and development.” This view, rooted in Kantian aesthetics, was popular with Carus and other German Romantics and was adopted by Jung when painting the pictures in his Red Book. For Jung, the impulse to create art is innate and not just a product of sublimated sexual/aggressive libido. He felt that the Freudian technique of debunking neurotic traits, like those of put on display in *Eminent Victorians*, was a necessary “corrosive” but one insufficient to fully explain artistic creativity. He favored the Visionary Mode of art that emanated from the collective unconscious, the timeless “spirit of the depths,” over an art that was more personal and concerned with aesthetic form, a product of the transient “spirit of the times.”⁴⁶

Jung updated the Romantic conception of artists as vehicles of daimonic energies that were harnessed in the pursuit of their creative goals. Besides his own psychiatric investigations into the autonomous functioning of unconscious complexes, Jung supported his theory with contemporary research in anthropology and the history of religions. Perhaps the most critical concept that he adopted was Rudolf Otto’s idea of “numinosity.” Certain objects come “alive” because they trigger a subliminal reaction and

operate as a compelling symbol, one that carries meaning for individuals and their communities; following in Nietzsche's footsteps, Jung concurred that since Christianity, the major symbol system of Europe for nearly two millennia, was intellectually bankrupt, one had to look elsewhere for authentic manifestations of the religious instinct (see Appendix B).

After his brief visit to Zurich for a consultation, Oppenheim exchanged letters with Jung's old colleague Alphons Maeder. He was still enthusiastic about the value of Jung's approach and in a letter to Horace Gregory wrote that it is a "pity that Jung's works are not studied by such minds as [Hart] Crane's and yours. The essay 'The Role of Analytical Psychology to Poetic Art' should be known to every poet. It is part of the new knowledge of our age."⁴⁷ Untermeyer continued to down-grade Oppenheim's poetry in the anthologies that he was editing, unhappy with Oppenheim's embrace of psychoanalysis. His made his reservations about the applicability of psychoanalysis clear" in the closing lines of his article "Hilda and the Unconscious." "The subconscious is going to have a hard time of it if it remains too close to poets, professors, and publishers."⁴⁸

Another poet drawn to Jung was Leonard Bacon. A 1909 graduate of Yale, he worked on a ranch in Montana to find himself before joining the English Department at the University of California, Berkeley. There he helped reform the writing program and collaborated with Rudolph Schevill, chair of Romance languages, on translations from French and Spanish. He retired to Carmel in 1923, published his epic satire *Ulug Beg* with Knopf, and went to Zurich where he spent several years in analysis with Toni Wolff. While there, he published *Animula Vagula* (1926), a collection of poems whose title comes from the opening lines of a death-bed poem by Hadrian in which the Roman emperor addresses his soul. Since Bacon's poems were based on his experiences in analysis so he referred to the book as the record of his "Saison en Enfer."⁴⁹ The reviewer in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, a publication with which Bacon was closely affiliated, said that it "cannot fail to stir those who recognize in recent poetry the lack of a larger concern for the perennial spiritual impulses of men."⁵⁰

Bacon was deeply impressed with Jung as a personality, calling him "that most delightful combination of an Olympic athlete, Plato the broad-browed, refined scientist, and dirt farmer, [who] has for a long time been a firm believer in the diagnostic and prognostic value of unconscious drawing."⁵¹ He participated in Jung's first English language seminar in 1925 and later spent time with Jung at Bollingen, probably on the occa-

sion when they crossed the lake to visit the Black Madonna at Einseideln and when he would have given Jung a copy of *Quincibald in mediocria*, his 1927 Yale oration at the 150th anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The sad state of modern poetry was a constant for Bacon who castigated the illiterate moderns for ignoring poetic traditions as well as the zealots who promoted such work. He adopted Jung's view that myths and fairy tales were not relics of a bygone era but living symbols which can enrich the lives of modern men and women.⁵²

His most developed statement of this aesthetic philosophy was "Analytical Psychology and Poetry." Referring to his attendance at Jung's seminar "some years ago," it was his contribution to the festschrift presented to Jung on his sixtieth birthday (1935) entitled *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Komplexen Psychologie* [*The Cultural Meaning of Complex Psychology*]. Bacon lamented the "preoccupation with conscious problems which had castrated such a quantity of modern poetry and modern painting, and reduced kinetic living things to cold geometry and fruitless abstraction." He was not opposed to novelty but said that "the new must have the tincture of the primordial, and the strange will derive its force from ancient shadowy relations with the familiar."⁵³ He continued to publish poetry that employed traditional meter and rhyme which he felt stimulated deeper levels of unconscious associations in its readers. In 1940, he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry and would be a key behind-the-scenes defender of Jung during the "Bollingen Controversy" after World War II.

"CHANGE HERE FOR SANA FE!"

In *Our America*, Waldo Frank had encouraged readers to appreciate the indigenous peoples of the Southwest who "had been buried by Caucasian floods."⁵⁴ The Santa Fe Railroad had used national marketing techniques to bolster the region's mining and agriculturally based economy with mass tourism. Frank's book became a best-seller that resonated with many East and West Coast artists and writers who were attracted to Santa Fe and Taos. They hoped to escape the alienation of sky-scraper urbanism and find authenticity and renewal in the landscape and local Native American and Hispanic cultures. Among the first to arrive was Willa Cather who visited Arizona in 1912 and Mesa Verde in 1915. She later wrote *Death Comes to the Archbishop*, a fictional account of the life of Santa Fe's French-born ecclesiastical leader. Previously the managing editor for the muck-raking journal *McClure's*, she introduced the region to Witter Bynner who

had been its poetry editor. He left the English Department at Berkeley and relocated to Santa Fe where he was joined by his former student and current partner Willard “Spud” Johnson who founded *Laughing Horse*, a little magazine that featured Bynner, D. H. Lawrence, Vachel Lindsay, and Carl Sandburg as well as many regional writers. Johnson became Lawrence’s secretary who bestowed the knick-name “Spoodle” on him; he later developed a friendship with Georgia O’Keeffe with whom he made auto trips cross-country and to Mexico.⁵⁵

A key event in the area’s history was Mabel Dodge’s relocation from New York; she went there as “Sterne” but became “Luhan” after marrying Tony Lujan from the Taos pueblo.⁵⁶ She bought property from the Manby estate and named her new home “Los Gallos” which Tony renovated and expanded to accommodate the many friends who were to spend time with her. Arguably, the most famous was D. H. Lawrence, who along with his wife Frieda von Richthofen arrived there in September, 1922 after a long trip that had taken them from Europe to Ceylon to Australia and finally to California, Lawrence’s personal journey to the East.

At this point, it is important to consider Lawrence’s relationship to Jung. It is possible that he heard stories about Jung from Frieda who had had an affair with Otto Gross in 1907–08. As early as 1915, he referred to Dostoevsky as a “pure introvert.”⁵⁷ Like many people, Lawrence was intrigued by, but skeptical about the discoveries of psychoanalysis. He rejected the Freudian interpretation of *Sons and Lovers* that appeared in the July, 1916 issue of *Psychoanalytic Review* that, coincidentally, included a review of Hinkle’s translation of Jung. He felt that an exclusively phallic interpretation was too narrowly mechanistic and a violation of the symbolic potential of the life-process. “I have swallowed such a lot of jargon that I would rather listen now to a negro witch-doctor than to Science.”⁵⁸ His published comments about Jung had a sarcastic edge, he archly referred to the “*ex cathedra* Jung”⁵⁹ who “dodges from his university gown into a priest’s surplice, till we don’t know where we are.”⁶⁰ These comments express Lawrence’s opinion of Jung’s public reputation but should not distract us from appreciating the extent to which his ideas of the unconscious were influenced by his reading of Jung. Lawrence had borrowed a copy of *Psychology of the Unconscious* from Barbara Low and, intrigued by its case for the decisive influence of the mother-imago on psychic development, used Jung’s concept of the “devouring mother” to describe Frieda.⁶¹ Louis Untermeyer recalled that Lawrence spoke frequently about Jung when he visited him in London during this period.⁶²

In 1927, Lawrence wrote to Luhan saying that he read the “Jung things” that she had sent. Although not identified, they likely included *Psychological Types* since he said that he was “tired of so many words.”⁶³

Besides a specific appropriation like this, his general critique of the Freudian conception of the unconscious had much in common with Jung. The unconscious was not created by sexual repressions but was “the spontaneous life-motive in every organism.”⁶⁴ This meant that a new philosophy of child-rearing and education was necessary. To say that “the goal of life is the coming perfection of each single individual”⁶⁵ is an analog of Jung’s process of “individuation.” Both men wanted to foster a consciousness more engaged with the fundamental tendencies of what Jung called the “collective unconscious” and Lawrence “blood-consciousness.”

Their anti-mechanistic stance opposed the cause–effect scientific dogma of the day; their mutual appreciation of intuition and mystery were at odds with Freudian analysts like Brill who depreciated intuition and laughed at mysteries.⁶⁶ Luhan wrote that “Brill called all my mysticism a fantasy life and frowned on it severely. He became arbitrary and dogmatic. Anything ‘religious’ was anathema to him.”⁶⁷ Both men took “soul” seriously and sought to experience myth and symbol in their lives and not just understand them as intellectual constructs. Jung wrote about his creative daimon and Luhan used the same word to describe Lawrence.⁶⁸ They took Nietzsche’s proclamation “God is dead” seriously and adopted a new religious attitude that sought to tap the full potential of the human psyche by awakening the dormant energy represented by ancient gods like Pan and Abraxas. Since renewal came through creativity (Lawrence adopted the phoenix as his personal symbol), it is not surprising that both men turned to painting. Jung did this in the Red Book and at his Bollingen tower. Lawrence painted a large number of erotic oil paintings and at the ranch near Taos given to him by Luhan painted the out-house wall with a snake ascending a sunflower.⁶⁹ This reference to Kundalini and his elaboration of the system of chakras for his model of the psyche were derived from his reading in the Theosophical writings of Madame Blavatsky.⁷⁰

Besides his two books on psychoanalysis, Lawrence elaborated his philosophy in essays that he wrote during the war around the same time that he was reading Jung. His original title for the collection was *The Transcendental Element in American Literature* but published with the title *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Disillusioned with the censorship and ridicule he was subjected to in war-time Britain, Lawrence began to see America as an attractive destination where he could secure his literary

fortune. Furthermore, he would have been aware of the interest in establishing a “usable past” shared by the editors of *Seven Arts* who published his stories in its March and July, 1917 issues.

After the war, Lawrence lived a nomadic life-style, never quite satisfied with the mundane realities of each destination which never matched his idealized image of the locale that had motivated him to go there in the first place. Lawrence’s appreciation for the “spirit of place” resulted in the travel writings that are among his most sensitive works. It was reading *Sea and Sardinia* that prompted Luhan to invite him to New Mexico, feeling that he was just the genius to help put Taos on the map as a new center for global culture. It became the place where he felt most at home and where his ashes were laid to rest. “In the magnificent, fierce morning of New Mexico one sprang awake, a new part of the soul woke up suddenly.”⁷¹ This feeling of heightened awareness, of an almost hallucinatory perception was experienced by other creative individuals, most famously Georgia O’Keeffe who was deeply moved by the power of the New Mexican landscape from the time of her first visit in 1929 when she stayed briefly with Luhan.

Other people came not on a creative quest but on doctor’s orders since the dry desert air was recommended for those with respiratory ailments, Lawrence suffering from tuberculosis. The most famous facility was the Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe whose director Dr. Frank Mera was deeply involved in the local cultural affairs.⁷² Among those who came to heal their body and soothe their soul was Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. A graduate of Bryn Mawr (1903), Sergeant contributed articles to *McClure’s* where she met Willa Cather. During the war, she became a war correspondent for *The New Republic* and wrote a best-selling memoir about her experiences after being wounded by a land mine in France. Cather encouraged her to visit New Mexico where she decided to stay. Like Luhan and many others, she became a strong advocate of Indian land rights and cultural practices. They scored a major victory in 1923 when their national campaign defeated the Bursum Bill, a piece of legislation that would have turned over large tracts of Pueblo land to squatters. Sergeant continued her commitment to social justice and became an advisor to John Collier who became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the Roosevelt administration. She was a prolific journalist and wrote about the many colorful figures she met. She eulogized the recently deceased feminist and California nature writer in “Mary Austin: A Portrait” (*Saturday Review of Literature*, September 9, 1934, p. 96). She wrote major biographies of her

friend Cather and the poet Robert Frost. In the late 1920s she went to Zurich to do analysis with Jung and then helped keep him in the public eye through her articles in the popular press.

One of the most colorful personalities to spend time at Los Gallos was Jaime de Angulo, an expert in the languages of the California Indians who annoyed his mentor Alfred Kroeber with his unconventional life-style and disdain for institutional etiquette. Born in France to a wealthy Spanish couple, he emigrated to the United States where he worked as a cowboy and traveled to South America. He became more serious about a career and graduated from Johns Hopkins where he met Cary Fink, a Vassar graduate, who became his first wife and with whom he had a daughter, Ximena; they lived in Carmel and he owned a cattle ranch in Big Sur. The couple grew apart, divorced, and she left for Zurich to do analysis with Jung. In order to see his daughter, he followed her there along with his second wife Nancy Freeland and did analysis with Jung. Aware of his transference, he wrote that Jung "has liberated my mind, unlocked all sorts of energy but above all given me the philosophical key for which I have been groping for so long and which was so vital to me."⁷³ The men explored their mutual interest in the relationship between the modern and "primitive" minds. Jung was so impressed that he provided funds to help support de Angulo's research.

Back in California, de Angulo met Mabel and Tony Luhan who were wintering there. She invited him to visit Los Gallos which he did in the spring of 1924. She later remembered how he described Jung as a personal conductor into borderline experiences. Their conversations were filled with discussions of "introverts" and "extraverts" and the behavioral aspects of the four functions. She tried to engage Lawrence in all this but he kept his distance from De Angulo's psychologizing. The interpersonal relations among the Luhan circle were fraught with slights and sensitivities magnified by their sense of heightened self-awareness. One resident was a young homosexual named Clarence Thompson. De Angulo's attempt to treat the man's feeling problems by getting him in touch with his inner feminine, what Jung called the "anima," took them into some dark places that neither was quite prepared for. This interior drama constellated a pathetic enactment in outer reality when Clarence adopted a female puppy he named "Anima" but which he accidentally killed. There was talk of sending him to Zurich to see Jung but nothing ever came of it.

JUNG'S VISIT

In 1924 Jung made the decision to visit the United States for the first time since 1913. Encouraged to do so by the McCormicks, the trip was arranged and financed by George Porter, a wealthy Chicago businessman and family friend. Married to a Theosophist, he was a patron of the arts, having purchased works at the Armory Show and helping make sure that the European works in the show were exhibited in Chicago. He and Fowler McCormick met Jung at the dock in New York on December 22, the arrival delayed a day because of stormy weather. They stayed at the University Club where Porter (Yale, 1903) was a member and then went on to Chicago by train. After celebrating Christmas, the three men boarded the Santa Fe Railroad's California Limited on December 27 for Arizona and arrived at the Grand Canyon on New Year's Day, 1925. There they rendezvoused with de Angulo and his friend Chauncey Goodrich. Given their tight schedule and the logistics involved, it seems likely that they then traveled back Santa Fe by train rather than car. They would have arrived on January 2, probably staying at the de Vargas, the town's premier hotel, and spent January 3 shopping and arranging their car rental. Margaret Nordfeldt remembered meeting Jung at a shop, probably the Spanish and Indian Trading Post which was co-owned by her husband B. J. O. Nordfeldt, who was now a prominent member of the town's art colony. They were active in the local theater group along with their old friend from the Provincetown Players, Ida Rauh; Rauh was Max Eastman's ex-wife and currently married to the artist Andrew Dasburg, Nordfeldt's partner in the Trading Post.

The Jung party first stopped in the Canyon de los Frijoles (now Bandalier National Monument) and then drove up to Taos on Sunday January 4 where they stayed at the Columbian Hotel on the Plaza.⁷⁴ Jung's famous encounter with the Pueblo elder Mountain Lake took place the next day; the meeting had been arranged through Wickes and de Angulo with the help of Tony Luhan. There has been debate about how much information Mountain Lake would actually have divulged about tribal beliefs given understandable concern about revealing secrets to outsiders. Still, it was an experience that had profound significance for Jung who referred to it frequently and wrote about it at length in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (pp. 246–253). There were two important things that Jung took away from their conversation on the roof of the pueblo as they looked out across the plateau at the sacred mountain. The first was his

appreciation for Mountain Lake's trenchant critique of the white mentality and its history of imperialistic exploitation. The other stemmed from their talk about religion and the Pueblo sense of responsibility toward the cosmos. Jung has been criticized for his idealized image of the "primitive Other" but his visit should be seen as a sincere effort to construct a cross-cultural psychology free of Eurocentric bias. It was one that sought to restore the sacral relationship to nature that had been damaged over the centuries, first by Christianity and then by the post-Cartesian scientific paradigm. In a letter to fellow anthropologist Ruth Benedict several months after the visit de Angulo wrote that "Americans will never find spiritual stability until they learn to recognize the Indians as their spiritual ancestors. The Sun-father of Egypt is a living symbol yet in the collective unconscious psychology of every European ... (but) ... Only the Sun-father of the American Indian (an entirely different sort of person from that of Egypt) can ever be a father to the white American."⁷⁵

The Taos newspaper reported that on Tuesday January 6, de Angulo, and presumably Jung, attended a Buffalo Dance at the pueblo. Another article appeared in the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* (January 7, p. 3), entitled "Swiss Psychologist Here After Journey To Scenic Points" and gives some previously unknown details about this leg of the trip. It reported that a dinner in Jung's honor was hosted by the governor of the pueblo; then, after a stop-over in Albuquerque where Jung, as a polite Swiss, graciously complimented the architecture of the city's Alvarado Hotel, the grandest jewel in the Harvey hotel chain, went on to El Paso. Jung, Porter, and McCormick would then have boarded the Southern Pacific's Sunset Limited on January 8 for New Orleans and Washington, DC where he arrived on January 12. He had time to see his old friend William Alanson White at Saint Elizabeths Hospital and Medill McCormick, his former patient and currently a senator from Illinois. He arrived back in New York on the morning of January 13 and spoke to a small group of followers at Kristine Mann's apartment that evening, leaving the next morning on the S. S. France bound for Le Havre.

In February, Jung wrote a letter to Frances Wickes about what had transpired at the good-bye party in New York.⁷⁶ His comments are rather cryptic so the allusions that he made need to be contextualized. He wrote that it felt "like a ceremonial to the Dead." This aura could have been due to a mild state of dissociation caused by a whirlwind cross-country trip that had exhausted his body and over-stimulated his imagination. He then wrote about a "very dangerous rite" being performed

without ill effect and complimented Wickes for her “attitude [that] has been perfectly splendid”; he concluded by remarking on her courage and positive feeling. The best explanation for these remarks is his insight into the inter-personal dynamics of the Jungian group that was beginning to form in New York. Wickes had been more involved in arranging his trip than the others, but as a relative newcomer she would have incurred the jealousy of Mann, Bertine, and Harding who made sure that they were in the driver’s seat when Jung came back to town. Jung’s letter can be seen as his way of soothing Wickes’s hurt feelings and validating her entre into his New York circle.⁷⁷

Harding wrote in her diary that Jung spoke about the ruthlessness that characterized Americans who, unlike Europeans, had no regard for tradition or “the ancestors.” He also discussed how the skulls of immigrants changed due to a mysterious process of “Indianization” in which contact with American soil led to actual changes in their anatomy. This hypothesis became one of his favorite observations and figured in articles that he wrote soon afterward. It was based on an experience that he had in Buffalo when visiting the United States in 1909. He had stood outside a factory gate and was struck by the high percentage of people who, in his opinion, exhibited Indian features. He concluded that a “Yankee type” was in the process of transforming into an “Indian type.” This anecdotal anthropologizing stems from the German school of thought known as *Menschenkenntnis* [character study] and is a glaring example of the cranky flip-side of Jung’s keen sense of intuition. A more scientific explanation is that what he was observing were the Mongoloid features common among the Slavic immigrants who made up the majority of factory workers in Buffalo and other Midwestern cities.

