

1900—THE DAWNING OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

PART ONE: 1906 to 1914

PART TWO: 1914 to 1939

A Dramatization written by Sharon MacIsaac McKenna
depicting the relationships among the theorists
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CTP's What is Psychotherapy Day

Narrator: We meet to ask again: what is psychotherapy? Some of you here are at the beginning of your training, others are well into it, and still others “out there practicing”. It is such a pleasure to have this day of conversation together!

We know that psychotherapy is still a babe among the human disciplines, one that came into form only in the 19th century. It happened through historical circumstances that might easily have ended differently, through the initiatives of people who were unusually bright, keen and hardworking. Above all, the new discipline emerged through the connections of these people with one another: “connections” which also included dissent, rupture and unexpected variations. Just as it is now...

Today we hope to open the perennial question “What is psychotherapy?” by dramatizing some crucial initiatives among people who turned out to be pioneers. To enter by this door is to come upon a kind of circulation system, the living context out of which the texts we study spring to life.

For the most part, words spoken or penned by the characters are authentically theirs or, at least, historically founded. This presentation is intended to open up into a discussion, so that what has been implied or alluded to or even omitted can be returned to in our conversation afterwards.

Freud (*walks onto stage, stands in relaxed pose, hands behind back and begins to speak*): I am 50 years old this year, 1906. I don’t expect I’ll live to celebrate my 60th birthday, but today I’m content. Last year the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* was printed after a long incubation. (*Pause*) But most of all, I’m pleased about the *Interpretation of Dreams*--appearing just as the new century dawned. A bit of a conceit, I admit, waiting those few weeks for the year 1900! to dawn before it was released. But that day when I understood my first dream--what it was saying and how--was for me the dawning of a new era, the Era of the Unconscious, with the ordinary dream as the royal road into its interior. The dream book contains the most valuable of all the discoveries it has been my good fortune to make. Insight such as this falls to one’s lot but once in a lifetime.

(*He sits down, centre stage, front, pulls a cigar out of a pocket and says, drily*): Not that the scientific world was much impressed. However, one reader was enthused--Wilhelm Stekel was enraptured. A brilliant man with dreams--very intuitive, and with a better grasp of the symbolic than I have. Would that he were as stable! Stekel came to visit me as a result of the dream book, and to Stekel we owe a most consequential proposal.

(*Stekel, meanwhile walks onto the stage and sits down near to and behind Freud. Like each member of the cast except Freud he is wearing a large name card*).

Freud: (*continues speaking while Stekel comes onstage*): Stekel suggested to me that we ought to invite certain people who were interested in my investigations to make up a sort of informal society. I was delighted: not since those first years with Wilhelm Fliess had I had a forum for real exchange. We sent invitations to three men. Of the three, two were physicians who had been attending my lectures at the University with keen interest. A third physician also came to my home that first Wednesday evening in 1902, impressive fellow, very intelligent.

Adler (*walks onstage*): I am Alfred Adler, a physician here in Vienna. Family physician, in fact, to Dr. Freud's brother Alexander. I am 36 years old. I have been particularly concerned, impassioned really, about the need for the socialistic practice of medicine--especially of preventative medicine. I was becoming aware of the social uses which psychiatry could serve, so I welcomed these stimulating meetings and the originality of Dr. Freud.
(*He sits down beside Stekel*)

Stekel : On that first night we spoke about the psychological implications of smoking.
(*Enthusiastically*) There was complete harmony among the five, no dissonances; we were like pioneers in a newly discovered land, and Freud was the leader. A spark seemed to jump from one mind to the other, and every evening was like a revelation. I wrote a brief review of each meeting for the Sunday edition of the *New Vienna Daily*. But as our numbers steadily grew, we recognized the need to hire a secretary.

Adler: Otto Rank happily took this position.

(*Rank comes onstage and sits beside Adler and Stekel*)

Adler continues: When I first met him as a patient, Rank was a machinist by trade, a highly intelligent, self-taught man who read voraciously. I called his notice to some of Freud's works. He never looked back!

Rank: (*bends over a page and writes rapidly. He looks up to read*): Psychological Wednesday Society, meeting at Prof. Freud's home. Fifth year: 1906/1907. The first meeting took place on October 3, 1906. First some formal matters were taken care of. Number of members present: 17 [and herein recorded].

Prof. Dr. Freud chairs the meetings. Otto Rank acts as salaried secretary. The meetings take place, as a rule, every Wednesday evening at eight-thirty o'clock at Prof. Freud's home. The presentation of papers begins at nine o'clock. The order of speakers in the discussion is determined by lot. [Prof. Freud makes the concluding remarks]. The first scientific meeting took place on October 10 [with 9 members present].

(*looking up*). I myself presented the paper for discussion: "The Incest Drama and Its Complications." We broke in the usual manner for black coffee and cakes after the paper. Cigars and cigarettes were plentifully available throughout. Prof. Freud, as usual, made the concluding remarks. At our next Wednesday meeting, I shall deliver the second part of my paper: "The Incestuous Relationship Between Siblings".