Jung stayed in touch with de Angulo and was particularly interested in the creation myths that he was collecting from the California tribes that he was studying. De Angulo feelings toward Jung changed after he learned that Jung sided with Cary regarding Ximena’s upbringing; these feelings got expressed in rambling letters that he wrote to Ezra Pound in the 1940s in which he called Jung a “charlatan” and ridiculed his school for flirting with astrology and phrenology. Jung stayed in touch with Mountain Lake who continued to be active in tribal politics and a dependable social contact at the pueblo for the Luhans; several years after Jung’s visit, he went camping with a group that included Georgia O’Keeffe.⁷⁸

JUNG'S CALIFORNIA CONNECTION AND HIS APPEAL

De Angulo's traveling companion Chauncey Goodrich (1881–1940) was an important figure in the Jungian network that was beginning to form on the West coast. A descendent of an old Connecticut family, he graduated from Yale (1904) and Harvard Law School (1907). He moved to San Francisco where he began his practice and married Henriette de Saussere Blanding (Vassar, 1912). They built a home in Saratoga, California and were friends of the poet Robinson Jeffers, his wife Una, and the Luhans. In 1926, he published the *Legal Status of the California Indians*, a copy of which he sent to Jung. Another publication that Jung had in his library relevant to his American trip was Pliny Earle Goddard's *Indians of the Southwest* (1921), a handbook published by the Museum of Natural History where Goddard was on staff; it was probably recommended to Jung by de Angulo who would have been familiar with Goddard's work in linguistics. These books serve as milestones in the development of Jung's engagement with Native Americans which began with Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, was deepened by more scientific literature, and now culminated in a field-trip. Goodrich's sister Elizabeth (Vassar 1907 and Stanford Medical School 1914) married James Whitney and the couple followed Chauncey to Zurich for analysis in the early 1920s. She returned to San Francisco where she became the first Jungian analyst to practice in the Bay area. We have already seen that various faculty members at University of California, Berkeley were receptive to Jung's ideas; besides Leonard Bacon, Rudolf Schevill who started the Department of Romance Languages and his wife Margaret were interested in Jung.⁷⁹

One common denominator among these individuals gravitating to Jung was Yale University. Medill McCormick was in the class of 1900, his brother Robert was a classmate of George Porter's in the class of 1903 along with Charles Roberts Aldrich (1877–1933). After graduation, Aldrich spent time out west to escape academia and experience the outdoor life. He got a law degree, joined an import firm, and was posted to its office in Constantinople. He was in Zurich from 1922 to 1928 where he joined the Jungian ex-pat community; in 1925 he attended Jung's English-language seminar and married Filomena Baronin von Werdt. When he left, he gave Jung his dog Joggi who became his faithful companion for many years. Aldrich ended up in Carmel, California where he practiced law and took up writing in the last few years of his life (see Image 7).

His book *The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization* (1931) was published by Harcourt Brace and dedicated to the memory of George Porter who had committed suicide. He took Frazer's *Golden Bough* as the template for its topics but relied on Jung's theory of the directed and undirected (fantasy) thinking to consider them psychologically and critique Levy-Bruhl's concept of primitive man's mental life as being "pre-logical." Aldrich was also familiar with contemporary anthropology; he quoted Goldenweiser, knew Paul Radin personally (they both attended Jung's 1925 seminar), and got Malinowski to write an introduction that explicitly rejected Jung's theory of a racial unconscious for its lack of scientific proof. Aldrich buttressed his arguments by referring to the Gestalt psychologists Koffka and Köhler, something rare in Jungian psychology; he appreciated that although their experimental work was in the fields of perception and learning, it was ultimately focused on innate, holistic patterns of mental organization. In his conclusion, he paired them with Jung because of their shared goal of understanding the purpose of these complex systems and contrasted them with the causal-reductive methodology of Freud and the Behaviorists. It was this contrast that Jung chose to recognize in his thank-you letter to Aldrich where he wrote "What else is behaviourism and mechanism and all that than a sort of unsound philosophical prejudice?"⁸⁰ In his foreword to the book, Jung pointed out that previous theories of the "primitive mind" were based on the philosophical premises of the individual anthropologist, a shortcoming that needed to be addressed if the field was to make any progress.⁸¹

Although invited to do so, Jung never got to California. To promote his psychology there, Jung encouraged his assistant H. G. "Peter" Baynes to go there along with wife Cary whom he married after her divorce from Jaime de Angulo. They were deeply involved with translating Jung's works but decided to spend a sabbatical year in America. After stopping in Baltimore so he could undergo emergency surgery for an infected eye at Johns Hopkins Clinic, they traveled to her home in Carmel after a stop in New Mexico to visit Mountain Lake. They arrived in July, 1928 and spent time there and in Berkeley: he had a busy practice—among the many people who saw him for analysis was Margaret Nordfeldt who came up from Santa Fe and continued on to Zurich to work with Jung. Another person who saw Baynes and went to Zurich with the goal of becoming an analyst was Joseph Henderson who had started in analysis with Elizabeth Goodrich Whitney.

By now, the term “Zurich School” of psychoanalysis was disappearing from usage and being replaced by “analytical psychology” which began to have a more defined but still informal process of training. This usually involved analysis with both Jung and Toni Wolff so that the individual was exposed to both genders and differing psychological types; such a process would engage them in the widest possible range of perspectives when confronting such life issues as relationships and careers. By this time, the fundamental techniques of Jungian analysis were in place with dream interpretation taking pride of place. Jung found confirmation for his approach to the unconscious in what he learned about the role of dreams in indigenous cultures which divided them into “little” (originating in the personal unconscious) and “big” (originating in the collective unconscious). Analysands worked on personal complexes and were encouraged to attune themselves to the numinous and potentially transforming power of archetypal dreams.

In 1929 Jung gave a lecture “The Aims of Psychotherapy” to the Fourth General Medical Congress for Psychotherapy in which he said that a therapist should have as few preconceptions as possible regarding the course of treatment. He was critical of the Freudian reliance on an analysis of childhood memories, preferring to monitor unconscious trends and foster conscious insight leading to a new attitude with which to confront life tasks. He continued to acknowledge the applicability of both Freudian and Adlerian techniques with certain types of patients but no longer viewed neurosis in terms of a strictly medical model. He said that “my contribution to psychotherapy confines itself to those cases where rational treatment does not yield satisfactory results.... About a third of my cases are not suffering from any clinically definable neurosis, but from the senselessness and aimlessness of their lives. I should not object if this were called the general neurosis of our age.”⁸² His therapeutic goal was helping his patients access the self-healing and creative potential of their own psyches.

His most original contribution to therapeutic technique was what he called “active imagination.” It was based on his private encounters with the fantasy figures that emerged from his unconscious after his traumatic break with Freud; it involved his recording the texts of countless hours of dialogues he had with them which he augmented with painting once he began to codify them in their final form in his Red Book. In selected cases, Jung began to encourage patients to take up the brush, pen, or pencil and objectify their own fantasy material. “By painting himself he [the patient] gives shape to himself. For what he paints are active fantasies – that which

is active in himself ... In countless pictures he strives to catch this interior agent [later termed the 'Self'], only to discover in the end that it is eternally unknown and alien, the hidden foundation of psychic life."⁸³

Since the turn-of-the-century, art and science had undergone parallel paradigm shifts: in art, there was a turning away from an adherence to mimesis that had held sway in Europe since the Renaissance; in physics, the Newtonian model was being challenged by startling new findings. Jung had entertained Einstein at dinner parties where they discussed his new theoretical formulations and how they related to what psychologists were learning about the unconscious. "It was Einstein who first started me off thinking about a possible relativity of time as well as space, and their psychic conditionality. More than thirty years later this stimulus led to my relation to the physicist Professor W. Pauli and to my thesis of psychic synchronicity."⁸⁴ Jung criticized a strictly causal explanation of events as one-sided and maintained that it needed to be complemented by an energetic point of view that considered goals as well as antecedents. Although the two men did not stay in touch after Einstein left Zurich, they shared a scientific attitude that included a sense of wonder at the mysteries of the respective unseen worlds that they were investigating.⁸⁵

One of the most intriguing concepts to develop during the nineteenth century was that of the fourth dimension; it was, to steal the title of one of Jung's fraternity lectures, one of the "border zones of exact science." It was analyzed in spatial terms by Charles Hinton in the 1880s and developed by the mathematician Hermann Minkowski who proposed that time should not be treated separately but needed to be included in a seamless time-space continuum; his name very possibly came up during Jung's dinner parties since he had been Einstein's professor at the Federal Technical University (ETH) in Zurich.

The American artist Max Weber who had spent time in Paris among the Cubists returned to New York where he helped introduce abstraction to the American public prior to the Armory Show. Like many artists, he wanted to explain in print what he was painting on the canvas. His article "The Fourth Dimension from a Plastic Point of View" appeared in Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Work* (Vol. 31; July, 1910). He wrote that "there was a fourth dimension which may be described as the consciousness of a great and overwhelming sense of space-magnitude in all directions at the same time." The concept also captivated the architect and designer Claude Bragdon who wrote about it and translated the Russian philosopher P. D. Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum* in which he interpreted the fourth dimen-

sion as a potential field of spiritual evolution, something that echoed the popular understanding of Nietzsche's *übermensch*.⁸⁶

Jung had been exposed to the concept of the fourth dimension in a book that had a major impact on the direction of his scientific thinking. He owned a copy of *Transcendental Physics* (1879; English translation by C. Massey, London, 1880) by the German astrophysicist Johann Karl Zöllner (1834–82) who had a respectable reputation before turning his attention to spiritualism. He had gone to London where he met Sir William Crookes, founder of the Society for Psychical Research and to whom he dedicated his book. Back in Leipzig, with a group of colleagues that included Theodore Fechner, he investigated the American medium Henry Slade who was famous for his ability to produce spirit-writing on sealed slates, a claim that frequently led to charges of fraud. Since Zöllner wanted to put the study spiritualism on an empirical basis, he became one of Jung's first heroes in the fight against the materialistic bias of modern science. In his Zofingia lecture "Some Thoughts on Psychology" Jung wrote about the "revered, brilliant, and ... noble Zöllner" and used his book as the basis for his readings and line of argument. He accepted Zöllner's findings at face value and even offered to show his fraternity brothers photographs that he owned showing paraffin molds of hands that supposedly materialized during investigations. Zöllner had hypothesized that Slade's soul had been raised to the fourth dimension, a term that Jung did not use, preferring instead "transcendental" with its long history of philosophical associations.⁸⁷

Given his career choice of psychiatry, Jung's theory of the psyche was empirical to the extent that it was based on clinical experience rather than laboratory experiment. Observations that he made during séances with relatives in 1899–1900 were the basis of his medical dissertation. It demonstrated his command of the professional literature of the day and his adherence to a strictly psychological explanation. He agreed with Freud that dreams were the "royal road" to the studying the unconscious mind but argued that its symbols were not only created by personal repressions but could represent indicators of possible lines of future development. In dreams, space and time are relativized so Jung began to revise his theory to account for such phenomenon as precognition. He took his next big step forward after his break with Freud. Realizing that interpreting his dreams was not enough for him to come to grips with his situation, he allowed himself to enter a hypnagogic, twilight state of consciousness. He suspended his critical thinking in order to give free

reign to his fantasies, a process that he had studied at the Burghölzli and read about in the ethnographic literature but was now experiencing in direct and deeply personal way.

The active imaginations that took shape from these visionary experiences took their first concrete form in the *Seven Sermons to the Dead*, a Gnostic-style piece of automatic writing that was translated by Baynes and published by J. W. Watkins, London's leading esoteric bookshop.⁸⁸ Jung suspended his conceptual thinking and the result was philosophical text ostensibly authored by one "Basilides" was created. Besides the well-known attribution to the second century A.D. Alexandrian Gnostic, it seems that Jung was also making a sly personal reference to himself as "of Basel" as well as to the mythical serpent associated with the city, the basilisk. During this phase of the Red Book Jung felt compelled to express himself visually and created one of its most unique features, namely the mandala series. In their pure abstraction, he was participating in a trend that characterized the modernist painters of the period but with his point of reference in spiritual art rather than in Western math and science. To truly appreciate Jung's intention, it is necessary to imagine each of them not as a static, aesthetic entity (a two-dimensional circle) but as a dynamic, pulsating event (a three-dimensional sphere) that acts as an energy transformer.⁸⁹

It turns out that during this period, Jung's main professional competition was less from Freud than from the Russian mystic G. I. Gurdjieff. For a while, Nicoll and Young were the leaders in London for those who sided with Jung after his break with Freud. Their interest in a more expansive definition of the psychoanalytic project led them to join Eder in a "psycho-synthesis" study group formed by A. R. Orage, editor of *The New Age*. Orage gravitated to Ouspensky after he arrived in London and introduced Gurdjieff's system. Orage, Nicoll, and Young joined Gurdjieff at the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man that he founded at the Priore in Fontainebleau, outside Paris. Freud is reported to have said "Ah, you see what happens to Jung's disciples."⁹⁰ Young roomed with Orage and attended Katherine Mansfield, the New Zealand writer, who arrived in November, 1922 hoping to find relief from the advanced case of tuberculosis that was to kill her several months later. Logivanna Hirzenberg, a dancer who had joined Gurdjieff's dance troupe in Russia and later married Frank Lloyd Wright, served as her nurse. Young soon grew disillusioned with Gurdjieff's authoritarian personality and the capricious treatment of followers that fostered dependency rather than indepen-

dence. As a doctor, Young was particularly upset by Gurdjieff's unorthodox methods of treating the various medical conditions that they brought to him; he wrote about his experiences in "Experiment at Fountainebleau" given to the Medical Section of the British Ψ Society and published in *The New Adelphi* (September, 1927).

To summarize Gurdjieff's teachings is not easy. They were based on what he learned during his travels through the Middle East and in Asia from the many spiritual practitioners with whom he came into contact. It has been nearly impossible to separate fact from fiction in his writings and the many colorful but conflicting accounts that he gave about his past. By the time of the First World War, he had acquired a core group of students who accompanied him to France after escaping the chaos of the civil war that devastated Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. Gurdjieff taught that the "normal" state of existence was to be asleep. Through the process of evolution, the human race had developed techniques for dealing with its physical, emotional, and mental centers but what was needed at this particular moment was their complete integration for the full realization of consciousness. This would be accomplished by what was most commonly known as "the Work." He developed techniques to break people of their automatic, socially conditioned habits; these involved dance movements and hard physical labor, a real challenge for the middle-class intellectuals who came to the Institute. These activities were supplemented by hours spent listening to his teachings which evolved into a grandiose, Gnostic-flavored cosmology filled with arcane lore and unpronounceable neologisms. Finally, the most demanding work for his adherents was their personal interactions with the Master whose unpredictable behavior was meant to shock them into a deeper confrontation with their essential selves.⁹¹

Gurdjieff does not appear in the index of Jung's *Collected Works* or in those of his seminars. The only reference to him is in a letter that Jung wrote in 1954. "As for the writings of Ouspensky and Gurdjieff, I know enough to satisfy me that I have no time for them. I seek real knowledge and therefore avoid all unverifiable speculation. I have seen enough of that as a psychiatrist It is so difficult to establish facts that I detest anything that obscures them."⁹² One can picture the options available to the postwar, educated public who were interested in understanding themselves as a continuum ranging from tradition psychiatry to psychoanalysis to analytical psychology to Gurdjieff. Just as the Freudians sought professional acceptance by labeling Jung a mystic, he in turn could maintain

respectability by distancing himself from the airy speculations of Theosophists and Gurdjieff's mumbo-jumbo.

Jung differed philosophically from Gurdjieff in his preference for the "organic-natural" over the "mechanical-technical." He focused on the unconscious as the locus for working on oneself with dreams as its most accessible expression. Although suspicious of Jung's systematizing terminology, D. H. Lawrence shared his trusting attitude toward the natural wisdom of the psyche and his low opinion of Gurdjieff. He wrote Luhan that "I have heard enough about that place at Fontainebleau where Katherine Mansfield died, to know that it is a rotten, false, self-conscious place of people playing a sickly stunt."⁹³ This letter dates from January, 1924 when Mabel and Tony were in New York. They attended some of Orage's meetings and she had sessions with her analyst Brill.⁹⁴ The letters she exchanged with Lawrence in the years after he left the States show her involvement with the Work. Lawrence tried politely to fend off her enthusiasms but in a fit of exasperation exclaimed that he didn't "like the Gurdieffs (sic) and the Orages and the other little thunderstorms."⁹⁵ For him, Jung functioned as a counter-point to Gurdjieff, writing that "Jung is very interesting, in his own sort of fat muddled mystical way. Although he may be an initiate and a thrice-sealed adept, he's soft somewhere, and I've no doubt you'd find it fairly easy to bring his heavy posterior with a bump down off his apple-cart. I think Gourdjieff (sic) would be a tougher nut."⁹⁶

Through Orage, Luhan met Jean Toomer, the mixed-race author of *Cane* (1923) the best-selling novel that helped inaugurate the Harlem Renaissance. It was based on his experiences at a school in rural Georgia and partly inspired by Waldo Frank's *Our America* that called for the creation of a new American identity. Frank traveled to the South with Toomer and became his editor, contributing the novel's foreword. For them, new literary techniques that conveyed more complex aspects of character were meant to facilitate a new level of consciousness in the reader; Frank even couched this goal in terms of a generational shift to a "four-dimensional" consciousness. After relocating to New York, Toomer met Frank's wife Margaret Naumburg with whom he began a love affair. In 1924 they moved to Reno, Nevada so she could obtain a quickie-divorce. After their brief relationship ended, he became the object of Luhan's affections. Since her erotic feelings were always mixed with spiritual longings, she briefly made it her mission to promote Gurdjieff in America with an offer to make Taos a center for the Work and, more tangibly, made him a \$14,000

loan that was never repaid. After their relationship ended and Orage's death, Toomer became Gurdjieff's leading promoter in America. His literary output suffered as he spent his time in teaching the Work and fundraising. His spiritual quest led him along other paths that included his affiliation with Quakerism and a Jungian analysis in the late 1940s. Naumburg's sister Florence and her husband Melville Cane also attended Orage's study group. Their shared arc of interest led from psychoanalysis with Hinkle to the Alexander Method and finally to Gurdjieff. Cane spent time at the Prieuré in the summer of 1927 and took writing classes with Orage after his return to New York. This helped him with his poetry that was published by Harcourt Brace where he was legal counsel.

The afterglow of the pre-war neo-Romantic sensibility is reflected in the phenomenal success of Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*. It became a perennial best-seller for Knopf (who could never understand its appeal) and resonated with an American public that was just becoming aware that spiritual traditions other than orthodox Christianity could provide a path to a meaningful life philosophy. This sensibility was dismissed by the New York literati who considered all these "moon beams" as so much "moonshine." Good examples of this were *The New Yorker* which started publication in 1925 and the literary criticism of Edmund Wilson. In retreat in New York, this sensibility packed its bags and migrated west to Los Angeles where it found a new home. Pasadena had a Spiritualist church and Eastern swamis became a regular feature in society columns of local newspapers. The newest installment of the American Dream was underway in Hollywood where the movie industry sprang up to satisfy the public's demand for romance, laughs, and adventure. Historical and biblical spectacles became a staple and borrowed from the theatrical pageants whose popular appeal was waning. The director D. W. Griffith was responsible for many cinematic "firsts" including the first big flop, *Intolerance* whose box-office receipts did not recoup its over-budget expenses. These were due to such extravaganzas as a cast of thousands and sets that achieved legendary status, most famously that of ancient Babylon created for the Babylonian "Feast of Balthassar" episode.⁹⁷

Among the most successful dance schools that opened to meet studio demand was the Denishawn company founded by Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shaw in 1915. She was instrumental in introducing Hindu, Arabic, and Japanese themes and techniques to American audiences. She was deeply interested in the philosophy that animated these traditions and sought to blend the sensual and the spiritual in her work. Her youthful reading of

Theosophical tracts continued well into her professional years. In 1918, she performed in the *Light of Asia*, a dance pageant depicting the life of Buddha at the Krotona Theosophical Society in Hollywood.

Jung's reputation for a special sensitivity to what he called the "spirit of the depths" should not distract from appreciating his commentary on the "spirit of the times." After the publication of *Psychological Types*, Jung wrote mostly for periodicals aimed at non-specialized audiences. His article "Your Negroid and Indian Behavior" appeared in *Forum*, America's "magazine of controversy." In it, he elaborated on certain mannerisms that he had been observing American (i.e., "white") behavior since his first trip to the United States.⁹⁸ Jung's writings about the country include references to his various encounters with Negroes. On his 1909 trip he noticed how one of his dinner-table jokes only registered with the Negro servants in the room. The next year, a seemingly routine haircut by a Negro barber in Chattanooga took on archetypal significance fifteen years later in Africa when he dreamed that the barber was trying to kink his hair, an indication that his civilized white identity was "going black." In 1912, he had an opportunity to conduct several interviews with psychotic Negro patients at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C. that he felt gave trans-racial support for the universality of his theory of the collective unconscious. Although of short duration, the visit did have tangible clinical results. A doctor on staff, John Lind conducted association experiments with inmates and published ten case studies as "The Color Complex of the Negro" in the *Psychoanalytic Review* (Vol. I, 4 [October, 1914]). Living in a segregated institution in a segregated city, his subjects had internalized the pervasive racism of the time with the result that they wished that they were white with the mulattoes boasting of their white blood. His conclusion was that the color complex "often moulds largely the topography of the delusional field."

Although expressing what can be considered a paternalistic attitude, Jung was, as a European "outsider", able to recognize the Negro contribution to American culture at a time when it was belittled when not completely ignored. In 1931, he wrote that "In art, for instance, the Negro, who we have always thought was a born slave, is now the most admired artist. We admire his dancing; Negro actors play a great role; we find Negro spirituals exceedingly beautiful. We could not possibly tolerate the hypocrisy of other revivalist meetings, but in these Negro spirituals there is living faith, there is something immediate and touching."⁹⁹ These accolades stem from Jung's enthusiastic embrace of a short story

collection *Ol' Man Adam and his Chillun* (1928) written by Roark Bradford, a Southern white writer. They were Bible stories told in the folk idiom of blacks in the Deep South and were adapted for the stage by Marc Connelly. Renamed *The Green Pastures* with sets designed by Robert Edmond Jones, the play ran on Broadway and won the Pulitzer Prize. After staging the Paterson Strike Pageant, Jones had spent time in Europe and upon his return collaborated with Eugene O'Neill on the productions of the Provincetown Players. Suffering a personal and creative crisis, he went to Zurich in the mid-1920s for analysis with the encouragement of Mary Foote, an artist and old friend from the Luhan circle in New York (see Image 4). To show his appreciation for the help he received, he sent Jung a copy of the book which he had illustrated. In his thank-you letter, Jung wrote that he "was quite able to appreciate the particular beauty of the play and of your share in it."¹⁰⁰ He also sent a copy to Frances Wickes with whom he maintained a close relationship after returning from Zurich, addressing her as "Mother Wickes."¹⁰¹

An article "The Spiritual Problem of Modern Man" was published in the *Europäische Revue* around the same time as the *Forum* article and includes Jung's first published reference to his encounter with Mountain Lake. "My friend has recognized, without being able to name it, the Aryan bird of prey with his insatiable lust to lord it over every land"¹⁰² The article is devoted to his analysis of the impact of science on the modern psyche. "Is it again a mere coincidence that modern thought has had to come to terms with Einstein's relativity theory and with nuclear theories which lead us away from determinism and border on the inconceivable? Even physics is volatilizing our material world."¹⁰³ His main insight into the various intellectual reactions to this situation is their marked Gnostic affinities. "Modern man, in contrast to his nineteenth-century brother, turns to the psyche with very great expectations, and does so without reference to any traditional creed but rather with a view to Gnostic experience [He] abhors faith and the religions based upon it. He holds them valid only so far as their knowledge-content seems to accord with his own experience of the psychic background. He wants to know – to experience for himself."¹⁰⁴

He dismissed Theosophy as an amateurish imitation of Eastern philosophy because it was an inadequate response to the authentic spiritual crisis of modernity that interpreted "the East" in a too-literal way. It "is not a Tibetan monastery full of Mahatmas, but lies essentially within us. It is our psyche, constantly at work creating new spiritual forms and spiritual forces

which may help us subdue the boundless lust for prey of Aryan man.”¹⁰⁵ He scoffed at the Theosophists who told him in all sincerity that any good insights that he did make were due to the inspirations of those Mahatmas.¹⁰⁶

By the mid-1920s, Jung had created a unique model of the psyche for which he sought cross-cultural validation with his trips to the American Southwest and to Africa. He developed a set of therapeutic techniques that included dream interpretation, psychological typology, and active imagination. He attracted a growing network of individuals unfazed by his continued engagement with such topics as religion and parapsychology; they continued to read his books, apply his ideas, and undergo Jungian analysis, frequently traveling to Zurich which rivaled Vienna as the analytic destination of choice for Americans.

NOTES

1. A bit of doggerel captures the postwar sentiment of the intelligence community regarding the progressive forces who supported pacifism and socialism. “Miss Bolsheviki has come to town/With a Russian cap and a German gown/In women’s clubs she’s sure to be found/ for she’s come to disarm AMERICA.” Quoted in Jo Freeman, “The Spider Web Chart”, <http://www.uic.edu/orgs/cwluherstory/jofreeman/polhistory/spiderweb.htm>.
2. One of the most famous advertising success stories of the period was that of eighteen-year-old Lillian Eichler. Working as a copy editor for Doubleday Co., she came up with a marketing idea to clear a stock of unsold books. Its success led to a promotion and the opportunity to write a series of etiquette and inspirational best-sellers that made her wealthy (see Image 6).
3. See Jelliffe: *American Psychoanalyst and Physician*, p. 118.
4. Evans also wrote an unpublished paper “Psychological Study of Cancer” that also received Jung’s support.
5. Jelliffe, op cit., p. 207. Jung added that “Libbin being a Jew, has a racial intuition that makes him cling to my name. There his idealisme comes in.”
6. Wilshire Family Collection, UCLA Library, Box 2, Folder 16.
7. Robert S. Wallerstein, *Lay Analysis: Life Inside the Controversy*, (Rutgers, New Jersey: Analytic Press, 1998).
8. Beryl Pogson, *Maurice Nicoll, A Portrait*, (New York: Fourth Way Books, 1987), p. 69; Prince Hopkins commented in a letter written shortly after the Sennen Cove seminar that Nicoll often painted “impressionistic things from the unconscious” and encouraged him to do the same.

- (Wilshire Family Papers, Box 2, Folder 16). It was on this trip that Jung whittled the first version of *Atmavictu*, “Breadth of Life,” which was then carved in stone and set up by the garden wall at his home in Küsnacht.
9. Fola La Follette wrote to Frances Wickes that she “went to the group meeting last night. It is proving and exceedingly stimulating and interesting association” (May 22, 1924; Francis G. Wickes Papers, Library of Congress, Box a20). The *New Yorker* writer Nancy Hale wrote *Heaven and Hardpan Farm* (1957), a fictionalized account of her experiences there.
 10. See Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), especially Chapter 6, “Liberation and Limitation.”
 11. The discovery of the Minoan civilization on Crete by Arthur Evans at the turn of the century gave new impetus to the matriarchal theory of ancient society. For its impact on culture, see Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009) and Theodore Ziolkowski, *Minos and the Moderns, Cretan Myth in Twentieth Century Literature and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
 12. Jung’s 1937 New York lecture was held at the MacDowell Club where Analytical Psychology Club events were regularly held.
 13. A complete bibliography of Hinkle’s writings in a worthy project for the future. She was the go-to person to write “An Introduction to Analytical Psychology” for Teslaar’s *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (Modern Library, 1925). It will be interesting to find what she had to say in her article “Spinsters and Bachelors.”
 14. Jay Sherry, *Carl Gustav Jung, Avant-garde Conservative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 75–83.
 15. Androgyny is an important character development in *Steppenwolf*, a key modernist text of the period by Herman Hesse. The author was strongly influenced by his analytical experiences with Josef Lang, a student of Jung’s and later with Jung himself.
 16. These feminists counted among their supporters Edna St. Vincent Millay’s husband Eugen Boissevain. He was a Dutch importer who had been in analysis with Jung; he was a roommate of Max Eastman in Greenwich Village after the death of his first wife Inez Milholland, a leading feminist.
 17. Beatrice Hinkle, *Re-Creating the Individual*, (New York: Dodd, Mead, And Co., 1949 [Harcourt Brace, 1923]), p. 6.
 18. On March 19, 1925, Jung wrote to Wickes “I was quite interested to hear about your dealings with Dr. Hinkle. She seems to be still possessed by that same ole attitude of illegitimate and irreligious and rationalistic selfishness that makes it impossible to deal with her, at least for me” (Frances G. Wickes Papers, Library of Congress, Box 17).

19. In *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology* (1922), Jung's letter of February 18, 1913 makes no mention of Montessori (p. 264) but her name is added to the letter in CW4, par. 643.
20. She taught at City and School founded by Caroline Pratt and her life partner Helen Marot. At one point, Max Eastman and Ida Rauh were their tenants.
21. See Thomas Dalton, *Becoming John Dewey, Dilemmas of a Philosopher and Naturalist*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 94 and 105–106.
22. See Jeroen Staring, *Frederick Matthias Alexander 1869–1955: The Origins and History of the Alexander Technique* (Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Werkgroep Integrerende Wetenschapsbeoefening, 2005).
23. See CW 17, "Child Development and Education," "Analytical Psychology and Education," and "The Significance of the Unconscious in Individual Education."
24. James Young spoke about "The Cultural Value of Analytical Psychology" at the 1921 New Education Fellowship conference in Calais which published it in *The Creative Self-Expression of the Child* (1921).
25. In the 1930s, Johnson started the University-in-Exile as a home for intellectuals forced to flee Nazi Germany. More recently, it has implemented a master-plan that more closely aligns the school's formerly autonomous divisions.
26. *Robots or Gods* (1931) and *History, Psychology, and Culture* (1937).
27. Claude Bragdon, *The New Image* (Knopf, 1928), p. 24.
28. *Psychoanalytic Review* (vol. VII, #1, January 1920) p. 30.
29. See Jane Howard, *Margaret Mead, A Life*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 43f.
30. Margaret Mead, *An Anthropologist at Work, the Writings of Ruth Benedict* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), p. 311.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 207. In his obituary for Goldenweiser, Wilson Wallis wrote that "He was early interested in Freudian psychology ... notably introversion and extraversion." *American Anthropologist* (Vol. 43, 42, 1941), p. 253.
32. In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* LX (1923), p. 13 and the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 6 (1925), pp. 480–481; see Lois Banner, *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle* (New York: Knopf, 2003), p. 201 and pp. 227–229. Although Banner states that there is no reference to Hinkle in Mead's writing, proof that she knew her work can be found a 1923 letter that Sapir wrote to Oppenheim about how Hinkle's system differed from Jung's (Nov. 13, 1923, James Oppenheim Papers, New York Public Library, Manuscript Division). That the two women were personally acquainted is confirmed in Benedict's autobiography *Blackberry Winter, My Earlier Years* (New

- York: Pocket Books, 1975), p. 277 and attested to in several Hinkle family stories.
33. Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld gravitated to the “New American” circle of artists that had formed around Stieglitz, an “extended family” that was the subject of Rosenfeld’s literary group portrait *Port of New York* (1924).
 34. Boni & Liveright (New York, 1919), p. 9.
 35. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22, footnote.
 36. Naumburg Papers, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, (July 7, 1923).
 37. Dorothy Norman, *Alfred Stieglitz, An American Seer*, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 144.
 38. F. J. Hoffman, *The Little Magazine*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947 [1967 reprint]), p. 95.
 39. See Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), p. 57 for a discussion of Floyd Dell’s “A Psycho-analytic Confession.”
 40. In APC members’ file in the Kristine Mann Library.
 41. This attitude is similar to that which Alice Raphael expressed in her defense of Gibran in the pages of *The Seven Arts*.
 42. Louis Untermeyer Papers, University of Delaware, Morris Library Special Collections, Box 2.
 43. *Private Collection*, (New York: Knopf, 1965), pp. 214–215.
 44. CW 15, 101, par. 156–57.
 45. Erich Neumann, “Leonardo da Vinci and the Mother Archetype” in *Art and the Creative Unconscious* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 3–80.
 46. Among Jung’s favorite examples included *Faust II*, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, and the art of William Blake.
 47. January 11, 1932, Oppenheim Papers, Box 1, New York Public Library.
 48. *The Dial*, LXIX, August, 1920.
 49. *Semi-Centennial, some of the life and part of the opinions of Leonard Bacon*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1939), p. 178.
 50. October 23, 1926, p. 233.
 51. *Semi-Centennial*, op cit., p. 178.
 52. One of Jung’s favorite examples of this is the work of Carl Spitteler, see CW6., Ch. 5.
 53. Bacon Collection, Box 42, Beinecke Library, Yale University; note 11b.
 54. Published by Boni & Liveright in 1919, p. 107.
 55. Johnson was invited to Santa Fe by Alice Corbin Henderson, former editor of *Poetry* magazine. For more on Corbin, see Nancy Kuhl, *Intimate Circles: American Women in the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 43–46. See also, Sharyn Rohlfen Udall, *Spud Johnson and Laughing Horse* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2008).

56. She changed the spelling because she worried that her friends would be unable to pronounce the Spanish *iota*.
57. Diana Trilling, ed., *The Selected Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1958), p. 108.
58. D. H. Lawrence, *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 168.
59. D. H. Lawrence, *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 7.
60. *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, op cit., p. 67.
61. *The Selected Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 156.
62. *From Another World, an Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939), p. 319. In *D. H. Lawrence, Future Primitive*, Dolores LaChapelle is blatantly incorrect when she says that Lawrence “steadfastly refused to read” Jung (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 1996), p. 4.
63. Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Lorenzo in Taos* (New York: Knopf, 1932), p. 27.
64. *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, op. cit., p. 15.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
66. *Lorenzo*, op. cit., p. 14 and p. 270.
67. Lois Palken Rudnick, ed., *Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), p. 180.
68. *Ibid.*, 15 and 179.
69. See *Lorenzo in Taos*, op.cit., 173f. For a nominal fee, Lawrence’s paintings are open to the public at the La Fonda Hotel, Taos.
70. See William York Tindall, *D. H. Lawrence & Susan His Cow* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), especially pp. 126f.
71. Witter Bynner, *Journey with Genius, Recollections and Reflections Concerning the D. H. Lawrences* (New York: The John Day Co., 1951), p. 25.
72. One of his little-known but long-lasting accomplishments was designing the state flag which combined a Zuni sun symbol with the colors of the Spanish national flag.
73. Gui de Angulo, *The Old Coyote, a life of Jaime de Angulo* (Big Sur: Henry Miller Memorial Library, 1995), p. 212.
74. *Taos Valley News* quoted in “Jung in America, 1924–1925” by William McGuire, *Spring* 1978, p. 41; many sources incorrectly state that Jung stayed with Luhan at Los Gallos but she was not in town at the time.
75. *An Anthropologist at Work*, op cit., p. 297.
76. *Bollingen*, op. cit., p. 47.
77. Another odd thing related to this trip is found in an article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* of January 20. It refers to a story in the *New York Sunday World* reporting that Jung was in New York on January 9 and gave a talk at the Ambassador Hotel. The Sunday edition for January 11 contains no

- such story and the date, in any case, is impossible to reconcile with Jung's documented itinerary.
78. Jung's 1931 letter.
 79. Kroeber's "Review of Jung's *Collected Papers*" and *Psychology of the Unconscious* (*American Anthropologist*, XX, July–Sept. 1918, 323–324; "Alfred L. Kroeber: San Francisco's 1st Psychoanalyst" by Daniel Benveniste *International Psychoanalysis* (June 11, 2011).
 80. *Letters Vol. 1*, p. 80.
 81. CW 18, pp. 561–62.
 82. CW 16, p. 41.
 83. *Ibid.*, 49.
 84. *Letters Vol. 2*, p. 109.
 85. In April, 1936, Mileva Einstein, Albert's divorced wife, wrote Jung a letter. In it, she said that she had attended his ETH lectures and was requesting that he interview her schizophrenic son Eduard although her funds were extremely limited. See <http://archivdatenbank-online.ethz.ch/hsa/#/content/8b2834e05d984d9987737005a102743a>. I want to thank Thomas Fischer of the Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung for providing this information and link.
 86. See Linda Dalrymple, "Mysticism, Romanticism, and the Fourth Dimension" in Maurice Tuchman, ed., *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*, (New York: Abbeville, 1987), pp. 219–237 and Lynn Gamwell, *Exploring the Invisible: Art, Science, and the Spiritual* (Princeton U. P., 2002), p. 99. The Wilshires became serious readers of Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum*.
 87. Zöllner is not mentioned in Sonu Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology* (Cambridge U. P. 2003) or in F. X. Charet, *Spiritualism and the Foundations of C. G. Jung's Psychology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and only rates mention in a name list in Marilyn Nagy, *Philosophical Issues in the Psychology of C. G. Jung* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).
 88. When Baynes was in California he gave a copy of the book to Henderson. When Elizabeth Whitney heard about this she was shocked since she felt that it was best kept for someone in the second half of life. See *Jung's Apprentice*, p. 205.
 89. The Jungian penchant for charts and diagrams of the psyche had its beginnings here which paralleled the models being created to express the latest findings in science, ranging from the solar system to sub-atomic models. Along with his familiarity with Eastern mandalas, it should be noted that Jung owned several works by the "outsider artist" Adolph Wölfl who spent his adult years institutionalized at a psychiatric facility near Bern. His elaborate paranoid cosmologies were based on the sym-

- metrical formulas characteristic of mandala art and were proof to Jung of the psyche's natural propensity to produce such imagery. See Elka Spoorri and Daniel Baumann, *The Art of Adolph Wölfli, St. Adolph-Giant-Creation* (New York: The American Folk Art Museum, 2003), p. 32.
90. In C. E. Bechhofer, "The Forest Philosophers" in *Century Magazine*, 108 (May, 1924), p. 77.
 91. The most comprehensive account of his life is James Webb, *The Harmonious Circle* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1980); the clearest expositions of Gurdjieff's teachings are not found in his own writings but in those of Ouspensky, Nicoll, and Bennett, men of intellectual caliber who were deeply engaged in his methods.
 92. *Letters II*, 180.
 93. *Lorenzo in Taos*, op. cit., p. 134.
 94. Patricia Everett, *Corresponding Lives: Mabel Dodge Luhan, A. A. Brill, and the Psychoanalytic Adventure in America*, (London: Karnac, 2016), p. 88f.
 95. *Lorenzo in Taos*, op. cit., p. 307.
 96. *Ibid.*, 310.
 97. For more, see Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York, Oxford U. P., 1985). Nathaniel's West's *Day of the Locust* captured the surreal loss of identity common after settling in the town's fictionalized landscape.
 98. CW 10, pp. 502–514, retitled "The Complications of American Psychology."
 99. *Dream Analysis Seminar* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 706. For modern Jungian thinking about "race," see Michael Adams, *The Multicultural Imagination: "Race," Color and the Unconscious* (New York: Routledge, 1996) and Fanny Brewster, *African Americans and Jungian Psychology, Leaving the Shadows* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
 100. *Letters*, p. 81.
 101. See the Frances G. Wickes Papers, Box 2, the Library of Congress.
 102. CW 10, p. 89.
 103. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
 104. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
 105. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
 106. *Zarathustra Seminars, Vol. I*, p. 374.