Graf (*comes onstage to join members*): My name is Max Graf. I've long been a friend of Professor Freud. A high point has been his helping me work with my little son Hans while he was going through a quite frightful phobic period. (*pause*) I'm a musicologist, so you see, we aren't all physicians here. I gave a paper one evening on the psychology of Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman*. Much of the stimulation of these meetings comes from the presence of people like music critics, artists, publishers, journalists and educators. Some of us do not intend to practice psychoanalysis, and some who do are laymen..
And then, of course, there is the excitement of the occasional visitors from out of town whom Prof. Freud brings to our meetings. The years 1907 and 1908 seemed to bring particularly auspicious introductions.

(*Jung* walks onstage, to the left of Freud and behind him. Then *Binswanger, Abraham* and *Jones* walk on and form a group around Jung. Jung is slightly to the forefront. This is “Zurich”)

Freud: In relation to Western Europe, which contains the great centres of our culture, the position of Vienna is an outlying one; and its prestige has for many years been affected by strong prejudices. It is in Switzerland that representatives of all the most important nations congregate and where intellectual activity is so lively.

Imagine my reaction, then, when I began to hear from Zurich. (*Smiles*) Now that was gratifying! To have a psychiatrist the calibre of Eugen Bleuler tell me they are including psychoanalysis in their courses at the Burgholzli--the finest psychiatric clinic in Europe! And researching ways to apply it!

While in other places interest in psychoanalysis swiftly gave way to repudiation, in Zurich a compact little group of adherents remains!

Most of my followers and co-workers at the present time have come to me by way of Zurich, even those who were geographically much nearer to Vienna than to Switzerland. But wait, I anticipate myself!

Last April, Bleuler's brilliant young protégé, Carl Jung, sent me a copy of his *Diagnostic Association Studies*. We have since begun to correspond.

Jung. I was just 25 years old, when as a new psychiatrist at the Burgholzli Institute I was asked to read Freud's newly published *Interpretation of Dreams* and to report on it to the staff seminar. Then I laid it aside because I couldn't yet grasp it. But three years later I took up the book again and discovered how it all linked up with my own ideas. His description of the repression mechanism filled out what I was finding in our diagnostic word-association tests. Above all, I found that Freud's technique of dream analysis and dream interpretation cast a valuable light upon schizophrenic forms of expression.

But Freud is definitely a *persona non grata* in the academic world. "Important people" mention him only in the corridors, never on the floor. I confess that I was very tempted at first not to acknowledge his influence in my own contributions. And I'm unable to agree that sexual repression or sexual traumata underlie all the neuroses. Nevertheless, Freud has opened up a new path of investigation and the shocked outcry against him seems to me absurd

(*Freud* picks up a paper and begins to read it.

Simultaneously, **Jung** steps forward and says):

“Burgholzli-Zurich, 5 October 1906. Dear Professor Freud,

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the present you kindly sent me. This collection of your short papers on the theory of the neuroses should be most welcome to anyone who wishes to familiarize himself quickly and thoroughly with your mode of thought. ... I hope to send you soon a little book of mine in which I approach *dementia praecox* and its psychology from your standpoint Very truly yours, C.G.Jung.”

Freud: 7 October 1906, Vienna IX Bergasse 19. Dear colleague,

(At this point **Jung** picks up a page which he reads as **Freud** speaks):

Your letter gave me great pleasure. Your writings have long led me to suspect that your appreciation of my psychology does not extend to all my views on hysteria and the problem of

sexuality, but I venture to hope that in the course of the years you will come much closer to me than you now think possible. Yours very sincerely, Dr. Freud.

Jung: Burgholzli-Zurich, 23 October 1906, Dear Professor Freud, At the risk of boring you, I must abreact my most recent experience. I am currently treating an hysteric with your method. (*Sabina Spielrein quietly comes onstage and sits on the floor at Jung's feet while he is writing*) Naturally, I studied your case of 'Dora' last year; unforgettable--it left an indelible impression. My young hysteric is a 20-year-old Russian girl student, a difficult case, ill for 6 years.

Freud: I am glad to hear that your Russian girl is a student; uneducated persons are at present too inaccessible for our purposes. The defecation story is nice and suggests numerous analogies...

(**Freud** continues writing absorbedly).

(**Jones** at some point here moves quietly over to "London").

Jung (*gets up and walks around in great good humour*): Now at last, nearly seven years after first reading Freud, we shall have an opportunity to meet in person!.

(*He begins to read from a letter*): 28 February, 1907. Dear Professor Freud,

I shall be in Vienna next Saturday evening and hope I may call upon you on Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. I am travelling with my wife and one of my pupils, a nephew of Binswanger in Jena. Perhaps I may, if occasion offers, introduce my wife and Herr Binswanger to you. Very truly yours, Dr. Jung..