CHAPTER 5

Depression and Wartime

In October, 1929 the crash of the New York Stock Market led to a global depression that lasted until the outbreak of World War Two. As Western democracies struggled to implement policies to revive their economies and provide a safety-net for their citizens, governments in Germany and the Soviet Union pursued totalitarian policies for national renewal. During the 1930s Jung traveled widely and became popular with interviewers soliciting his opinions about the increasingly volatile international situation; as one of the twin towers of psychoanalysis he was a well-known figure and referenced in several important novels of the period. In 1934, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night* was released. It was inspired by his efforts to find treatment for his wife Zelda's emotional problems in clinics in Switzerland and at Johns Hopkins. His fictional alter-ego was Dick Diver, a talented young American psychiatrist who had studied in Vienna and Zurich during the war years and remembers "the great Jung, bland, super-vigorous."

JAMES JOYCE AND PICASSO

The modernist writer in whose life and work Jung became most closely intertwined was James Joyce. After leaving his native Dublin, he became a language teacher in Trieste, then part of the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire, and home to intellectuals of various artistic and political persuasions. Books he acquired at this time included early works by Freud and

Jung's "The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual" (CW 4). With the outbreak of the war, he relocated to neutral Zurich where he wrote most of *Ulysses*; basically apolitical, Joyce avoided the contentious world of Irish nationalism and never relinquished his British passport. Joyce's financial situation was precarious throughout his life and was dependent on irregular payments from publishers and on the support of a network of friends and patrons. For a time in Zurich, he received a monthly stipend from Edith Rockefeller McCormick but after he resisted her request for him to do analysis with Jung it was terminated.¹ The upshot is that Joyce felt that Jung had something to do with the termination and toward whom he adopted a dismissive attitude; in a letter written after the incident he referred to the "Swiss Tweedledum" along with the "Viennese Tweedledee." Like Lawrence, he had an intellectual interest in psychoanalysis and made use of both men's ideas but was averse to their personal application, famously quipping in *Finnegans Wake* that "I can psokoona-loose myself anytime I want" (522). That his interest in Jung continued after the incident can be seen in a letter where he inquired about a promised copy of *Wandlungen der Libido* (sic) from his friend Ottocaro Weiss who knew Jung.

The year 1932 was Joyce's fiftieth birthday and the tenth anniversary of the publication of *Ulysses*. The book had achieved critical acclaim and international notoriety because of its alleged obscenity. Daniel Brody of the Rhein-Verlag in Zurich solicited an article about *Ulysses* from Jung for the inaugural issue of a literary review that he was planning but that never materialized. The piece that Jung sent him was so negative that Brody showed it to Joyce who was offended but sardonically recommended that it be published anyway. Brody declined to do so and it appeared, revised and expanded, in Count Karl Anton Rohan's *Europäische Revue*.² Jung begins "*Ulysses*: A Monologue" by circumambulating the novel and its author but then shifts to considering it as a diagnostic lens into modernism. He writes as a psychiatrist and a self-proclaimed Philistine who becomes a spokesman for the intelligent readers who are confronted by a work that refuses to be agreeable and leaves them with a sense of inferiority. Jung confesses that he found it irritating and actually fell asleep more than once while reading it. He is put off by the book's "utterly hopeless emptiness" and its preoccupation with the banal facts of everyday life. Analyzing its stream-of-consciousness style typologically, he finds it dominated by the perceptive functions of sensation and intuition but lacking in the discriminating functions of thinking and of feeling; consequently he characterizes

the book as coming from the cold-blooded, saurian level of Joyce's mind.³ He then asked whether it should be considered "schizophrenic" but came to the conclusion that it should not since it was the creation of an author with a clear intention and full control over his material.

Up until this point Jung has focused on his own personal reactions, likening the book to a tapeworm and declaring that "Joyce bores me to tears, but it is a vicious dangerous boredom such as not even the worst banality could induce."⁴ This is probably the point where the first draft of the article ended because Jung then pivots to a discussion of the novel as representative of the modern temperament that "thumbs its nose at all synthesis." This theme is one that Jung had already begun to develop in his article "The Spiritual Problem of Modern Man" which had already appeared in the *Europäische Revue* (CW 10).⁵ He admits that his criticisms are those of an "unmodern man" who resented such a slog through the undiluted shadow-side of reality but concedes that "Joycean explosives" are necessary to finish demolishing the false value-system that was first attacked by Nietzsche. Jung now realizes that Joyce's targeting of the false sentimentality rampant in European culture was a necessary corrective; he points out that the sub-text of Joyce's Irish Catholicism was necessary for the "restratification" of modern individuals since "we are stuck in the Middle Ages up to our ears." A series of personal realizations follow. First, that the book is not symbolic, Jung's generally preferred style of literature, but has the higher goal of the detachment of consciousness from worldly concerns. He associates this with one of the pictures in *The Secret of the Golden Flower* that he had recently published with Richard Wilhelm where multiple figures arise from the head of the meditating yogi, an indication that he was passing from the ego-state to that of the self. Jung's multiple readings of *Ulysses* (he first took it up in 1922) helped him get past his feelings of resistance and boredom and understand that the "real secret" of those 735 pages was to have the reader realize that the book functioned as a vehicle for their own heightened consciousness, "a devotional book for the object-besotted, object-ridden white man!" (p. 131).

Jung's reputation as a cultural critic peaked in 1932. Besides his piece on *Ulysses*, the year ended with the publication of an article in the Belgian *Journal des poètes* (III: 5, Dec. 11, 1932) where he wrote "I am quite convinced that a great deal of modern art, painting as well as poetry, is simply neurotic and ... ceases to be art, because great art is man's creation of something superhuman in defiance of all the ordinary, miserable conditions

of his birth and childhood. To apply to this the psychology of neurosis is little short of grotesque.”⁶

Having recently won Zurich’s Literary Prize, Jung’s opinion of the Picasso retrospective at the Kunsthau was solicited by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the city’s leading newspaper. He opened it by calling Picasso and James Joyce “brothers” and quickly set up his psychological frame. He talked about how the active imaginations created by his patients were typically expressed in symbolic pictorial forms that had concrete effects on their psychological direction. He then made his most controversial remark by implying that the many fractured lines in Picasso’s cubist works had stylistic affinities to the schizophrenic art of his patients, something that he was quickly forced to clarify after a public outcry by labeling it the result of a “schizoid syndrome.” This qualification was meant to account for the artist’s greater capacity to incorporate dissociated parts of the psyche into his art work. Turning inward, an artist undergoes a *nekyia* (“underworld journey”) which for Picasso involved “the demonical attraction of ugliness and evil,” something that expressed the contemporary “antichristian and Luciferian” preoccupation with doom and decay. For Jung, this constituted one phase of a natural process of death-and-rebirth that held out the possibility of a “union of opposites” after conflicting aspects of the personality are brought into more conscious relationship with each other.⁷

Jung’s article about Picasso elicited a sharp rejoinder for Christian Zervos, editor of the Parisian journal *Cahiers D’Art* and a major promoter of the artist (see Appendix C). He was just then embarking on the definitive *catalogue raisonné* and leaped to the defense of his friend whom he felt was being unjustly maligned by someone without the slightest appreciation for the art-historical context of Picasso’s art. He makes important points about the influence of Cezanne and the bohemian milieu of Picasso’s formative years on Barcelona and Paris as well as the different phases of the artist’s career. What is noticeable, is that Zervos chose to discuss precisely the things that Jung explicitly said that he would *not* be talking about, preferring a symbolic reading of the art that emphasized the daimonic forces that he found in the artist’s work.

After meeting Count Rohan at Keyserling’s School of Wisdom in the late 1920s, Jung became a regular contributor to his *Europäische Revue* and a participant in the Kulturbund which sponsored cultural events and annual conferences around the continent. It is likely that it was at one of these where Brody first heard Jung speak, the lecture probably being

“Psychology and Poetry” which was later re-titled “Psychology and Literature” (CW 15). Jung was adamant in his opposition to the Freudian explanation of art that reduces artistic creativity to the sublimated neurotic traits of the individual artist. He consistently preferred *visionary* literature inspired by the collective unconscious (intuitions from the “spirit of the depths”) to a *psychological* one that involved the author’s conscious control of style, character, and plot (derived from the “spirit of the times”). Jung felt that the greatest artist was a true prophet, the mouthpiece for certain psychological trends in the era that were as yet unrealized; in the grip of a creative daimon, the artist was compelled to express his message in forms that were often at odds with contemporary taste (William Blake is a prime example of this phenomenon). *Ulysses* had initially triggered a negative reaction in Jung because it offended his neo-Romantic sensibilities but it is to his credit that he came to acknowledge Joyce’s genius and wondered whether history would eventually judge him as a major or minor prophet. “It is a work of the greatest significance in spite of or perhaps because of its nihilistic tendencies.”⁸

This lecture was published in the June 1930 issue of *transition*, the experimental literary magazine that Eugene Jolas, his wife Maria, and Eliot Paul founded in Paris in 1927. She was born in Louisville, Kentucky where she was a childhood friend of Cary Baynes who arranged for them to meet Jung in Zurich. Jolas remembered him as an engaging conversationalist who spoke about Surrealism and in particular Yves Tanguy, one of whose paintings he had recently bought. In a subsequent visit to Jung’s home, he was shown a series of mandala sketches made by one of Jung’s patients after which they discussed the sources of artistic creativity. He left with Jung’s permission to translate and publish the essay.⁹ Jolas was enthusiastic about Jung’s theory of creativity and told Frederick Hoffman in an interview that Jung was an active supporter of *transition*; that its contributors were less enthusiastic than Jolas is made clear from their responses to a questionnaire in which all but one either repudiated or were ignorant of Jung’s concept of the collective unconscious.¹⁰

Jolas sought to make *transition* an organ for neo-Romanticism and in a letter to James Oppenheim summarized his guiding philosophy. “It seems to me that esthetic (sic) organization, or the ‘klare Bewusstheit’ of the German romantics should be the final goal. The emergence [sic] of the phantasms with Jung is also merely a transitional-therapeutic step towards full consciousness ... What I have in mind is the development of a metaphysical-magical kind of literature in an age that is deliberately

returning to the most facile naturalism and proletarian objectivism. I want to show the importance of Bachofen and his Mutter-Mythos, the breaking of language, the elements of the Gnostic in modern life, the complex modern characterology.”¹¹ Jolas made frequent references to Jung, the most important was in “Literature and the New Man” that appeared in the same issue as Jung’s article. Jolas claimed that Jung’s was “an epochal step forward” since it established the fact that for the poet the unconscious was not a receptacle of personal repressions but the source for the sagas and fairy tales of mankind. He singled out Waldo Frank and Van Wyck Brooks for opposing the mechanistic impulse toward naturalism and ended with the clarion call to “Let us have myths and more myths!”¹²

Maria Jolas’s friendship with Cary Baynes also influenced Joyce’s decision to have Jung analyze his daughter Lucia. She and her brother Giorgio had grown up following their parents across Europe from city to city, from apartment to hotel room and on to yet another apartment; she only got to enjoy the privacy of her own bedroom at the age of eighteen. Emotionally neglected by a father preoccupied with his literary endeavors and circle of friends, she struggled to find her own way by pursuing a career as a dancer in Paris. She became romantically involved with the writer Samuel Beckett and the artist Alexander Calder but found neither love nor stability with them or in a number of other liaisons. These disappointments, compounded by her mother Nora’s insistence that she give up dancing and her reaction to her parents’ belated marriage in 1931, led her to frequent histrionic outbursts. Her family’s growing concern with her mental health resulted in her commitment to hospitals in France and in Switzerland. A clear diagnosis was never determined and after a spell at Pragnins near Geneva she was transferred to the private sanatorium of Dr. Theodore Brunner, just a few houses away from Jung’s home in Küsnacht.

Jung began to see Lucia late in 1934 and may have taken the fact that they shared the same birthday, July 26, as a hopeful sign. At first, Lucia spoke freely with him but a satisfactory rapport was never established and she later commented “To think that such a big fat materialistic Swiss man should try to get hold of my soul!” Most of what we know about her condition is from notes made by Cary Baynes who accompanied Lucia on outings around Zurich, one of the most poignant being to the city zoo where Lucia wondered out loud about the fate of the caged bears (coincidentally, it is adjacent to Fluntern Cemetery where Joyce is buried). In discussing her situation with her father, Jung used his concept of the anima to have Joyce understand the degree to which his identification

had inhibited her own autonomous development. Joyce later satirized this effort in *Finnegans Wake* in the mock essay title “Is the Co-Education of Animus and Anima Wholly Desirable?” Lucia was deeply involved in the process of that book’s creation and characterized herself as a “cross-word puzzle,” a phrase echoed by her uncle Stanislaus who described the book as “a crossword puzzlers’ bible.”¹³ Lucia was eventually transferred to St. Andrew’s Hospital in Northampton, England where she lived until her death in 1983.

PUBLICATIONS, POPULARITY, AND LECTURES

After *Psychological Types*, Jung’s books in English consisted of revised pieces and anthologies of his more recent articles. The most successful of these was *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (1933) that was published by Harcourt Brace and is still in print today. The company had become Jung’s primary publisher, besides *Psychological Types* it had also released *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* and *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. This relationship was due to the interest of Joel Spingarn and his wife Amy Spingarn who analyzed with Beatrice Hinkle before going to Zurich to work with Jung.¹⁴ This connection to Jung was reinforced via Melville Cane, the firm’s legal counsel who was married to Florence Naumburg Cane, who taught art at the Walden School.¹⁵ The translations for *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* were made by Cary Baynes in collaboration with Stanley Dell rather than her husband. Dell had attended Princeton where he wrote for the literary magazine and continued a friendship with the future literary critic Edmund Wilson that began in boarding school. He served with the army in France and wrote poetry but pursued a career path that puzzled his old friend who wrote that he “seems a confirmed neurotic who does nothing but translate Jung.” He continued this avocation as the sole translator of *The Integration of Personality* (1939), a collection of Jung’s alchemical writings. It was published by Farrar, Rinehart Company, probably due to the influence of Frances Wickes whose book *The Inner World of Man* it also released; her review of the book entitled “The Search for Redemption” appeared in the 1940 *Bulletin* of the Analytical Psychology Club.

Lewis Mumford, another Harcourt Brace author, was to become a close friend of the Spingarns who owned Troutbeck, their estate in Amenia, New York near the farmhouse he and his wife Sophy bought. He was a native New Yorker who, after graduating from Stuyvesant High School and taking evening courses at City College, decided to make the

libraries, museums, and streets of the city his personal university. He became a student of the Scottish sociologist Patrick Geddes, one of the pioneers in a holistic, systems approach that gained ground after the turn of the century in the writings of Jan Smuts and Alfred Whitehead.¹⁶ Over-specialization was to be avoided because it ignored the living quality of what was under investigation. The organic was emphasized over the mechanistic and since synthesis was favored over analysis, intuition was given a place alongside intellect. Geddes turned his ideas into action by promoting various plans for urban and regional development in England and India. Seeking a comprehensive methodology, Mumford expanded his sociological, humanistic interests to include the newest ideas in the fields of physics and biology. Matter was now being conceived in terms of energy and organisms had to be understood ecologically, as dynamic systems interacting continuously with their environment.

Committed to earning his living by using his pen, Mumford first joined the staff of *The Dial*. He had taken a course at the recently opened New School for Social Research with the economist Thorstein Veblen who joined Helen Marot, a union activist and feminist, on the journal's editorial board. She was the partner of Caroline Pratt, the founder of the City and Country School and at one point the couple rented a studio apartment to Max Eastman and his wife Ida Rauh who was Marot's best friend at the time. Mumford and his wife summered on Martha's Vineyard with the couple where they were introduced to the American regionalist painter Thomas Hart Benton. Due to Marot's influence, Veblen's sociologically oriented critique of capitalism and John Dewey's critique of traditional education were featured in the pages of the journal. The title of her book *The Creative Impulse in Industry* gives the clue to their shared goal of reconciling the need for productive work with recognition of the value of the individual personality. When ownership of *The Dial* changed hands and its orientation shifted from social to literary, Mumford moved on *The Freeman* where he was inspired by fellow-staffer Van Wyck Brooks to discover a "usable past" in the neglected work of H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan of the Chicago School of architecture. Mumford wrote that "by temperament as well as by memory I carried more of the Age of Confidence into my work than many others of my generation."¹⁷ Through Brooks he got acquainted with two other *Seven Arts* alumni, Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld who became a collaborator and close friend.

Mumford shared a romantic streak with Marot and Brooks and followed them into a more psychological direction when he began his bio-

raphy of Herman Melville. The watery depths of *Moby Dick* were a metaphor for the dark recesses of both Captain Ahab's soul and his own. "The worst rascals too often turned out to be ourselves: particularly in parts of our personality we had never dared to examine, still less to correct or cultivate."¹⁸ This sounds suspiciously like what Jung called the "shadow" and indicates an earlier influence of Jung's ideas on Mumford than is generally recognized but that became more explicit in Mumford's later work. In 1924, his wife Sophy did teacher training at the Walden School where she worked with Margaret Pollitzer and was exposed to Jung's ideas about child development and creativity. When Brooks had a nervous breakdown, his wife Eleanor discussed with Mumford and Spingarn the possibility of his going to Zurich for treatment by Jung. Mumford had learned about Jung the man from the Spingarns and told her that Jung was "himself a great personality with a distinct philosophy and point of view of his own.... There are doubtless other physicians of broad culture, and still others of wide experience in psychology: Jung stands alone in his combination if these things."¹⁹ Jung replied to their inquiry, dissuading this course of action saying that Brooks suffered from a case of chronic melancholia that would be difficult for him to treat.

In the early 1930s Mumford began a five-year affair with Catherine Bauer, a Vassar grad in charge of advertising at Harcourt Brace. Its sexual intensity and emotional intimacy inevitably put a strain on his marriage but a quote from Jung's privately printed 1925 seminar helped him gain insight into his situation. It had to do with the two kinds of women that a man experiences, the mother type rooted in the mother archetype and the hetaera ("independent woman") type which involves an anima projection. The latter is more likely to learn about the secret workings of the man's intellectual development than the former. Mumford wrote to Bauer telling her how this related directly to their relationship, that she was the only person with whom he shared the drafts of his writings and reminding her that she had once been labeled a "Mistress type" by a classmate. It was a validating realization. "I almost howled with delight, again and again, at finding that Jung and I had reached by very different paths a very similar philosophy."²⁰

With his broadly humanistic outlook, he found Jung's orientation preferable to Freud's. He knew that both men had grappled with the "revolt of the demons" but it was Jung who laid out a more effective method for dealing with them. Jung appealed to Mumford for intellectual as well as personal reasons since his studies in architecture led him to analyze the

development of cities and the role of technology in shaping society. Both were critical of the dangers posed by the one-sided domination of technology that was to bring the world to the brink of nuclear disaster. Their critique of the scientific mind-set extended to the behaviorist model of the personality that focused exclusively on the external, objective factors in behavior at the expense of the inner, subjective ones. With his appreciation for the religious instinct in mankind which was expressed through myth and symbol, Jung pointed the way to a modern search for meaning as a prescription for the renewal of self and society. They both sought to find balance in living, an ideal of individual development first promoted by the ancient Greeks and now adopted by Jung as the modern guide for a well-adjusted life. He called this the process of individuation which involved recognizing, then integrating unconscious material into one's consciousness. To ground themselves, both men sought refuge from the stress of modern urban life by withdrawing to rural settings where they could connect with rhythms of life like gardening that helped nurture their creativity. Mumford's friend and neighbor Joel Spingarn shared this hobby and became a leading expert on the climbing vine clematis.

While writing his biography of Melville, Mumford began a friendship with Henry Murray who had also taken up the study of the author's life and work. Murray was a Harvard graduate who had gone to England with his wife where he received a PhD in physiological chemistry from Cambridge University. His interest shifted to psychology in a very personal way after he began having an affair with Christiana Morgan, the wife of one of his colleagues. After reading *Psychological Types* he went to Zurich for analysis with Jung who talked about his relationship with Toni Wolff in their first session with a candor that took Murray by surprise. He helped Morton Prince found the Harvard Psychological Clinic in 1926 where he developed a series of research modalities for the study of personality that he called "personology." This culminated in the landmark publication *Explorations in Personality* (1938). One of its most original contributions was developed in collaboration with Morgan who worked at the Clinic and with whom he maintained a secret and intense sexual relationship. The assessment tool they created together was called the Thematic Apperception Test and it consisted in a series of ambiguous pictures that were used by the subject as the starting point for telling a story; studying the patterns that emerged from these narratives pointed to indicators regarding the underlying personality traits of the test subjects. The test format was inspired by the active imaginations that Morgan had done

under Jung's supervision and which became the topic for his seminar from 1930 to 1934 which was terminated after she complained to him about the invasion of her privacy.²¹

Murray was instrumental in the decision by the psychology department to invite Jung to speak at the Conference of Arts and Sciences held in honor of Harvard's Tercentenary in 1936. Accompanied by his wife Emma, he joined a group of internationally renowned scientists for an event whose keynote speaker was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, an alumnus. Eyebrows were raised at several breaches of etiquette by Jung but these were overshadowed by a far more serious issue, namely the public and heated allegation that he was sympathetic to the scientific agenda being promoted in Nazi Germany. This was due to his assuming the presidency of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, many of whose members were German and belonged to a national society that excluded Jews and was pledged to the teachings of Adolph Hitler. In his first public announcement as president back in 1933, Jung chose to identify the differences between Aryan and Semitic psychologies as a legitimate research topic but explicitly stated that this did not imply any depreciation of the latter. Although he sponsored rule changes to allow for membership by Jews excluded by their national society, Jung put himself squarely in the middle of the growing controversy over the treatment of Jews in Germany and the role of intellectuals in helping give scientific respectability to Nazi philosophy.

After the Tercentenary was over the Jungs traveled up to Bailey Island, Maine where they were hosted by Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and Esther Harding. They stayed at The Trident, the house built by Mann's father on a bluff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. The women had prevailed upon Jung to give a lecture series which he did to a large audience, including Beatrice Hinkle, who traveled to this out-of-the-way place to hear him speak (see Image 8). This event was particularly important because it was the first ever to be sponsored by the recently formed Analytical Psychology Club of New York. It was modeled on the first such club founded in Zurich in 1916 and represented something unique in the emerging analytic field in America. It provided a forum for analysts, their clients current and former, and others to meet socially around their shared interest in Jung's psychology. This situation prevailed in Maine as well, with the lectures being rounded out with analytic sessions with Jung, dinners, and skits. Several years later, the Club began to publish a quarterly *Bulletin* and then *Spring*, the first annual Jungian journal in the world, that regularly featured a contribution by Jung in its pages (see Image 8).

The seminar format gave Jung a chance to expound on his ideas in a congenial setting that allowed for spontaneity and feedback. Stenographers transcribed what Jung said, gave them to him for correction, and then had multi-graphed typescripts distributed to the attendees who paid a small fee; the success of this herculean task was due to Mary Foote who, at the urging of Robert Edmond Jones, had gone to Zurich where she stayed until her death in 1968. Prior to entering Jung's orbit, she had been a successful New York portrait painter and a friend John Singer Sargent, among her most famous sitters was her friend Mabel Dodge²² (see Image 4).

The seminars provided the first generation of Jungian analysts with didactic training to supplement their personal analysis with Jung and Wolff. The majority of attendees of his Dream Analysis, Visions, and *Zarathustra* Seminars were Americans and included Leonard Bacon, Mary Bancroft, Eleanore Bertine, Alice Lewisohn Crowley, Stanley Dell, Joseph Henderson, Margaret Nordfeldt, Margaret Pollitzer, Joseph Wheelwright, James and Elizabeth Whitney, and Frances Wickes.²³ *Woman's Mysteries: Ancient and Modern* (1935) by Esther Harding began as the report of her group on moon symbolism to the Dream Analysis Seminar (pp. 367–81). It was recognized as a foundational text of modern feminist spirituality by Judy Chicago in the genealogy that she created for "The Dinner Party" installation which is on permanent display at the Brooklyn Museum.²⁴ It was an application of Jung's preferred method of comparative symbolism for use in amplifying dream material. He wrote the introduction to a later edition as well as the foreword to her *Way of All Women* (1933), which was based on her analytic practice and more directly related to the everyday issues facing contemporary women.

Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant attended two of Jung's seminars and wrote an article "Dr. Jung: A Portrait" for *Harper's* (May, 1931) about her experience of the man. She described that when he walked up and down the room "every cell and fiber of his physical being seems to participate."²⁵ She also wrote about how she visited him at his tower at Bollingen and described his earthy, everyday-side concluding that his appeal was that of a thoroughly modern man with an ancient, deeply intuitive side visible in the background. Shepley continued to promote Jung in the popular press by writing a profile of him as "Cosmopolite of the Month" for *Cosmopolitan* (January, 1939) to accompany a lengthy interview he gave to H. R. Knickerbocker about his psychological diagnoses of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin and his prognosis for their future behavior. In it he expressed the opinion popular among Swiss conservatives that the best chance for saving

the West was for Hitler to invade Russia. Shepley was an active member of the Analytical Psychology Club and periodically contributed articles to its Bulletin about Native American psychology and political affairs.

Besides his Zurich seminars, Jung was now devoting a considerable amount of his time giving lectures internationally. One important early venue was the School of Wisdom founded in Darmstadt, Germany by Count Hermann Keyserling. It was there that Jung met Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, who had inherited a property on Lake Maggiore in southern Switzerland. She had dabbled in Theosophy and wanted to copy what the Count had done by turning the property, called Casa Gabriella, into a spiritual center. She built a lecture hall and then enlisted the collaboration of Alice Bailey, the American Theosophist who had been on the executive committee at the Krotona colony and editor of its magazine *The Messenger*, but who had broken away from the main body to start her own Arcane School. The two opened the School of Spiritual Research that attracted an eclectic group of attendees but soon closed because of their strong egos and differing visions.²⁶ After consulting with the historian of religions Rudolf Otto, Fröbe-Kapteyn organized the annual Eranos Conference that had an inter-disciplinary, academic orientation that emphasized Eastern and Western spiritual traditions rather than the woollier realms of esoteric philosophy. Jung became the dependable anchor around whom the annual theme and other presenters were chosen.

Although its life-span was brief, the School of Spiritual Research did play a role in the further development of Jungian psychology in the United States. First, it attracted Erlo van Wavereen who became its business manager and who remained close to Olga; after marrying his wife Ann, they relocated to New York where they worked as Jungian analysts unaffiliated with the Analytical Psychology Club because of concerns about their qualifications to practice; among their clients were Mary and Paul Mellon who were to play a major role in promoting Jungian psychology in the United States. Bailey had a second, more circuitous connection to Jung via the career of Dane Rudhyar. He was born in France and became an avant-garde composer with a personal philosophy based on Nietzsche and Bergson. He moved to the United States, became interested in Theosophy and moved to Krotona where he became musical director and met Bailey and Martha Graham. He began to divide his time between California and New York where he accompanied Graham on the piano after she began her solo career there. A seeker who was always exploring new paths to enlightenment, he began to read the works by Marc Edmund Jones, the

founder of modern American astrology. In 1933, he stayed at the New Mexico ranch of Mary Tudor Garland where he read Smuts's book on holism and the writings of Jung.²⁷ He began to develop a humanistic, non-deterministic astrology that focused on the power of symbols to integrate and transform the individual; he published *The Astrology of Personality* (1936) and *New Mansions for New Men* (1938) with Bailey's Lucis Press. He took up painting and helped found the Transcendental Painting Group in Santa Fe (1938–39). He described its philosophy in the broadest terms by including Martha Graham in his discussion of its creative goals. His development of astrology from a humanistic to a transpersonal perspective led to his popularity with the New Age Movement of the 1960s, which continued until his death in 1985.²⁸

By the 1930s, Jung's presence in his chosen field of psychiatry was now almost non-existent given the direction of his research and the ascendancy of Freudian technique among its practitioners. With his reputation and an established circle of old colleagues, he did continue to receive invitations to speak before professional audiences. This happened twice in London. First in 1935 when he gave a lecture series at the Tavistock Clinic (CW 18, pp. 5–182) and then the following year when he lectured on his concept of the collective unconscious to the Abernethian Society at St. Bartholomew's Hospital on his return trip from the United States. His talk was the one he had just given as his farewell lecture at the Plaza Hotel in New York. He supported his theory of archetypes by referring to the work of Levy-Bruhl and other social scientists; to illustrate his hypothesis he compared his interpretation of Leonardo da Vinci's painting of Christ with Mary and Anne to Freud's and for his clinical example he discussed the case of the Solar Phallus Man. In his London audience were two Californians, Joseph Henderson and Joseph Wheelwright who were in training at the hospital since both had agreed to get their medical degrees before pursuing their goal of becoming Jungian analysts.

Jung returned to the United States in 1937 to give the Terry Lectures on Psychology and Religion at Yale University. After an introduction to the fundamentals of his psychological approach he analyzed a series of elaborate dreams of a patient that he felt illumined the psyche's naturally religious functioning; his exposition grew increasingly arcane as he drew upon his recent research into alchemy and the role that mandalas played in the psyche's self-regulating process of integration. This was all placed in the context of his analysis of the historical development of Christianity which, for him, reached its crisis point in the life and work of Nietzsche

who was the subject of his on-going seminar in Zurich. No atheist, the philosopher declared that “God was dead” and offered Dionysus as an alternative. Jung’s most provocative theory about Nietzsche was that the real deity that was emerging from his unconscious was Wotan, the old Germanic storm god who was in the process of taking possession of the entire German nation (CW 11, p. 28). This thesis had received more thorough treatment in his article “Wotan” which had appeared the year before in a Swiss journal and was currently appearing in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (October 16) in a translation by Barbara Hannah. This prompted his old psychoanalytic colleague Otto Rank who was now living in the States to write that “Jung is coming next week to this country, seemingly as an apostle of Naziism. In today’s issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature* he has an article on ‘Wotan’ justifying fascist ideology.”²⁹ Although the quote is telling, much of what is written about this important and controversial topic is marred by factual errors. This allegation circulated before the war but was to flare up in the pages of this journal after the war. Before departing the country, his New York followers arranged a well-attended lecture series there at the MacDowell Club. In the audience were the Mellons who had already been in Zurich and Lewis Mumford who possibly attended in the company of Amy Spingarn. He remembered that “The one time I beheld Jung, on his visit to this country in the thirties, he gave a commonplace lecture, yet he redeemed it by his presence, which seemed that of a shrewd old peasant, his own archetypal Wise Old Man, a man whom one could go to for advice in the barn if not in the clinic.”³⁰

Mumford went on to talk about how Jung was at home in literature and religious mythology but equally at home in science “though his mind was open to experiences that science on its present postulates rejects.” At this point, he began to discuss the “myth of consciousness” that Jung developed in late work but did not directly address his obvious reference, namely, that Jung continued to keep abreast of developments in what had come to termed “parapsychology.” Jung’s most sustained contact in this field was his correspondence with J. B. Rhine who had worked for many years at Duke University in North Carolina. The program had been started by an old British colleague of Jung’s, William McDougall who had been forced to resign from Harvard after publicly promoting racist arguments about the superiority of America’s Anglo-Saxon stock. Rhine sent Jung a copy of his book *Extra Sensory Perception* (1934) and Jung’s friendly reply included an account of the exploded knife incident that had occurred dur-

ing his university years along with a photo of knife involved.³¹ Jung later wrote that the subjective nature of his personal and clinical experiences meant that they would never meet the threshold for scientific validity. "Parapsychology plays a subtle part in psychology because it lurks everywhere behind the surface of things. But, as the facts are difficult to catch, their theoretical aspect is still more elusive on account of its transcendent character. When certain people hold that it is something like a fourth dimension, they don't seem to be very far off the mark."³² Beatrice Hinkle continued to be open-minded about the topic and maintained a relationship with Eileen Garrett, an Irish medium who moved to the States after an active career in spiritualist circles in London. Opinions were split over whether her spirit controls were better described as repressed sub-personalities. After coming to the States, she visited Rhine's laboratory where she participated in experiments with the Zenner cards that did not prove statistically significant. She was a well-known personality and founder of the Parapsychology Foundation and magazine *Tomorrow*.

APPLICATIONS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE JUNGIAN MOVEMENT

Although Jung's approach was generally ignored by psychiatrists, it did find application in the related fields of psychology and psychotherapy. Beside the Thematic Apperception Test, he had an indirect influence on the Rorschach test. Rorschach had studied under Jung in Zurich and followed his line of thought about the role of fantasy as a personality indicator. Jung's direct influence on the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and the creation of the Myers-Briggs Type Test is better known. Jung's 1961 letter to "Dr. Bill" Wilson, the founder of AA, functions as the organization's "origin myth" and figures prominently in its literature. It was in response to a letter from Wilson thanking him for his long-ago influence on a patient Rowland H. that initiated a chain of events that led directly to the founding of the organization. Recent research has since added many personal details and corrected the mistakes in chronology that he made.³³

Rowland Hazard III was from a well-established business family in Rhode Island where his father was the president of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company. Rowland was a 1903 graduate of Yale where he was a classmate and close friend of Charles Aldrich and George Porter who

was an usher at his wedding in 1910. By the 1920s he had become an alcoholic and in need of treatment. Besides two close friends being in analysis with Jung, it turns out that Leonard Bacon was a first cousin and the person who convinced him to go to Zurich in 1926 for treatment. After returning to the States, he suffered a relapse and eventually joined the Oxford Movement, a Christian evangelical group that believed in the power of absolute honesty within a group setting to bring about a life change. Rowland eventually met Ebby Thacher, another alcoholic, who was inspired by the group's principles to share them with Bill Wilson. He in turn told his friend "Dr. Bob" Smith about his recovery and together the two men founded Alcoholics Anonymous in 1939.

In his letter Jung stressed the importance of a genuine spiritual conversion that could best be nurtured in a supportive community setting. Since Rowland was under his treatment for only a few months and there is no record of exactly what transpired between them we can only infer that Jung said something about the importance of his first accepting the hopelessness of his situation. Such an emptying would have made him ready for a spiritual awakening like those described by William James in *Varieties of Religious Experience*. As a therapist whose goal was to aid the healing process with whatever means were available, Jung took a pragmatic approach to religious affiliations. "I have some patients who now go to the so-called Oxford Movement – with my blessing! I think it is perfectly correct to make use of these psychotherapeutic institutions which history has given us, and I wish I were still a medieval man who could join such a creed."³⁴ It seems that Jung helped Rowland understand that what he needed was a spiritual not a medical solution to his problem and that finding it in the context of an established group like the Oxford Movement was acceptable. One must assume that Jung figured prominently in the stories that Rowland told Ebby about his journey toward sobriety and those stories were passed on to the other men who made it part of AA lore.

After completing his medical studies at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Joseph Henderson returned to New York where he joined the Analytical Psychology Club and opened his psychiatric practice. His most famous patient was Jackson Pollock who came to him in 1939 suffering from alcoholism. The referral came via Cary Baynes to her friend Helen Marot who had befriended the young painter when he worked as a janitor at the City and Country School. He spent time with her socially in the mid-1930s when he summered on Martha's Vineyard with her, Pratt, and his teacher Thomas Hart Benton and his wife Rita. His therapy work was an

important event in his personal and artistic development and became a cause célèbre in the 1970s after Henderson sold a collection of pictures that Pollock had given him.³⁵ Besides the question of a breach of patient confidentiality for monetary gain, it opened the door to debates about the relative influence that Jungian psychology had on Pollock's artwork.³⁶ Since Pollock got most of his ideas from conversations rather than from reading, the most direct source for his knowledge of Jung would first have been Marot and then Henderson who had been a member of Harding's moon-study committee for the Dream Analysis Seminar.³⁷ He would have amplified his symbolic interpretations with what he had learned about crescent symbolism in that group and possibly showed Pollock a copy of its report with its several line drawings.³⁸

Henderson's eighteen-month course of treatment did not address Pollock's alcoholism but did provide some emotional stability and a place for the artist to discuss his drawings and the role of the unconscious in the creative process, one aimed at converting his "demons" into "daimons." Henderson later wrote that "his symbolic drawings brought me strongly into a state of counter-transference to the archetypal material he produced. Thus I was compelled to follow the movement of his symbolism as inevitably as he was motivated to produce it."³⁹ Given Pollock's unwillingness to communicate verbally, both analyst and analysand seemed to realize that the drawings were what kept the therapy moving forward. Given his training in the technique of active imagination, Henderson was not looking to cure neurotic traits as much as to support Pollock's artistic-symbolic process (one wonders if Henderson ever told Pollock about what he knew of Jung's creation of the Red Book). The drawings were the product of powerful unconscious emotions that were expressed in a variety of styles that reveal Pollock's familiarity with Surrealism, Picasso, and "primitive" art; in a few cases, Pollock drew lunar women and color-coded mandalas that illustrated iconic "Jungian" symbols. A number of Pollock's sketches indicate his familiarity with Harding's book *Woman's Mysteries* (1935) which grew out of the seminar report.⁴⁰ At a deeper level, it was not a case of Pollock learning a set of "Jungian" symbols but of developing a new symbolic attitude toward his creative process.

After the psychiatrist left New York to set up a practice in San Francisco, Pollock continued his Jungian therapy with Violet de Laszlo who had recently relocated from London where she had been on the executive committee of the local Analytical Psychology Club. The military draft was instituted after America's 1941 entry into the war but her letter to his

board helped secure him a “4-F” deferment. She cited his poorly developed social skills and also mentioned his “schizoid disposition.” In Pollock’s case, his alcoholism fueled his bi-polar, manic-depressive behavior, a condition little understood at the time. He spent the war years eking out a living in the city and exploring an interest in Jung that had been stimulated by John Graham, the last of his Jungian mentors. Born as Ivan Dombrowsky in Kiev, Graham had a career almost as colorful as Gurdjieff’s. After serving with the anti-Bolshevik White Army during the Russian Civil War he migrated to Paris where he frequented artistic circles. He moved on to New York where he took classes at the Art Students League; his interest in the unconscious and the spiritual dimension of modern art owed a lot to his reading of Jung (see Image 10).