(**Jung and Binswanger** go up to **Freud** and shake hands. Then **Binswanger** steps back and **Jung and Freud** sit down for a conversation).

(Then **Jung** faces the audience): We met at one o'clock in the afternoon and talked virtually without a pause for thirteen hours. Freud was the first man of real importance I had encountered; in my experience up to that time no one else could compare with him. There was nothing the least trivial in his attitude. I found him extremely intelligent, shrewd, and altogether remarkable. (*Pause--spoken in a troubled way and to himself*): And yet my first impressions of him remain somewhat tangled; I cannot make him out.

Binswanger: (*from his position slightly back*): I am in Vienna as much the younger colleague, 26 years old to be precise, but Dr. Freud and I began a friendship at this time that grew with time. I am a member of the Freud group in Zurich. And I am also excited by another new conversation, this one among philosophers, namely, existentialism. Husserl is fascinating! A few days later Dr. Freud brought us as his guests to a meeting of the Wednesday Psychological Society.

(**Adler, Rank, Stekel and Graf** rise as **Freud** presents them with **Jung and Binswanger** They then sit down and **Jung and Binswanger** turn to move back to "Zurich." Before they do so **Freud** shakes **Jung's** hand saying): Your person has filled me with confidence for the future.

Abraham (*joins Zurich group, then standing forward from it*): My name is Karl Abraham. For the past three years I have had a post at the Burgholzli under Drs. Bleuler and Jung. But I am 30

years old now and have decided to set up a psychoanalytic practice elsewhere. We shall be moving to Berlin.

And I look forward to a meeting I have long anticipated: I shall be visiting Dr. Freud in Vienna.

*(Abraham walks across the stage to shake **Freud's** hand, then comes forward slightly on the stage and addresses the audience):* We passed a few days in animated conversation, an altogether unforgettable time! And we have agreed to correspond regularly.

I visited a meeting of the Wednesday Psychological Society

*(Freud and Abraham turn and nod to the Vienna group of **Stekel, Adler, Graf and Rank** who stand to greet him and then sit down again).*

Abraham continues: which I must confess was disappointing. I understand Jung also was not impressed. Ironically, the discussion of Freud's views in his home town does not compare with ours in Zurich! He is all too far ahead of the others.

Freud (also speaking directly to audience): An excellent man, Abraham! A sure, fine intelligence--he attacks the sexual problem directly--and a sense of balance. I think he will be a loyal friend.

(Abraham walks to the centre rear of the stage, to the right of Jung et al. This is "Berlin")

Jung (as Abraham is moving off, reads out from a page): Burgholzli-Zurich, 28 June, 1907.

Dear Professor Freud: First some business news:

Freud continues reading same letter without missing a beat: Dr. Stein of Budapest, who has spent time here at the Burgholzli, and another mental specialist, a Dr. Ferenczi, want to visit you some time in Vienna and have asked me to inquire when it would be most convenient for you...

Ferenczi (comes on to rear right of stage): Budapest, January 18, 1908. Dear Professor: I am very grateful to you that you have declared yourself ready to receive me, unknown that I am, in the company of my colleague Dr. Stein. Not only because I am eager to approach personally the professor whose teachings have occupied me constantly now for approximately a year, but also because this meeting promises much that is useful and instructive. Your most obedient, Dr. Ferenczi.

Freud (looking at page): A modest fellow this Dr Ferenczi, but his letterhead tells me that he is a neurologist and royal forensic expert. I hear also that he is at the hub of Budapest's cultural and intellectual life. *(He takes up another page and reads):* Vienna, January 30, 1908. Dear Colleague, I will be very pleased to see you and your colleague Dr Stein at my home on Sunday, February 2. Owing to illness in my family, my wife is unfortunately unable to receive both of you as guests at table, as we were able to do in better times with Dr. Jung and Dr. Abraham. I can only ask you to visit me at approximately 3 o'clock in the afternoon and give me the day from then on.

(Ferenczi walks forward towards Freud. They shake hands. Freud indicates a chair, which Ferenczi sits on. After a pause they rise to their feet, shake hands warmly and Freud pats

*Ferenczi's shoulder at the same time. Then **Ferenczi** turns and walks away to rear right of stage, which is "Budapest")*

Ferenczi (*barely settling himself in "Budapest," enthusiastically*): Last Sunday, which I was allowed to spend in your company, is constantly on my mind, and I cannot thank you enough for the kindness and ceaseless stimulation which you showed me. . . Incidentally, I believe that occupying oneself with riddles sharpens the mind for the interpretation of dreams.

Freud (*with similar excitement*): I was very happy about your interest in riddles. You know that a riddle advertises all the techniques that the joke conceals. . . Will you be able after all to join my family for a fortnight during our summer vacation this August? I shall be very pleased if you can do so.

(*Pause*) Today the program for Salzburg arrived. I am very much looking forward to seeing you there again. We became very good friends in one day.

Jung (*cutting in immediately and addressing himself to everyone on stage*): Dear Sir: Since Freud's followers, though few in number at present, are scattered all over Europe, it has been suggested that our first meeting should take place on 26 April in Salzburg. Lectures, presentation of case material, written questions are very welcome. Applications should be sent to the undersigned before 15 February. Burgholzli-Zurich, January 1908. Very truly yours, Dr. C.G. Jung, Privatdozent in Psychiatry.

Jones (*steps forward*): I had been urging Jung to call such a congress. My name is Ernest Jones. I'm a physician from the British Isles, Welsh, to be exact, and a psychoanalyst trained by the brilliant Otto Gross. A genius, Gross, who unfortunately became schizophrenic and went to the Burgholzli for treatment. As I said, I suggested Jung organize a general meeting--it was on one of my visits to the little Freud Group in Zurich. We soon settled on Salzburg as a meeting place.

(*pause, then in a reminiscent mood*): We met at the Hotel Bristol. It was an historic occasion, the first public recognition of Freud's work! And it was international. A great contingent came from Vienna, some 26 in all.

(*Freud, Adler, Graf, Rank and Stekel stand up and move into a group centering on Freud*).

Jones: Karl Abraham came with four others from Germany.

(*Abraham stands next to Vienna group*).

Jones: Sandor Ferenczi came from Hungary with a colleague.

(*Ferenczi joins the group*).

Jones: There were 6 from Switzerland, including Bleuler and of course, Jung.

(*Jung joins group*).

Jones: Two of us came from England. (*He moves closer to group*).
And the faithful A.A. Brill was there from the United States.
Abraham and Stekel and Jung and Adler and Ferenczi all read papers.
As did Freud--whom I saw there for the first time. We sat around a long table, and Freud began his paper at the Continental hour of eight in the morning. We came to refer to it as the case of "The Man with the Rats." He spoke in a conversational tone to which we listened with rapt attention, until at eleven he said we should break. We disagreed and we went on till one o'clock. Five hours!
Salzburg, as I said, was my first encounter with Freud

(*Jung comes forward to introduce Jones to Freud. They shake hands*)

Jones: Yes, I am from England, but I shall be leaving for the new world later this year.

Freud: To America then?

Jones: No, to Canada, to Toronto, where I shall be teaching at the University.

Freud: Toronto? (*nods*)

Jones (to audience): What none of us knew at the time was that I would be meeting with Freud and Jung and Ferenczi in America only one year later. Freud and Jung were both invited to give lectures at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts.
And Freud, not surprisingly, invited Ferenczi, who was becoming his closest friend, to come as his companion.

(*Jones leaves stage and proceeds to steps on far right of stage This is "America"*).

(*Ferenczi joins Freud and Jung on centre stage. All three then process down the main aisle into the audience, turn and come back up the outside aisle to right stage and "America." They talk as they do so*):

Ferenczi: We sailed out from Bremen for an eight-day crossing. It was August of 1909.

Jung: Each day we told each other our dreams, and analyzed them.

Freud: And I came upon a cabin steward reading my *Psychopathology of Everyday Life!*
(*and now they reach "America."*)

Jones comes forward to meet them, shaking hands with each one, and turns to tell audience:
Freud gave his lectures in German to a very attentive audience, in a conversational tone and without notes.

Freud: In the morning, before the time had come for my lecture to begin, Ferenczi and I would walk together in front of the university building and I would ask him to suggest what I should

talk about that day. He thereupon gave me a sketch of what, half an hour later, I improvised in my lecture.

Jones: Freud made some enduring friends among American academics: Stanley Hall, James Putnam. The great William James was there but fatally ill. Freud and Jung were given honorary doctorates. Though he so often spoke disparagingly about America, Freud was visibly moved when he stood up to accept the honour. This once passionately academic man long since ostracized from Viennese academic circles. “This is the first official recognition of our endeavours,” he said.

Freud, Jung and Ferenczi return by the same route, leaving **Jones** behind.

Once again on centre stage, **Freud** takes **Ferenczi** aside and says to him: Please don’t be jealous . . . I am more convinced than ever that Jung is the man of the future.

Then **Freud** turns to **Jung** aside and says: I have addressed you jokingly as the Crown Prince. But I frankly confess that I wish to persuade you to continue and complete my work by applying to the psychoses what I have begun with the neuroses.

(**Each** return to their respective city).

(**Freud** picks up a paper and with a puzzled look reads).

As he does so **Spielrein**, in Zurich, rises to her feet and faces him): 30 May, 1909. Dear Professor Freud, I would be most grateful to you if you would grant me a brief audience! It has to do with something of greatest importance to me that you would probably be interested to hear about... With expressions of my esteem, Looking forward to your kind reply, S. Spielrein.

Freud (Pause): Writing from Zurich—my hunch is this has something to do with Dr. Jung. Sticky, possibly—I must find out from him.