Henderson and de Laszlo had arrived in New York at a time when the APC was growing in size and scope of activities. It was formed at the end of the city’s club era and became the main clearing house for analytical psychology in the United States. With an adult education focus, it could be seen as a Jungian version of the New School where several of its members gave lectures on “Pioneers in Psychoanalytic Thinking.” Besides an expanding list of lectures and publications, its seven committees were busy coordinating dance classes, discussion groups, and annual social functions held at the still-popular Hotel Brevoort in Greenwich Village.

The worsening situation in Europe had been most painfully played out in the Spanish Civil War which led to the armed intervention of Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union and the arrival of international volunteers like the American Abraham Lincoln Brigade in support of the Republic. The event that galvanized the world’s attention on the conflict was the Luftwaffe’s bombing of Guernica, the undefended capital of the Basque region. In 1937 Picasso painted a mural inspired by the attack for the Spanish Pavilion at the International Exposition being held in Paris. To raise relief funds, it traveled to New York’s Museum of Modern Art where Pollock went with Graham to see it. Its epic fusion of pathos and symbolism deeply touched Pollock who began to explore Picasso’s images of the bull and the horse in the drawings that he took to Henderson.⁴¹ Henderson had lectured on “The Minotaur” (APC Bulletin, 1940) and on “Initiation Rites” (1939) and helped guide Pollock on his initiation into the unconscious, writing about him anonymously as Case VII in his book *Threshold of Initiation* (1967). Through Henderson, Pollock was well-informed about the APC and owned a collection of its Papers that included Jung’s 1932 article on Picasso.

That Pollock also owned a collection of Smithsonian Ethnographic Bulletins (he reportedly “borrowed without returning” the one on Navajo sand painting from the City and Country School library) attests to his serious interest in Native American art. He went to the Native American Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art with Graham where he saw a demonstration of Navajo sand painting. The drawings he brought to Henderson, with whom he shared a Western heritage, were filled with masks, totems, and snakes. Native American topics were prominently covered by the APC especially in the articles and talks of Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, who also went to the Exhibition in the company of a Pueblo friend Felipe, who was a student at the University of New Mexico and proud to see pieces created by his family and friends on display. She liked to keep Jung informed about the Southwest and sent him a book of tribal songs and Mary Austin’s *Experiences Facing Death* (1931) and *Can Prayers be Answered* (1934).

In the early 1940s, interest in mythic themes and archetypal forms was widespread among other young New York artists like Mark Rothko, Clifford Still, and Adolph Gottlieb. They joined Pollock in exploring the native roots of the American “visionary art” tradition by incorporating the totems and pictographs of the Northwest and Southwest tribal cultures into their work. They were creating an American version of the European modernist trope of the “artist as shaman” that had begun with Kandinsky’s fascination with Siberian shamanism and Picasso’s interest in non-Western art that was continued by Miro and Klee. While many European painters explored the abstract technical potential of “primitive” art, these others were more attracted to its “spiritual” dimension. Levy-Bruhl’s concept of *participation mystique*, which Jung considered a “stroke of genius” (CW 13, p. 45), helped artists understand the psychology behind the radically different premises of the art they were studying. Jung articulated this rationale in his theory of artistic creativity, one that proved to be a popular alternative to Freud’s. When Picasso’s second wife was asked about his opinion of Freud, she replied that “He much preferred the other one.”⁴² These Abstract Expressionists read and discussed Jung’s *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, and *The Integration of Personality*, which contained his latest articles on alchemy and the individuation process. Amy Spingarn who wrote frequently about art in the APC Bulletin had this to say about the artists who appeared in the “Timeless Aspects of Modern Art” exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1949. They painted with their “inner eye” and were “open-

ing themselves to the impact of racial memories and exploring the forces and shapes of primitive and non-European culture: they have undertaken to integrate their own searchings into art forms that are understandable to their own times.”⁴³

Jung’s inclusion of an Eastern, particularly Buddhist, perspective in his model of the psyche continued through the 1930s with his commentaries on the Tibetan Books of the Dead and of Great Liberation, and his forewords to Suzuki’s *Introduction to Zen Buddhism* and to the *I Ching*. All of these helped introduce Buddhism to a growing number of artists and intellectuals. One example is artist MacDonald-Wright’s marginalia about Jung’s collective unconscious being equivalent to the Universal Mind in his copy of Osvald Siren’s book *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (1936).⁴⁴ At the end of his life Pollock would declare that “I’ve been a Jungian for a long time”⁴⁵ and that “If I had to teach, I would tell my students to study Jung.”⁴⁶ Contact with Jung broadened Pollock’s outlook; after ending his therapy with de Laszlo, Pollock began to see Elizabeth Hubbard, his wife Lee Krasner’s homeopathic doctor who also served as president of the Anthroposophical Society in the United States.⁴⁷ In her condolence letter to Krasner after his death, she thanked her for their gift of Herrigel’s book on archery, another classic Western account of Zen philosophy. At the dawn of the Nuclear Age, Pollock sought to express his imagination through the intuitive gestural movements that produced the voids in his “drip-poured” canvases. After following the Middle Path during this period, he fell off it as the drunken-cowboy side of his personality came to dominate and cause the car crash near his home-studio in Springs, New York that killed him and one of his passengers.

One of the artists who was reading Jung’s *Secret of the Golden Flower* was Georgia O’Keeffe. When O’Keeffe suffered a breakdown in 1932, her sister arranged for her to see a psycho-neurotherapist.⁴⁸ After leaving the hospital, she began to spend more time in New Mexico away from Stieglitz. She was developing an independent streak that took her art in a new direction by revisiting the lessons she had learned from Dow and Kandinsky; there was still the special sensitivity to dynamic polarities but now with a mindfulness sharpened by Jung’s insights into the workings of the psyche from his study of anthropology and the color stages of the alchemical process. Exiting Mabel Luhan’s orbit, O’Keeffe would have smiled at Jung’s snide aside about “the escapades in Taos” of those still attached to a Theosophical view of the East. She needed privacy to give her natural inclination for introversion a chance to express itself. She also read *Modern*

Man in Search of a Soul with its article on “archaic man” where Jung used Levy-Bruhl to explain how fluid boundaries characterized modern as well as “primitive” man. She had had her first aesthetic experience of landscape in West Texas where her vivid watercolors of canyons and prairie vistas captured its spirit of place. Now relocating to New Mexico, she was painting canvasses that set the animal bones that she collected on her solitary walks in numinous relationship to the landscapes in which she had found them. They were symbolic of a complex new personal mythology; skulls and pelvis bones hover over the Pedernal, a flint ridge west of Ghost Ranch, that was her favorite site and on whose summit her ashes were scattered after her death. Devoid of human figures, the goal of these paintings was the same as that of the native art of the region which sought to align the individual with a cosmos that lay within as well as without.

Another artist drawn to New Mexico was Martha Graham. Early on, she had been exposed to Ted Shawn’s interpretations of Native American dance when she was with the Denishawn Company. After moving east to New York in 1921, she began to teach at the Neighborhood Playhouse where she met the Lewisohn sisters and worked with the composer Louis Horst, Robert Edmond Jones, and Aline Bernstein on programs that featured a multicultural repertoire similar to that of the one she left. She depended on her modest salary to support her fledgling dance company with her career getting a boost after she was hired to teach at Sarah Lawrence College. There she met Joseph Campbell, a comparative literature professor who was to become an authority on world mythology. She danced the role of the sacrificial victim in the 1930 revival of “Rite of Spring” and stopped to see a rain dance in New Mexico on one of her frequent trips west to visit family in Los Angeles. From these experiences came “Primitive Mysteries” (1931) and “El Penitente” (1940) which reflected the region’s deep Catholic religiosity. While teaching at the Bennington College summer dance program, she met Eric Hawkins who was educated at Harvard and became the first male member of her company. They shared an affinity for the Southwest; he had been born and raised across the New Mexico state line in Trinidad, Colorado and they eventually got married in Santa Fe. Through him, she met the Jungian analyst Frances Wickes with whom she began a close personal relationship that lasted until Wickes’s death. At her APC-sponsored memorial service Graham reminisced, “I remember her saying to me once, ‘Now Martha, if you are going to be devious, we’re not going to get any place. You must remember one thing. You are not a goddess. You must admit

your mortality.' Does that sound at all familiar? I'm sure that it does."⁴⁹ Jessie Fraser wrote that "like other modern artists, Martha Graham has touched and is giving expression, in an art form, to the archetypal patterns of the collective unconscious." Graham's interest in sacral space was one she shared with Robert Edmond Jones who spoke to the APC on "The Drama of the Future" (1943) about the technical potential of film to project on a screen the interior dimension of a play being performed on the stage in front of it; in this proposal, he was developing his personal interpretation of Jung's distinction between "visionary" and "psychological" forms of art. The cinematic possibilities of such a technique led Graham to consider a movie adaptation of *The Scarlet Letter* in which the letter "A" would transform from its original signification as the horns of a bull. Although the project never materialized, her passion to expose essential forms was reflected in the Zen-inspired sets created for her productions by Isamu Noguchi. On a European tour she got to meet Dr. Jung and his wife Emma at a dinner arranged by Wickes. He also attended Graham's concert and spoke to her afterward; asked of her impressions of the famous psychiatrist she said "Oh he was cute. He was very, very attractive."⁵⁰

Graham experienced the personal side of Jungian psychology through her relationship with Wickes but the intellectual side via Joseph Campbell. He was married to Jean Erdman, one of his former students at Sarah Lawrence who had become a member of Graham's dance company (see Image 11). Graham's *Notebooks* show a line of thinking influenced by the many conversations she had with him. His research drew heavily on the writings of Freud, Jung, and the German anthropologist Leo Frobenius in his exploration of the mythic substrate of modern literature and ancient religion. Frobenius made numerous trips to West Africa and published volumes of its myths and folklore; he popularized the concept of "paid-euma," which divided the world into zones each characterized by a cluster of common cultural traits.

As a graduate student in 1927, Campbell had studied in Paris where he had the good fortune to have *Ulysses* explained to him by Sylvia Beach, the owner of Shakespeare and Co. and the person responsible for getting the novel published. He recalled that she "gave me the clues about how to read *Ulysses*, and then she sold me this journal called *transition*, published by Eugene Jolas, in which sketches of the early chapters of *Finnegans Wake* were appearing under the title 'Work in Progress.' That's what caught me. And there you have it. It's funny how it changed my career."⁵¹

In the wake of the wide-spread head-scratching caused by the publication of Joyce's "night book," Campbell decided to unlock its intricacies in collaboration with Henry Morton Robinson, a fellow "mick" who shared his irreverent affection for the still WASP-infused culture of Columbia University where the first Negro had only been admitted in 1908. In their *Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake*, the men laid out its essential structure along with an encyclopedia of information about its multicultural allusions. The authors were at the center of a cause célèbre when they published articles in the *Saturday Review of Literature* ((December 19, 1942 and February 13, 1943 Joseph Campbell CW, 251–261) that criticized Thornton Wilder for using the novel as the basis of his award-winning play *The Skin of Our Teeth* without giving due credit to Joyce. They vented their spleen on critics who could pan *Finnegans Wake* when it came out but now embraced what was basically a watered-down Broadway version of that opus. Campbell's exasperation with people's reactions to Joyce was not just confined to theater critics but extended to Jung himself. Interviewed for a book about Joyce, Jung had said "*Finnegans Wake*? I read parts of it in periodicals [i.e., *transition*] but it was like getting lost in a wood. Oh no, I could not manage it. *Ulysses* yes, but still I do not understand why so many people read it, so many editions have been published."⁵² Such obtuseness led Campbell to say that Jung "never got what was going on in *Ulysses*. He got angry and wrote this tantrum because he wasn't getting it. As a matter of fact, psychiatrists don't have very good relationships to art of any kind. They always see it as symptomatic. That's what happened with Jung and *Ulysses*" (CW, 271).

Campbell's biggest take-away from Joyce was how the cyclical nature of the human condition was reflected in the diverse religious traditions of mankind that can be read as one grand "monomyth." Although Joyce relied for his theory of history on the writings of the eighteenth century Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, Campbell was to supplement it with what he had been learning from Jung about the archetypal basis of mythology. It became the guiding thesis for his best-selling *Hero with a Thousand Faces: The Basic Myth of Human Life and Culture* (1949) of which Pollock owned a copy. As a generalist, he relied on a comparative methodology that had been popular earlier in the century but was now being dismissed by university-trained specialists for its lack of precision. He had decided not to complete his PhD and was happy pursuing a career as a college professor and public intellectual. He became editor of the *Man & Myth* series which brought out Kerenyi's *Gods of the Greeks* and was instrumental

in helping the German émigré scholar Heinrich Zimmer teach an extension course at Columbia University and give talks to the APC. In one of these, Zimmer talked about his debt to Jung. He recalled how his early study of Hindu mandalas paralleled Jung's evolving interests. "I had hit upon a thing which had preoccupied Dr. Jung since many years, ever since he inaugurated the interpretation of the drawings from the unconscious and, by enjoining his patients to draw their visions, had invented this most important branch of psychoanalysis, which in its turn offers so striking material to read the symbolism offered by ethnology and the history of religions."⁵³ After Zimmer's early death from pneumonia in 1943, Campbell took on the responsibility of organizing his papers for publication in the Bollingen Series.⁵⁴

Multiple references in Graham's *Notebooks* show the extent to which Campbell had influenced her storylines. "He enabled us to treasure and to use the past and to recognize the bold memory within each of us. I have so often said that dance should illuminate the landscape of man's soul, and in my journey through that Joe was a profound influence."⁵⁵ He introduced her to the literature of the myth and ritual school of criticism that began with Frazer and was developed by Jessie Weston and the leaders of the Cambridge School of Ritualists, Jane Harrison and F. M. Cornford who had adopted Jung's concept of the collective unconscious as the key to understanding the modern appeal of ancient Greek drama.⁵⁶ Campbell felt that it was now necessary to address the implications of all this material from a depth psychological perspective, one that Joyce spoofed in the *Wake* as "we grisly old Sykos who have done our unsmiling bit on 'alices, when they were yung and easily freudened"⁵⁷ By this time, Jean Erdman had started her own company and went on to produce *The Coach with the Six Insides* (1962) based on the character of Anna Livia Plurabelle, the Everywoman in the *Wake*.⁵⁸ Helping his wife develop her ideas was a Victorian recourse for Campbell, what had once been an intellectual endeavor was now experienced in a deeply personal relationship.⁵⁹

Campbell had one important predecessor as a Jungian-oriented scholar, the British academic Maud Bodkin who taught at Cambridge from 1902 to 1914 when Harrison and Cornford were in their heyday. She referenced them in her article "The Relevance of Psycho-Analysis to Art Criticism" (*British Journal of Psychology*, 1924, Vol. XV, p. 174) in which she developed a psychological theory of aesthetics based on the work of Vernon Lee who had been responsible for introducing the concept of "Einfühlung" [empathy] to Anglo-American psychology; it involved

monitoring bodily movements in order to better understand how people expressed their aesthetic responses kinesthetically. Bodkin pointed out that it was now important to include the study of dreams as a valuable new source of information about the subliminal, psycho-somatic forces at work in the individual.⁶⁰ Her interest moved in a more decidedly Jungian direction after she helped Peter and Cary Baynes prepare the translations for *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*.⁶¹ Bodkin's two major works were *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry: Psychological Studies of the Imagination* (1934) and *The Quest for Salvation in an ancient and modern play* (1941) which used Jungian terminology to study famous literary works and determine the dominant archetypal motifs involved in each.

In his studies of literary genres, the Canadian critic Northrop Frye employed the word "archetype" in its traditional literary sense of "original type" without the Jungian association that had come into common parlance. Stressing the distinction between the imagery found in artistic productions and that found in individual mental states, he acknowledged his predecessors in the study of the myth of the quest of the solar hero this way. "The fascination which the *Golden Bough* and Jung's book on libido symbols have for literary critics is not based on dilettantism, but on the fact that these books are primarily studies in literary criticism, and very important ones."⁶²

The American critic who most actively pursued the myth and ritual approach to literature was Stanley Edgar Hyman who taught at Bennington College. He felt that Jung's approach to myth had now veered from psychology into mysticism but did say that "as Jung is used in the work of Maud Bodkin or Joseph Campbell, as a source of suggestive insights, it seems far more to our purposes, and we can readily utilize Campbell's universal great myth' or 'monomyth' ..." (Ibid., p. 237). He criticized Graves's *The White Goddess* (1948) for its excessively speculative misreading of mythology as historical fact. That Graves's book had popular appeal can be seen in the frequent references that Martha Graham made to it in her *Notebooks* and the fact that it was used to validate the modern Wicca movement that had begun after the publication of Margaret Murray's *The Witch Cult in Western Europe* (1921); in it, Murray argued that the witch trials of early modern Europe were really the efforts to eliminate an underground, nature-based religious movement that dated back to pre-Christian times. Graves argued that matrilineal societies had once existed across the whole of Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean with a religion that revered a Triple Goddess

who was symbolized by the phases of the moon and reflected in a woman's life cycle as Maiden-Mother-Crone. For Graves, she was the source of inspiration for all true poets out of whose mouths words flowed as in a trance. He learned to take his dreams seriously while working with the Freudian W. H. R. Rivers after World War One. He moved away from a psychological understanding of mythology and was to have a strong aversion to Jung's theory of the psyche. It seems that this can best be explained as a case of reaction formation since his descriptions of the "Muse" are almost indistinguishable from Jung's concept of the "anima." Quoting Jung, the American poet Randall Jarrell showed how Graves's fascination with the White Goddess developed in the years after his break-up with Laura Riding and indicated the withdrawal of a projection onto a woman whom he had considered a goddess.⁶³

Many of Graves's gripes about the technological one-sidedness of modern Western society and his disdain for modernist culture sound a lot like Jung, with a defense of lyricism and traditional meter during the ascendancy of the New Poetry thrown in for good measure. Their neo-Romantic affection for the Realm of Faerie (stories written in archaic alphabets from the landscapes of the Imagination) was also shared by the group of Oxford dons known as the Inklings. C. S. Lewis was a prolific literary critic now most famous as a Christian apologist and creator of the Narnia saga. J. R. R. Tolkien was a devout Catholic and expert on Northern European philology who inhabited a world he called Middle Earth that he considered a "sub-creation," an imaginary realm that was as complete and "true" as the phenomenal world seen in the light of day. The least known of the group was Owen Barfield, a barrister by profession and dedicated anthroposophist who developed a theory of consciousness based on Steiner's application of the scientific writings of Goethe. Bolstering his argument with findings from the new theoretical physics, he postulated what he called the "final participation" of the investigator in the object of his investigation. Its goal was a relationship to, rather than a dissection of, Nature. In *Saving the Appearances*, he was to address the popularity and the shortcomings of Jung as well as Freud. Although Jung went a step beyond Freud with his theory of the collective unconscious, Barfield felt that he didn't go far enough. At issue was the perennial debate over the relationship of mind to matter with Barfield contending that Jung had not escaped the materialist prejudice of modern science that posited matter as antecedent to mind. If anything, Jung believed that the two co-evolved as long as "mind" is understood as "psyche" which is a system of patterns not dependent on

the human brain. For his part, Jung was always critical of Anthroposophy's pretentious claim to be a spiritual "science" while, at the same time, ignoring the findings of modern psychology.