(**He gets up and walks around and returning to his table, says**): Good! A letter by return of mail from my friend. (**Opens envelope and reads**). Miss Spielrein is a former patient of his—the young Russian hysteric he wrote to me about 3 years ago!

Spielrein: He promised to write you an honest account of everything! If only . . . how happy I should be! Ah, but you are a sly one, too, Professor Freud. If, as you say, you have to hear the other side, why did you resist seeing me? But one likes to spare oneself unpleasant moments. Right? Even the great “Freud” cannot ignore his own weakness.

You imagine that I have turned to you so that you may mediate between Dr. Jung and myself? Yes, but there was no quarrel between us! My dearest wish is that I may part from him in love. I am analytical enough, know myself well enough, and am sure that for me infatuation at a distance would be best. I would like to part from Dr. Jung completely and go my own way. But I can do that only to the extent that I am free to love him: if I either forgive him everything or murder him.

My last hope of salvation was to speak with a person who deeply loves and respects him, who possesses a profound knowledge of human nature, and when I received your last letter,

unfavourable though it was to me, tears came to my eyes: “He loves him! What if he could understand all this!”

Freud: Dear Colleague, Now I see, Miss Spielrein, that I had divined some matters correctly but that I construed others wrongly and to your disadvantage. I must ask your forgiveness on this latter count. Please accept this expression of my entire sympathy for the dignified way in which you have resolved the matter.

You write of coming to Vienna eventually once you have finished your medical studies. All in good time!

Jones : Not long after Freud, Jung and Ferenczi returned from America, there was a psychoanalytic congress in Nurnberg--and an explosion . . .

(All on stage move in closer to one another. Jung goes down and stands near Jones in “America”).

Ferenczi (addressing all the others): After discussing the matter with Professor Freud, I hereby propose that we proceed forthwith to establish an international society of psychoanalysis.

Several present nod enthusiastically.

Ferenczi continues: And that Dr. Jung be its permanent president.

(Adler, Rank, Stekel move off to one side and begin an agitated conversation with one another. Soon Freud walks over in their direction and mimes knocking on a door. Rank “opens” it).

Stekel: This is an outrage! We have been with you from the beginning. Without any consultation with us whatsoever you appoint Jung editor of the first psychoanalytic periodical. And now this!

Adler: At last we are to form an international society, and who shall be president? Not a word to any of us who have been with you since 1902, not a word about any of us! Jung president! Jung permanent president!

Freud (speaking passionately): Most of you are Jews, and therefore you are incompetent to win friends for the new teaching. Jews must be content with the modest task of preparing the ground. It is absolutely essential that I should form ties in the world of general science. I am getting on in years and am weary of being perpetually attacked. We are all in danger ... *(grabbing his own coat lapels)*. They won't even leave me a coat to my back. The Swiss will save us--will save me, and all of you as well.

Freud (now turning to audience): Adler's propositions are valuable. I have suggested he take over the presidency of the Vienna society in the hopes that he may be constrained to join in the defence of our common ground.

At the beginning of 1911, he presented the Society with a paper on ...

Adler: (*rising to his feet with a paper. Pointing to it he reads*): Masculine Protest as the Core Problem of Neurosis.

The neuroses arise from a sense of inferiority, one that derives from actual organ or psychic inferiority. The neuroses--as masculine protest--compensate for this inferiority.

Freud: But what about the unconscious? what about sexuality? Your paper seems to consider them irrelevant!

Graf (*turning to audience*): There was a strong debate. Disagreements had long been expressed, but this time they were declared irreconcilable. This time Freud insisted that if one followed Adler and dropped the sexual basis of psychic life, one was no more a Freudian. In short, Freud as head of the church, banished Adler. Eventually Adler left the Society as did Stekel and many others. For a long time it had not been the same Society.

Freud: How much can psychoanalysis be stretched to encompass and still have any impact? Surely as its founder I have a right to declare some differences irreconcilable. In 1902 we began as an informal society--now we are a movement. Not a single one of us is as important as that the movement should go forward!

Jones (*speaking from second step, left*): But a much more painful schism lay ahead. For a long time Abraham had been telling Freud that Jung's leanings towards mysticism and the occult would prove to be a difficulty. Abraham, after all, had difficulty with them himself in his early years in Zurich. I had spoken to Jung about his outrageous behaviour at the Weimar conference. But Freud was the last to see the unmistakable signs of Jung's theoretical differences and of his disinclination to preside over the psychoanalytic movement. The publication of his *Transformations of Libido* in which he declared that libido was not a sexual energy but the energy of the psyche as such was the declaration of schism. Quite soon, Jung resigned as president of the international psychoanalytic society and then left it completely.