After working analytically with the van Waverens in New York and attending Jung's 1937 lecture there, Mary and Paul Mellon went on to Zurich for the Zarathustra Seminar and got involved with the Anglo-American expatriate community that had gathered around Jung. They attended the 1939 Eranos conference on "Rebirth" and grew close to Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, supporting her plan for a picture archive that she had started to illustrate the 1938 conference on "the Great Mother."⁶⁴ With the outbreak of the war, they returned to the United States and began publishing Jungian-related works through the Bollingen Series that was distributed by Kurt Wolf's Pantheon Books. In 1945 the couple formally re-incorporated the Bollingen Foundation with the stated goal of publishing a standardized English-language edition of Jung's Collected Works along with other books of cultural significance.

There was one major complication before Mary's dream could become a reality. Namely, the British firm of Kegan Paul (soon to merge with George Routledge & Sons) had already reached an agreement with Jung to publish his Collected Works. The go-between was Herbert Read, one of the firm's editors, who then went to the United States to broker a joint publishing deal. Mary Mellon already had Melville Cane, the copyright lawyer at Harcourt Brace, review the status of Jung's contracts with his various American publishers. She wrote to Jung that "The Bollingen Foundation can offer the necessary financial assistance for the realization of the concept. Paul and I are extremely pleased to have found a man like Read, who has the edition of your works at heart as much as we have. It seems miraculous that it has occurred in this way."⁶⁵ Sadly, she was not to see the fruition of her efforts since in the fall of 1946 her life was cut short when she died from an asthma attack while horseback-riding at their Virginia estate.

If not exactly miraculous, it was certainly fortuitous that it was Read who was to be the point man on the project. As a university student in Leeds before World War One, he wrote for Orage's *The New Age*, adopting a philosophy strongly influenced by the magazine's heady brew of feminism, anarchism, Nietzsche, theosophy, and William Morris Arts and Crafts. Along with writing poems about his war-time experiences, he became a leading critic and promoter of modern art and art education. He was a co-curator of the 1936 London Surrealist Exhibition and art advisor

to prominent collectors like Peggy Guggenheim. During the early 1940s, Read promoted a group of young neo-Romantic poets that included Kathleen Raine whose Blake scholarship was to be supported by the Bollingen Foundation. Reading in the psychoanalytic literature, he was more drawn to Jung than Freud because of their shared sympathy for a Romantic understanding of the Unconscious. He wrote an essay "Jung at Mid-Century" for the *Hudson Review* (Summer 1951) that appeared in edited form in *The Tenth Muse* (New York: Horizon Press, 1958). He used a visit to Jung's home on the shore of Lake Zurich to frame his synopsis of the development of Jung's psychological approach from the time of his early research on "so-called" occult phenomenon. Even after meeting Freud, Jung adhered to a more dynamic understanding of libido, one indebted to such precursors as Carus and von Hartmann. It was one open to the creative, purposive dimension of the psyche that could be accessed through the study of one's dreams. Some dreams resonate on a deeper level and indicate the activation of what Jung called an "archetype." Read made clear to the reader that it "is not a ready-made image. It is merely an inherited predisposition or tendency to fabricate definite types of imagery; certain lines of force along with the imagery in the unconscious will 'automatically' arrange itself" (p. 206). Writing with the new-found threat of nuclear annihilation hanging in the air, he found Jung's general approach to mental health the better choice since it seemed the more hopeful path to follow. Closing with Jung's story about a Taoist sage, Read concluded with the remark that uncertain times "generate the intense awareness, the finer consciousness, that carry life to ever higher manifestations" (p. 213).

Read joined two London analysts on the Editorial Board of the Collected Works, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler. Since Fordham, who had been trained by Baynes, was not a native German speaker, it was decided that Gerhard Adler, an analyst who had been forced to leave Berlin because of the Nazis, would help supervise. Read served as the balance wheel amidst the inevitable pushing and pulling over the initial direction of the Collected Works; Mary Mellon's recommendation of Violet de Laszlo as an editor was not accepted. For translator, Read proposed R. F. C. Hull who was already working for Kegan Paul. The board collaborated with Jung in comparing one of his translations to that of Barbara Hannah, one of Jung's Zurich circle who had translated his Wotan article, and picked Hull with Hannah being kept on as a consultant.

The decision was made to structure the nineteen volumes of the Collected Works along lines that were both chronological and thematic in

nature. The most recent version of a book or article was chosen for inclusion with previous translations being consulted. Previously unfamiliar with Jung, Hull maintained a style that was consistent throughout but that resulted in a tone often more elevated or impersonal than that found in the original translations which were more literally accurate. This change was not always due to Hull since Jung frequently revised his earlier works. This is most noticeable in Volume V, *Symbols of Transformation* which began as *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* and first translated by Hinkle as *Psychology of the Unconscious*; Jung eliminated a lot of old material and amplified his argument using his studies of alchemy. Of more serious consequence was the dubious editorial decision to delete certain words or phrases. This is most evident in Volume X, which came out in 1964 three years after Jung's death and contains the articles expressing his controversial opinions about Jews and modern culture. To give just one example of this tampering, I will cite the treatment of a passage in *After the Catastrophe*, which appeared in a Swiss magazine in June, 1945 after the Nazi surrender and translated by Elizabeth Welsh for *Essays on Contemporary Events* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947) "How can we explain the widespread domination of an unvarnished pathological element in painting? Our modern music? The far-reaching effect of the fathomless *Ulysses* and so forth? Here we already have the germ of the very thing that was to become a political reality as well in Germany" (p. 64). It appeared in the *Collected Works* with slightly different word choice but with the phrase "widespread domination of an" deleted (p. 210). Exactly who was responsible for this sanitization remains unclear.

Besides the Bollingen Foundation, other recipients of Mellon philanthropy included the National Gallery of Art, funded by Paul's father Andrew who had been Secretary of the Treasury during three administrations, Yale University (Paul was a 1929 graduate), and the Library of Congress which instituted a Poetry Prize. Ezra Pound was chosen to receive the first award in 1949 for his *Pisan Cantos*. The announcement created an uproar since he was being held at Saint Elizabeths Hospital on the grounds of mental illness stemming from his fascist broadcasts from Italy during the war. Jung's name was dragged in because the prize was named "Bollingen" after the village where Jung had built his lake-side retreat. Allegations of his pro-Nazi sympathies resurfaced and were featured in the pages of the *Saturday Review of Literature* that summer.

The first training institute for Jungian Psychology was founded in Zurich in 1948 with the financial support of the APC-New York that sent gifts of

\$8,251 and \$1,000.⁶⁶ The Club was reorganized with the medically trained analysts establishing a Medical Board that began to meet separately in order to establish protocols for professional conduct and training.⁶⁷ Beatrice Hinkle stayed active in the Club until the very end of her life; just months before her death in 1953, she gave a talk about Jung's approach to dream interpretation. Her audience had the unique opportunity of hearing from a person who had known Jung ever since 1910 when he was just beginning to chart his own course in the study of the psyche. Her photo obituary in the *New York Times* emphasized her pioneering role in introducing analytical psychology to the United States and included a long list of her scientific affiliations. In her memory, the Club raised \$7,000 for a scholarship to help local analysts-in-training finance their studies at the Zurich Institute with Alma Paulson being its first recipient. Hinkle's indirect but lasting influence on the development of American psychology can be seen in the career of Margaret Naumburg who taught art therapy courses at New York University well into her eighties. She incorporated principles of art education that dated back to her early Greenwich years when she learned Jung's approach from Hinkle and then utilized at the Walden School. With organizations in San Francisco and Los Angeles soon joining the one in New York for the training of the next generation of American analysts, Jungian psychology had now achieved an institutional milestone that was to help insure its global expansion in the coming years.

NOTES

1. For the details of this incident, see Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 422, 466–469.
2. *Ibid.*, 628–629. For more about Jung's relationship to Rohan, see Jay Sherry, *Carl Gustav Jung, Avant-garde Conservative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 88–89.
3. "Since the war ... things are simply happening. There is a continuous decrease in confrontation, which means a continuous decrease of reflection, of distance, and a continuous identification with the flow" *ZS*, 225; see Hauke, especially 105–106.
4. *CW* 15, p. 114.
5. See Jay Sherry, *Carl Gustav Jung, Avant-Garde Conservative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pp. 84–86.
6. *CW* 18: 765–766.
7. *CW* 15, pp. 135–141. See also, John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years, 1917–1932* (New York, Knopf, 2007), pp. 483–486. Jung's little-known involvement with Parisian intellectual circles has been

- studied by Florent Serina, see “C. G. Jung’s encounter with his French readers. The Paris lecture (1934)”, in *Phanés. Journal of Jung History*, I, 1, 2018 (forthcoming).
8. CW 15: p. 91, f.n. 7.
 9. Eugen Jolas, *Man from Babel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 129–130. The Tanguy painting is reproduced as Plate IV in CW10 and can be seen in Aniela Jaffe, *Word and Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 147. The mandala “sketches” would most likely have been the active imaginations done by Kristine Mann several years before and reproduced in CW 9i to accompany the article “A Study in the Process of Individuation.” The two men shared an antipathy towards the Surrealist embrace of automatic writing which belittled the role of the artist’s consciousness in shaping the material that emerged from the unconscious. For more, see Beth Darlington, “Kristine Mann: Jung’s Miss ‘X’ and a Pioneer in Psychoanalysis,” *Spring* 2015 (Vol. 92), pp. 371–399.
 10. *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1945), pp. 44, 81–82. Also, in *The Little Magazine*, pp. 176–177.
 11. Letter of September 24, 1931, James Oppenheim Collection, New York Public Library.
 12. *Critical Writings 1924–1951*, pp. 257–263.
 13. James Atherton, *The Books at the Wake, A Study in Literary Allusions in James Joyce’s Finnegans Wake* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), p. 20 and Carol Shloss, *Lucia Joyce, to Dance in the Wake* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), p. 442.
 14. They helped found the NAACP and the copy of the organization’s 1925 Amenia Conference found in Jung’s library would almost certainly have come from them. Amy patronized writers of the Harlem Renaissance and helped pay young Langston Hughes’s college tuition.
 15. He also represented the novelist Thomas Wolfe whose lover Aline Bernstein did analysis with Beatrice Hinkle.
 16. Jan Christiaan Smuts, *Holism and Evolution* (New York: The Viking Press, 1961) and Alfred Lord Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967).
 17. Lewis Mumford, *Sketches from Life, The Early Years*, (New York: The Dial Press, 1982), p. 249.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
 19. *Van Wyck Brooks-Lewis Mumford Letters* (New York: Dutton & Co., 1970), pp. 54–55.
 20. Lewis Mumford, *Findings & Keepings: Analects for An Autobiography* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 356–357. The quote can be found on p. 34 of the 2012 edition of the seminar, my thanks go to John Beebe for locating it. In a letter to Henry Murray, Mumford said that he

- got the transcript from Amy Spingarn. *"In Old Friendship": The Correspondence of Lewis Mumford and Henry A. Murray*, Frank G. Novak, Jr., ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), p. 67.
21. For more see Forrest Robinson, *Love's Story Told: a Life of Henry Murray*, Harvard University Press, 1992) and Claire Douglas, *Translate the Darkness: The Life of Christiana Morgan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); she also edited *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930-1934* (Princeton University Press, 1997).
 22. The portrait presides over the reading room of the Rare Books Division of the Beinecke Library at Yale University. For more on Foote, see William McGuire's "Who was Mary Foote?" in *Spring* 1974, pp. 256-68 and Richard Trousdell, "The Lives of Mary Foote: painter and Jungian", *Journal of Analytical Psychology* (2016, 61, 5), 588-606. It seems highly likely that Foote was the "professional portraitist" that Jung mentioned in his discussion of active imagination who had to learn how to paint all over again, this time from within (CW 16, p. 47).
 23. For more, see Paul Bishop, "The Members of Jung's Seminar on Zarathustra", *Spring* 56, 1994, pp. 92-122.
 24. See, *The Dinner Party, A Symbol of Our Heritage* (New York: Anchor Books, 1979), pp. 210. 211; Harding is quoted in the Heritage Panels that accompany the installation.
 25. *CGJS*, p. 51. The fact that he was analyzing the dreams of a conventional business man with an "ape man" in his unconscious indicates that, contrary to Douglas's identification in *Visions Seminar* (p. xvii, f. n. 15), Shepley was describing the Dream Analysis Seminar.
 26. William McGuire, *Bollingen, An Adventure in Collecting the Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 2).
 27. James Lewis, *The Astrology Encyclopedia* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 2003), p. 580. Another seeker who visited Santa Fe was Nicholas Roerich who came through town in 1921, just one stop on American tour that was part of a life-long pilgrimage to the world's spiritual landscapes.
 28. For more, visit Rudhyar Archival Project: www.khaldea.com/rudhyar.
 29. Quoted in James Lieberman, *Acts of Will: The Life and Work of Otto Rank* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), p. 379.
 30. *Interpretations and Forecasts: 1922-1972*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), p. 400. The article first appeared as Mumford's review of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* in *The New Yorker* (May 23, 1964).
 31. *Letters I*, pp. 180-82.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 379. In a 1945 letter to Rhine, Jung talked about the psyche's ability "to assemble matter beyond the reach of the body to such a degree that it appears as a physical body perceptible to our senses as well as to the photographic plate" p. 394. This comment would have been based on his

- familiarity with Zöllner and attendance at séances conducted by Schrenck-Notzing in Munich who published *Phenomena of Materialisation* (1923) which reproduced photos purporting to show ectoplasm produced by the medium.
33. That Bair relied solely on the contents of the letters for her account is indicated by her using Jung's misspelling of Rowland's name (p. 377). The most complete accounts are to be found in Cora Finch, "Stellar Fire: Carl Jung, A New England Family and the Risks of Anecdote", [www.stellarfire.org/index/html#2] and "Progress Report to Ebby" in *Culture Alcohol & Society Quarterly, Newsletter of Kirk/CAAS Collections at Brown*, Vol. III, #5, October/November/December 2007. (http://dl.lib.brown.edu/libweb/collections/kirk/casq/CASQ_v3n5_2007.pdf).
 34. CW 18, pp. 162–163.
 35. C. L. Wysuph, *Jackson Pollock: Psychoanalytic Drawings*, (New York: Heritage Press, 1970) and Claude Chernuschi, *Jackson Pollock: "Psychoanalytic" Drawings* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1992).
 36. See Pepe Karmel, ed., *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, Articles, and Reviews*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999), especially the Langhorne and Rubin articles.
 37. *Dream Analysis Seminar*, p. 390f.
 38. Op cit., pp. 370–371.
 39. Quoted in *Jackson Pollock: "Psychoanalytic" Drawings*, op.cit., p. 20.
 40. See Michael Leja, *Reframing Abstract Expressionism, Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 164–167.
 41. For an in-depth account of Pollock's relationship to Picasso, see Michael Fitzgerald, *Picasso and American Art* (Whitney Museum of American Art and Yale University Press: New Haven, 2006), pp. 177–21.
 42. *A Life of Picasso*, op. cit., p. 486.
 43. Analytical Psychology Club Bulletin, Vol. X, #9 (Dec., 1948).
 44. Henry Adams, *Tom and Jack, The Intertwined Lives of Thomas Hart Benton and Jackson Pollock* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), p. 326. My thanks to the author for his further elucidation of this reference.
 45. *Jackson Pollock: Psychoanalytic Drawings*, op. cit., p. 18.
 46. Jeffrey Potter, *To a Violent Grave, an Oral Biography of Jackson Pollock*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1985), p. 197.
 47. Deborah Solomon, *Jackson Pollock: A Biography*, (Simon & Schuster, 1987), p. 145.
 48. See Sharyn R. Udall, "Beholding the Epiphanies, Mysticism and the Art of Georgia O'Keeffe," *Contested Terrain, Myth and Meaning in Southwest Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), p. 107. See

- also, Jan Castro, *The Art & Life of Georgia O'Keeffe* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1985), p. 94.
49. Frances G. Wickes, *A Memorial Meeting, October 25, 1967* (privately printed). In the *Analytical Psychology Club Bulletin*, Vol. 12, #2 (February, 1950), p. 13.
 50. Agnes De Mille, *Martha, The Life and Work of Martha Graham* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), p. 316.
 51. Joseph Campbell, Edmund Epstein, ed., *Mythic Worlds, Modern Words, on the Art of James Joyce* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), p. vii.
 52. *CGJS*, pp. 241–242; *Letters II*, p. 266.
 53. In Margaret H. Chase, ed., *Heinrich Zimmer: Coming into His Own*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 46.
 54. This development can be seen as part of a trend in postwar publishing. Michael Leja proposed a “Modern Man Thesis” in which Cold War anxieties and opportunities created by the GI Bill led to an expanding middle class that sought intellectual advancement through adult education courses and the Great Books program. See also Mark Greif, *The Age of the Crisis of Man: Thought and Fiction in America, 1933–1973* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
 55. In Martha Graham, *Blood Memory* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), p. 163.
 56. Cornford had endorsed Jung in his lecture “The Unconscious Element in Literature and Philosophy” (1919) in *The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); sympathy for Jungian psychology seems to have run in the family since his daughter ended up marrying the analyst Joseph Henderson.
 57. 115.11–36, quoted in Joseph Campbell, Edmund Epstein, ed., *Mythic Worlds, Modern Words, On the Art of James Joyce*, op. cit., p. 218.
 58. Ibid., p. 237. See also, Stephen and Robin Larsen, *A Fire in the Mind, the Life of Joseph Campbell*, (New York: Doubleday, 1991), pp. 450–452.
 59. Another student of Martha Graham’s whose work went in a Jungian direction was Mary Star Whitehouse who developed her “Authentic Movement” technique.
 60. Review in *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 6 (1925).
 61. In the “DEFINITIONS” section of *Psychological Types*, the editor’s note that the original listing for this term is “FEELING-INTO” which is the literal translation of the German word. (CW 6, p. 425) Another British academic attracted to Jung at this time was John Thorburn who along with Lillian A. Clare, translator of Levy-Bruhl, helped Baynes with his translation of *Psychological Types*. He wrote *Art and the Unconscious* (1925) and “Analytical Psychology and the Concept of the Individual” in the *International Journal of Ethics*, 35 (2), 125–39; see *Letters*, December 7,

- 1928 and February 5, 1952. Attendance records indicate that Bodkin attended Jung's 1925 conference at Swanage, England.
62. Robert A. Segal, ed., *The Myth and Ritual Theory* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1998), p. 227.
 63. Katherine Snipes, *Robert Graves* by (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1979), p. 191. and *Robert Graves and the White Goddess, 1940–1985* (London: Phoenix Press, 1998), p. 268; Eileen Garrett, the Irish medium, was the book's American publisher through her Creative Age Press which was primarily a clearing house for publications of the Parapsychology Foundation and its magazine *Tomorrow*.
 64. This picture archive became the basis for the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism, an institution with branches in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles that have an online presence.
 65. *Bollingen*, op. cit., p. 109.
 66. Bank transfer form (May 27); through 1965 it also received \$154,140 from the Bollingen Foundation, see *Bollingen Foundation Report, 1945–1965* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967), p. 164.
 67. For more on those formative years, see Michael Fordham, ed., *Contact with Jung* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963).

CONCLUSION

Jung participated in the larger intellectual paradigm shift that characterized modernism and its radical critique of the “old fogies” across academic disciplines and cultural fields. Unlike others though, he critiqued overspecialization and developed a holistic perspective in which the imagination had as much to contribute to the understanding of reality as the intellect. A new theory of perception developed that included a participatory rather than a detached role for the observer. One conclusion being drawn from the new science of psychology was that the self could fragment but had multiple operating systems with the natural capacity to foster healing. Jung spent a career studying the psychological dimensions of these self-organizing, hierarchical systems. Early in his career, this line of research made him a pioneer in a psycho-dynamic understanding of the human personality, it was a line that became an arc that encompassed spiritual traditions from around the globe.

This new epistemology was open to the study of alternate forms of knowledge and owed a great deal to the shamanic component in modernist primitivism. Jung’s study of the cross-cultural evolution of symbolization involved learning techniques aimed at tapping the sources of creativity inherent in the human psyche. To validate this thesis, he followed emergent trends in art, gender, and religion, doing it from an often contrarian point of view that he shared with other twentieth century intellectuals who included imagination in exploring what was on the “other side” of

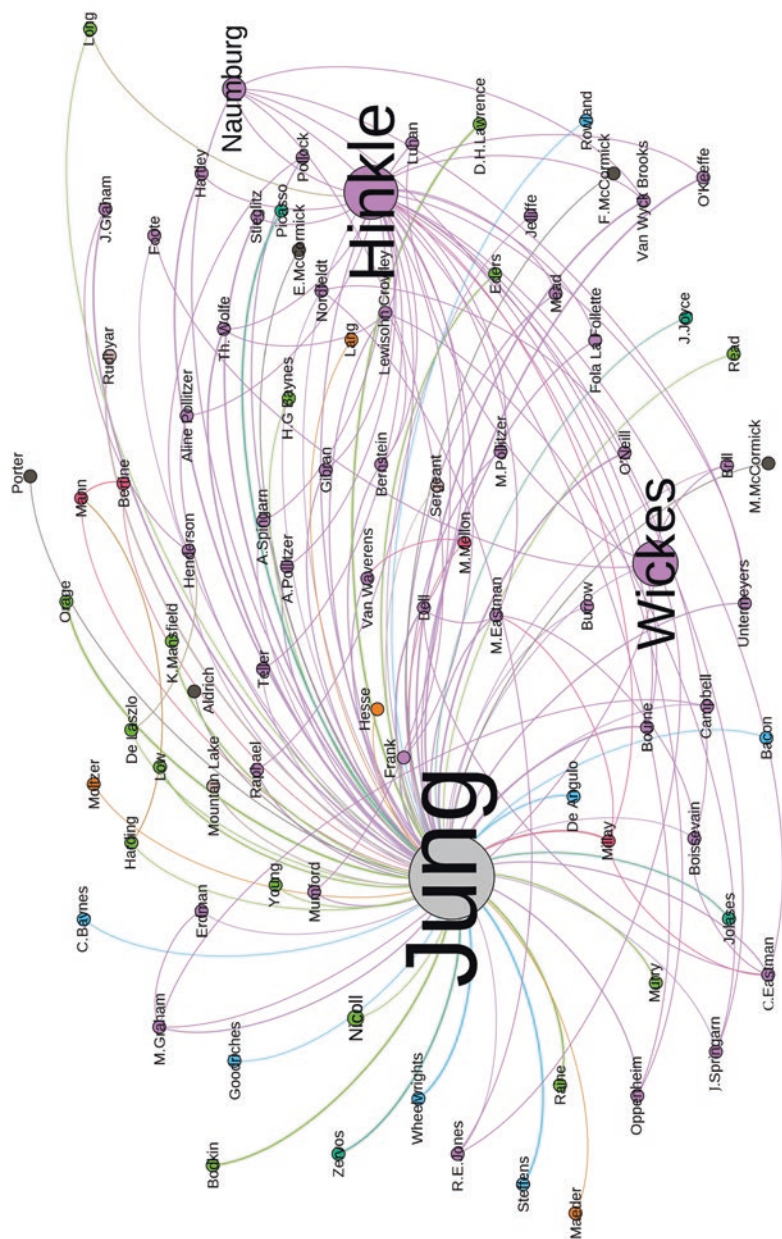
the door. They shared an antipathy toward another kind of intellectual whose stance had little appreciation for the interior life and natural landscapes.

What became increasingly clear as my research proceeded was the important role played by a cohort of progressive career women in promoting Jung's approach to psychology. Unsatisfied with Freud's masculinist orientation, they found in Jung a more nuanced approach to the feminine. It gave them the tools to succeed in new professional settings while offering a path for deepened self-awareness. This search for meaning extended beyond the personal to include the wider social and natural worlds.

Today, Jung's fingerprints can be found all over our media culture, from the routine use of the term "persona" to an appetite for gnostic-themed programming preoccupied with the Dark Side. Like with any great thinker, it is the questions that he raised rather than the answers that he gave that are his most important legacy. An awareness of his contributions to twentieth-century culture can only deepen one's understanding of these important trends that are still in-the-making.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SOCIOGRAM OF “JUNG’S NETWORK” WITH METHODOLOGY



Explanation Applying a methodology and approach in line with Stephen Borgatti's "Network Analysis in the Social Science," this graphic was constructed to depict the "graph-theoretic properties that characterize structures, positions and dyadic properties (such as the cohesion or connectedness of the structure) and the overall 'shape' (i.e. distribution) of ties."¹ Each of the eighty-seven individuals is visually represented based on color and size. Primarily, everyone is assigned a color based on their geographic location: purple for New York City, green for London, blue for California, black for Chicago, orange for Zurich, red for Vassar College, teal for Paris, taupe for New Mexico, and gray for Jung himself. The second category indicator is the size of the node; the larger the node, the more influence the said individual had. This was calculated based on how many non-directional connections they had (i.e., more connections mean a larger node). Interestingly, what may look misleading in terms of strength of influence, is actually a calculation based on the number of connections a person had (e.g., Naumburg is larger due to her relationship with many members in the network). Tracking the transatlantic interconnected nature of Jung's relationships highlights his presence in and relevance to twentieth-century Modernist culture.

Methodology This data set is made up of eighty-six transatlantic individuals who all interacted with Jung. The categorization of the individuals was developed using three criteria: location, degree of relation with Jung and his thought, and strength of influence. Regarding the first criterion, the geographic distribution of this sample is: *forty-four* individuals were associated with New York City, *fifteen* were located in London, *seven* in California, *five* in Chicago, *four* in Zurich, *four* at Vassar College, *four* in Paris, while the final *three* were located in New Mexico.

The second criterion involved the relationship with Jung; the factors considered were Jung's influence and the directionality of his relationships. Each of the individuals was assigned a value of *one*, *two*, or *three*. *One* represented all of the 'direct' relationships as patients or protégés of Jung, *two* represented 'indirect' relationships, people who were patients of Jung's protégés or interacted with Jung's thought, and *three* comprised those with hear-say or literary relationships to Jung. The "strength" of these relationships can be seen through the width of the color lines.

The final criterion was in regard to the strength of influence and this was calculated using the number of relationships a person established. The immediate and removed relationships that these individuals maintained

can be seen through the number of lines radiating from an individual. This number is directly correlated with the strength of influence and therefore the size of the node.

NOTE

1. Borgatti, Stephen P., Ajay Mehra, and Giuseppe Labiana. "Network Analysis in the Social Sciences." *Science*, February 13, 2009, 892–895.

APPENDIX B: NIETZSCHE EXCERPT ON "INSPIRATION"

"Has anyone at the end of the nineteenth century any distinct notion of what poets of a stronger age understood by the word inspiration? If not, I will describe it. If one had the smallest vestige of superstition left in one, it would hardly be possible completely to set aside the idea that one is the mere incarnation, mouthpiece, or medium of an almighty power. The idea of revelation, in the sense that something which profoundly convulses and upsets one becomes suddenly visible and audible with indescribable certainty and accuracy – describes the simple fact. One hears – one does not seek; one takes – one does not ask who gives: a thought suddenly flashes up like lightening, it comes with necessity, without faltering – I have never had any choice in the matter. There is an ecstasy so great that the immense strain of it is sometimes relaxed by a flood of tears, during which one's steps now involuntarily rush and now involuntarily lag. There is the feeling that one is utterly out of hand, with the consciousness of an endless number of fine thrills and titillations descending to one's very toes; – there is a depth of happiness in which the most painful and gloomy parts do not act as antitheses to the rest, but are produced and required as necessary shades of colour in such an overflow of light. There is an instinct for rhythmic relations which embraces a whole world of forms (length, the need of wide-embracing rhythm, is almost the measure of the force of an inspiration, a sort of counterpart balance to its pressure and tension). Everything happens quite involuntarily, as if in a tempestuous outburst of freedom, of absoluteness, of power and divinity. The involuntary nature of the figures and similes is the most remarkable thing; one loses all perception of what is imagery and metaphor; everything seems to present itself as the readiest, the truest, and simplest means of expression. It actually seems, to use one of Zarathustra's own phrases, as if all things came to one and offered themselves as similes. ('Here do all things come caressingly to thy discourse and flatter thee, for they would fain ride upon thy back. On every

simile thou ridest here unto every truth. Here fly open unto thee all the speech and word shrines of the world, here all existence becomes speech, here would all Becoming learn of thee how to speak.') This is my experience of inspiration. I do not doubt but that I should have to go back thousands of years before I could find someone who could say to me: 'It is mine also!'"

Ecce Homo, Vol. XVII of *Nietzsche's Collected Works*, ed. Oscar Levy (New York: Macmillan, 1911), p. 101ff. Quoted in Jung's *Zarathustra Seminar* (Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 24–25. For a contemporary translation, see the Walter Kaufmann edition (New York: Vintage, 1969), pp. 300–301.

"Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis." ["Everything transitory is only a simile."] *Faust*, concluding Chorus Mysticus.

APPENDIX C: ZERVOS REJOINDER TO JUNG

The following article appeared in the *Cahiersd'art*, Paris, 7 *Année* 1932, No. 8–10, pp. 352–54, authored by Christian Zervos, Director of the *Cahiersd'art*. Translated from the French by Deirdre Westgate.

Picasso Studied by Dr. Jung

At the invitation of the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", the psychiatrist C. G. Jung of Zurich devoted a long article to the psychology of the art of Picasso relating to the exhibition of his works at the Kunsthaus of Zurich.

For those of our readers who are only slightly familiar with questions of psychology, we should point out that Mr. Jung joined the research group of Sigmund Freud while he was still assistant to the Zurich psychiatrist E. Bleuler.

In 1908, he became editor-in-chief of the first psychoanalytic review entitled "Jahrbuch für psychopathologische und psychoanalytische Forschungen", of which E. Bleuler and Sigmund Freud were editors.

Proposed by Freud, Jung was elected Chairman of the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1910, which had been organized that same year during a meeting of analysts in Nuremberg.

Jung elucidated enigmatic stereotypes in dementia patients by relating them to the history of the life of the patient. He also made remarks relating to extended analogies existing between the mental production of neurotics and that of primitives, remarks which prompted Freud to turn his attention to this theme and to write the work "Totem and Taboo".

Subsequently and at the same time as Alfred Adler, Jung inaugurated a dissident movement in psychoanalysis. By Freud's very admission, this movement like that of Adler's was quite dangerous, and both quickly acquired a large number of advocates. These movements did not owe their strength to their own content but to the seductive fact that they permitted liberating oneself from the results produced by psychoanalysis—results which were frequently felt as shocking—even though there was no doubt about the factual evidence. C. G. Jung attempted a "transposition of analytical facts into the abstract, impersonal mode, without taking into account the history of the individual." As Freud confides to us, Jung hoped to avoid having to recognize infantile sexuality and the Oedipus complex, and at the same time the necessity of the analysis of childhood.

As was to be expected, criticism of the two heretics was of the mildest form, and Freud for his part could obtain no more than that Adler and Jung be denied the right to call their movement "psychoanalysis".

We will publish the text that Mr. C. G. Jung devoted to the psychology of the art of Picasso farther on, so as to allow our readers to judge the ideas of the Zurich psychiatrist for themselves.

For our part we will merely protest against the very mind of Mr. Jung, crammed to repletion with theories but absolutely isolated from real life.

In the preamble to his study Mr. Jung announces in fact that he will not pronounce himself on the art of Picasso, abandoning the aesthetic problem to the specialists. He will express a viewpoint solely on the psychology of his work, given that the problems that it raises are completely analogous to those of his patients.

As Freud would say, Mr. Jung attempts a transposition of analytical facts about the abstract impersonal form without taking into account the plastic necessities which constitute in large part the evolution of the art of Picasso. Nor does he take into account the historical conditions which must have contributed to the development of this art.

One wonders how Mr. Jung can dissociate the work from the—shall we say—external causes which determined and enriched it. An even superficial contact with the pictorial movement of the last fifty years would have explained to Mr. Jung several essential points of the art of Picasso which he attributes exclusively to psychological causes. Unfortunately, he deliberately did not want to take this into account, in order to follow his preconceived idea blindly. One wonders how one can draw observations from a collection of passably complex facts without using all the data, neglecting nothing, nor without allowing elements of the data all the play imposed

by the varieties of the individual cases. And even then it would be impossible to draw definitive conclusions from them.

It's this lack of flexibility of spirit which in my view most separates Mr. Jung from Freud and which explains in large measure the disavowal by the latter of his former disciple.

It is thus that Mr. Jung makes every effort to insert Picasso's blue period into the first stage of the schizophrenic patient which generally begins by the symbol of the *nekyia*, of the descent into hell, into the unconscious and the farewell to the world above. According to Mr. Jung, this descent manifests itself during Picasso's youth, by images of blue objects, the blue of the night, of moonlight or of water, the blue of the river *Touat* of the infernal Egyptian world.

If Mr. Jung had taken historical facts into account he would have understood that Picasso's propensity for the color blue was due to the influence of the blues of Cézanne whose ideas, like his plastic works, had given rise to the enthusiasm of those young painters of a bit more than twenty-five years previously.

It's this same ignorance of the historical facts which compounds Mr. Jung's error when he explains Picasso's choice of subjects from the underworld of Montmartre as the entry of the artist into the infernal world, after the descent into hell of the blue period. In his view, the motif of the prostitute begins by the entry into the after-life, where he finds himself in the form of a deceased soul in contact with a certain number of the departed. In this tendency of Picasso to turn towards obscurity, Mr. Jung sees the diabolical attractive force of the ugly and of evil, which, in modern man, is opposed to Christianity and engenders the pessimistic atmosphere of the end of the world (!).

Should Mr. Jung allow us to inform him that in the time that Picasso was painting loose women, the underprivileged, and scenes of working class cafés, he was only following the style of the times that he shared already with several other painters in Barcelona. He had just undergone the influence of El Greco at this moment of his career. It was the heads of St. Peter and St. Jerome, doctors and penitents, which inspired Picasso's *Ascetic* and *Old Guitarist*. He drew a skeletal and painful humanity from the work of El Greco, a process that he would continue in Paris, as is confirmed in the transcription of this humanity by the examples of Steinlen and of Toulouse Lautrec who had already defined it with the pencil or the brush.

He would move on from it rather quickly, for Picasso never clings to a source of inspiration. For him an undertaking scarcely completed, even

sketched, is already exhausted and for every problem solved, an incredible crowd of other problems arise.

That is why his skeletal, bloodless, angular bodies are succeeded by generous faces of sculptural volume. In addition, the feelings of these new characters are no longer individual. Previously a Picasso face directly expressed its fundamentally sentimental soul. Subsequently, judging his accomplished work a bit too romantic, Picasso put himself on guard against his own sentimentality. Moreover, he reacted against it all his life and with all his might. Whence the absence of anecdotal sentiment in the faces from his rose period and from everything which might belong to them too exclusively.

There is hardly any reference to this period in the study of Mr. Jung. It jumps immediately from the blue period (in which the personality of Picasso, in his opinion, succumbs to the fate of the infernal world), to cubism, where this same personality is “decomposed like earth shaken by seismic convulsions, into fragments, broken lines, vestiges, rubble, shreds and inorganic particles”.

That’s going too far and is too arbitrary an idea established outside of all real consideration. For us, Picasso’s cubism as well as that of Braque is the consequence of Cézanne’s theories, accepted with enthusiasm by an ardent youth desirous of freeing itself from the anemic influence of impressionism and post-impressionism. Our readers already know that young painters had previously embraced the cone and the cylinder proposed by Cézanne, so it was unnecessary for him to speak of it again; cubism was never the deadly spirit of disintegration spoken of by Mr. Jung. Following the decline into which the impressionists had led painting, its partisans were brought to decompose the external world in order to recompose it again in a more organic and essential manner.

After leaving behind cubism, which had in turn followed the African period, Picasso had felt the need to take stock, to find out exactly where his searching had led him. For this purpose he came back to a more literal transcription of the human face, painting personalities with exaggerated dimensions. While completely recalling faces that were intermediary between the rose period and the African period, these recalled the new sense of dimensions introduced into painting by cubism. That’s why Picasso painted those characters and not at all “to conjure the heavy terrestrial forms of the primitive grotesque era”.

In this regard, I do not see the rapport that Mr. Jung establishes between the forms of Picasso and prehistory, when he adds that rarely or

never has he seen a client who has not had recourse to the forms of neo-lithic art.

Mr. Jung comes back to the presence of Harlequin in Picasso's work in several parts of his study and tries to draw, at the very least, rather dangerous psychological conclusions from this inclusion. Just as Faust undergoes successive transformations: Marguerite, Helen, Marie, in the same way, Picasso, according to Mr. Jung, transforms himself and appears under the infernal form of Harlequin, tragic, who like Faust, is implicated in a crime.

If Picasso enjoyed painting characters from the circus and country fairs as early as 1905, and if among these characters Harlequin is the one he loved the most and for whom he created the finest network of feelings, he is still in debt to Cézanne. Our readers are aware of the magnificent Harlequin painted by Cézanne whose influence on Picasso, Derain and Apollinaire was considerable. Thus in 1905, just as Picasso was painting Harlequins, Apollinaire was putting them in his poems. Since then, Harlequin has occupied a major place in contemporary art, along with musical instruments. Picasso sometimes used Harlequin's costume and some of his accessories, as during his cubism period, or sometimes Harlequin's feelings as well as his external appearance.

Let us say in closing that in the last works of Picasso, Mr. Jung sees neither an end nor a purpose, only a widening of the gaze which finally embraces all of moral, animal and intellectual humanity, without however conferring on it a living unity. On this last point, we do not agree with Mr. Jung. For us, the series of recent works of Picasso present themselves within the most living unity. The burning phrases of ideas which Picasso uses in his paintings, his lyricism stretched to the extreme, have just enlarged the domain of art by making all of life as well as the invisible world enter it. If one accuses his art of being anarchical, it is so in so far as it calls into question all relations of object to object. If we take the singular conduct of a mind which wishes to go beyond the limits fixed by today's imagination for inversions of form and displacements of meaning, that's because of our habit of considering things in a truncated and anti-poetical manner. Whereas Picasso offers us the spectacle of an ardent adventurous life, in which every day calls forth a work ready for every discovery.

*My failing in thorough and specialized knowledge of psychiatric matters forbids me to follow Mr. Jung in the second part of his study in which one finds ideas already elucidated by the gnostics, the neopythagoreans and the neoplatonists, Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus, and introduced by Mr. Jung into psychiatry. I limited myself in these notes to indicating

the historical and plastic conditions which have repeatedly contributed to the development of the work of Picasso. Not that I wish to have one believe that this work is simply conditioned by external causes. In the study which I recently devoted to this artist, I explained on the contrary that the multiple and prodigious aspects of the work of Picasso certainly come from the daemonic fashion in which his being seems to be constituted; and that it is this so-called saturnine side of Picasso that causes his work to bypass the normal conditions of art, and allows him to penetrate everything that limits us and to evolve easily into the impossible.

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