Spielrein (*speaking from the Vienna group turns to Jung*): I have a certain amount of resistance to having to tell you personal things, but there is no way around it, for I wish to talk to you about my dreams. (*Turning, she now addresses Freud*): In spite of all his wavering, I like Jung and would like to lead him back into our fold. You, Professor Freud, and he have not the faintest idea that you belong together far more than anyone might suspect

Ferenczi (*reading*): Dear Professor, I am saddened but not surprised by the news. . . Jung handles psychoanalysis as though it were a personal affair between the two of you. . . Your calm proves to me that you have finally given up the frantic effort to appoint a personal successor and have left the cause of analysis to its fate. Kind regards, Ferenczi. August 6, 1912

Freud (*Pause, thoughtful, then as if changing the subject picks up a letter*): Dear Friend, You recall the rich young Russian who came to see me in 1910, my “wolfman” whose case is one of the most exciting to date. Well I mention him for two reasons: first because he demonstrates without a doubt that children really do have complex sexual fantasies and that their sexual desires and fears make them neurotic. This analysis with this very intelligent if very neurotic young man shall also serve as a refutation of both Adler and Jung. I mention him secondly, dear friend, because our work has come to a close and now I have an opening for *you* to begin your analysis.

Jung *stands up*: The difficulties, which I had with Freud’s views from our first meeting and which we tried to minimize in the end, were insurmountable. More important even than his insistence on the sexual factor was that he was really closed to the exploration of the spiritual in mental life. My eventual decision to part with Freud all but cost me my sanity. I had to give up my position at the Burgholzli and at the university. I fell into a severe psychic breakdown that lasted for some six years and that I feared I would not survive. I was seized by dreadful nightmares, but some of them turned out to be the nightmare of Europe itself.

Jones: War broke out in 1914. I had been in Budapest the year before, in analysis with Ferenczi --just before he went to begin his analysis with Freud. I wasn’t home long before my country was at war with his and with that of Abraham and Freud. I was not to see Freud again for six years. Years more terrible than anyone could have dreamed possible. When we met again at the Hague in 1920 many of the illustrious delegates were *malnourished!*

Intermission

PART TWO

(*Onstage and in their same locations are: **Freud, Ferenczi, Abraham and Jones. Spielrein.** is now with **Abraham.** Other members of the cast, except for the “file of women” who enter next, are seated close by in the audience*).

Narrator: The War of 1914-1918 brought a blood bath of unimaginable proportions: eight and a half million dead!--a war amongst brothers that left destruction everywhere. Europe was never to be the same. In each of its countries a generation of young men had been decimated. By the end of the War the Russian Czar had fallen and the Bolsheviks were in power. Socialism and Communism were now powerful forces in the life of Europe.

Naturally, psychoanalysis, a still largely European movement, was also affected--sometimes in surprising and unexpected ways. Psychoanalysis gained new respect for the work done with traumatized soldiers. Ferenczi and Abraham and Freud had distinguished themselves here. Psychoanalysis was more and more characterized by a strong sense of social responsibility. A sense that Adler had brought from the beginning strengthened in the European climate after the War. Within a few years there were clinics in Berlin and Budapest and Vienna that offered medical and psychoanalytic services to the poor.

Young professionals in their 20s and 30s, the best and the brightest, were drawn to these psychoanalytic centres--and were changed from the inside. They were the so-called Second Generation. Training programmes developed organically in the clinics and societies.

(Pause) There was another crucial change in the psychoanalytic world . . .

(As these words are spoken, a file of women move from the back of the room to the stage and sit arrayed on the steps, facing the audience).

Narrator continues: Among the young adults drawn to psychoanalysis and changing it forever was the first generation of women to graduate from medical school.

(Karen Horney announces her name aloud. So also do Frieda Fromm Reichmann and Clara Thompson)

Fr-Reichmann: I graduated from medicine just as the War broke out. I took care of brain-injured soldiers under the great Kurt Goldstein and learned from their so called "catastrophic reactions," so like the panic states that psychotics experience. How terrible their sufferings were! Governments were intent most of the time on doing whatever it took to get them back into the trenches. I got more and more interested in psychotherapy and worked at a sanitarium well known for its relaxation therapy, or "autogenous training." I was training with a famous psychiatrist when I discovered Freud's writings. There at last were answers to some of my burning questions! His exposition of the transference lit up so much of my work. Incidentally, another physician to traumatized soldiers--Dr. W.H.R. Rivers up in Edinburg, Scotland--has also been reading Freud. He has a paper entitled "The Repression of War Experience" in one of the journals. Reading Freud was a turning point. I went to Berlin for analysis, and then with my husband, Erich Fromm, set up a psychoanalytic sanitarium and training institute in Heidelberg.

(She goes onstage and sits between "Vienna" and "Berlin").

Clara Thompson (moving over to "America"): I was training to be a psychiatrist at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore during the War and for a few years afterwards. In April of 1923 I was giving the first paper of my life, which was on "Suicide and Psychotics," and I had a temperature of 105 and had typhoid fever, but nobody knew that. Apparently I looked like hell, and I was scared to death in addition, and Harry Stack Sullivan was there. He saw me and he thought, "My God, that woman is schizophrenic--I must know her!" . . .I proceeded to have my typhoid fever, which he didn't know about, and a few months later he got in touch with me and found out to his dismay I wasn't as schizophrenic as he thought. . . . It seems to me that from

1923 on, Sullivan was a more influential factor in my psychiatric life than any other one person. He is my closest friend and I believe I am his.

Sullivan: Clara is right--she is my dearest friend. I met her during perhaps the happiest period in my working life. I had come to Sheppard Hospital as a fledgling psychiatrist only a few months before. Then I was given the position of setting up a hospital environment for schizophrenic patients. I knew that selection of staff was crucial. They have been the best employees I've ever been able to make contact with. We have arrived at an interpersonal solution for schizophrenia. The staff I selected are very gifted with the psychotic, and hardly any of them are near the high end of the hospital hierarchy! I'm reading the psychoanalytic literature with interest, and of course discussing it with Clara.

Narrator: Can you guess what major change the presence of women helped bring about in psychoanalysis?

*(As these words are spoken, **Melanie Klein** announces her name. **Anna Freud** then does the same.*

***Narrator** leaves stage)*

Margaret Mahler (walks across to join **Ferenczi** in "Budapest"): When I was 16 I went to Budapest for my gymnasium or "high school." Happily, I became best friends with Alice Kovacs who invited me often to her home, a beautiful villa and a kind of salon of the arts and of psychoanalysis. Dr. Sandor Ferenczi who had analyzed Mrs. Kovacs was a frequent dinner guest. It was a gay, exciting scene--much of the time the analysts met in cafes. And they were wonderful to us, to Alice and me and another student Michael Balint (who was in love with Alice) and like me strongly drawn to Dr. Ferenczi. We knew he was brilliant and full of imagination. He talked to us--and listened to us. As I recall, they were talking about the mother/infant unity as far back as that!

Melanie Klein (rises and walks over to **Ferenczi**): For me too, it started in Budapest in 1914 ... when I read Freud *On Dreams*--and knew immediately that this was what I was aiming at. I was 32 years old and a mother of three. I entered into analysis with Dr. Ferenczi. He grasped the primitive emotional life so well and the symbolic activity of children, and he encouraged me to develop as an analyst, as a child-analyst.

Freud came to the congress in Budapest in 1918, along with his young daughter Anna. I remember vividly how impressed I was with his address, and how the wish to devote myself to psychoanalysis was strengthened by the impression. He was the only man there who was not in military uniform. He and everyone were so optimistic about Budapest as the centre of psychoanalysis. But it was not to be: a hostile government came into power. We had to leave, and in 1922 we settled in Berlin.

***Klein** moves across stage from "Budapest" to "Berlin."*

Karl Abraham stands up and shakes her hand. **Klein** continues: I made particular effort to meet with Karl Abraham, and it was my great good fortune that he agreed not only to take me for a second analysis, but to support my clinical work.

Abraham: Back in 1908, Berlin was a forbidding city for an analyst hoping to practice, particularly if one was barely 30 years old and without local colleagues, as I was. Sabina Spielrein-Scheftel joined me here with Freud's encouragement. Official psychiatry dominates in Berlin. Freud has been very supportive, and grateful for my perseverance, (*wryly*) my "martyrdom" here. Though my practice soon flourished, the Berlin soil was sterile for theorizing . . .until now! Now there is a veritable ferment!

Karen Horney (*now rises from steps and walks over to "Berlin"*): By the time Mrs. Klein came to Berlin, I had been here for eleven years. In fact I was the only woman among the founders of the Psychoanalytic Institute here and have been one of Karl Abraham's group of colleagues ever since. . .

It's a sometimes heady experience: Berlin is one of the most exciting cities in the world--one lives in a kind of cultural explosion, and such powerful political confrontations! Not surprising then that the clinic we began here in 1920 is offering the finest psychoanalytic treatment--and offering it to those who cannot pay. It has become a model for all the others.

The clinic has drawn a lot of energetic people. They're also here because Abraham is absolutely firm in his quiet way that every analyst must be analyzed, and most of us, including me, have chosen to see him. The Balints came here from Budapest along with Mrs. Klein and Franz Alexander. A contingent of young analysts are here from Britain, the Glovers and Alix Strachey who sends home regular reports to her husband James. And people also come from Vienna. Freud refers a number of them, like Theodor Reik, because he doesn't wish to analyze members of his own Society in Vienna. Along with a lot of the young Viennese in their 20s who'd rather come here for their training analysis.

We're a gathering of very original people, who, as you can imagine, are very outspoken at our meetings. Abraham presides. Michael Balint says he is the very best president he has ever met in his life. Simply magnificent, fair and absolutely firm. No nonsense, and keeps the thing very well in hand.

... Fortunately for Mrs. Klein--who is the only non-academic and the only child analyst in a very "learned" German society. Time and again in her clinical presentations she quotes the naive expressions of the nursery, as her child patients did--"kaka" and "widdler" and "peepee"--and the like, having some among us shifting about in our chairs, embarrassed, incredulous, and even bursting into sardonic laughter. She has lots of courage!

Incidentally, I've begun analysis with her daughter who's a beautiful medical student here. And Mrs. Klein is analyzing my little daughter ...

It has been my privilege to frame the training program in Berlin. I've set up a tripartite pattern: a training analysis, theoretical study, and work under supervision. I understand that it is being widely adopted as the psychoanalytic training model.

Our students are very young, very bright, very political and not very malleable. But then, neither am I. I disagree with Abraham and Freud on the young girl's castration complex, her penis envy. I don't think they realize that it's the way little boys look at little girls, not how little girls look at themselves. But then, all these theorists were once little boys! So far my papers are being side-lined ... but, my time will come.

Incidentally, Dr. Sabina Spielrein-Scheftel has moved back to Switzerland, to Geneva this time. She has begun working with a promising young student as his training analyst, one Jean Piaget.

Mahler (*walking over to Vienna*): I went to Vienna in 1922 to train as a pediatrician, but I had gone to Vienna in particular because I wanted to become a psychoanalyst. But even with Dr. Ferenczi's support I've had a hard time securing a training analysis. So I've turned to the man who has been my mentor in my work with children.

Aichhorn (*walks onto the stage. He is wearing a large black hat*): August Aichhorn. I direct an institution for delinquent juvenile boys. I am also a psychoanalyst and a member of the Society here, though I don't much like some of its politics. Freud refuses to take over the leadership here, probably wisely, but no one else has everyone's confidence. I agreed to analyze Margaret and finesse some of the nonsense.

(**Anna Freud** *walks onto the stage and stands near Freud and Aichhorn. Aichhorn is positioned between Mahler and A. Freud*).

Aichhorn *continues*: I also go every week to the home of Anna Freud at Bergasse 19. We have a very lively discussion group for work with children and adolescents. Anna (*he gestures in her direction*), you see, went into training as an elementary teacher. Like so many during the war, she contracted tuberculosis and has had to leave teaching. But she's an ardent pedagogue, and not surprisingly, is also preparing to be an analyst like the rest of us. Young Rene Spitz has also joined us. In fact most of them are so young that it's known here as the "Kinderseminar". (*Pause*) Margaret (*he gestures inclusively in her direction*) has begun a psychoanalytically orientated well-baby clinic.

Mahler: I couldn't have done so without August's expert help. Many of the children referred for analysis to the Vienna training analysts come from my practice here. August also insisted that I learn the new Rorschach technique to help me as a pediatrician. I help him with the American students, like Margaret Ribble, who come to study with him. . . . And I'm his favourite pupil

Anna Freud: August drags me to all the most remote regions of the city and shows me institutions and welfare arrangements--a special and very impressive world I am learning about, an introduction to children I've not had much to do with--"wayward youth" as he shall entitle his new book.

Aichhorn *picks up a book and hands it to Freud*.

Freud (*looking at the book and rising to his feet*): I am gratified to write the preface to this book. (*Reading from it*) "Children have become the main subject of psychoanalytic research and have thus replaced in importance the neurotics on whom its studies began."

Freud *turns to Aichhorn and gives him the book. They give each other a nod/bow. Freud resumes his seat.*

Anna F: Some of the medical students who work at the clinic here are very keen on learning psychoanalytic theory. They started doing it on their own, and they've begun coming to our Kinderseminar. They are certainly impressive, precocious, even, a few of them ...

Wilhem Reich (*walks onstage*): Yes, I am young--Wilhelm Reich is my name--I began practicing as a psychoanalyst when I was 23 and still a medical student. That was in 1920. (*Speaking with intensity*) Freud is so right, so brilliantly right!--the libido is at the heart of it all! It's a force, a physical, natural force in our organism. Too much for us little men, this life force--bio-force. We stop it, cramp it, armour ourselves--that's the neurosis, that's the basis of our character formation. We analysts are going to have to work with the whole person, psyche and body. I'm teaching a seminar here and have met with a lot of enthusiasm for my character analysis.

I don't trust the new emphasis on the ego that's gotten even stronger since Freud published *The Ego and the Id*. People like Heinz Hartmann, a very bright guy, great systematic thinker, I'll give him that. But fundamentally I don't trust it: we'll do anything, you see, even we analysts, to get away from the power of the libido.

Jacob Moreno *walks across the step just below the stage, and positions himself in front of the Vienna group. He turns to the audience:*

Jacob Moreno here. (*With a sweep of his arm indicating everyone on stage*): This is good!

(*He walks up and shakes hands with Freud and turns again to the audience*): As I've argued with Professor Freud in some of our discussions at the university, the one-to-one relationship of psychoanalysis is too static. Better to be an actor than an analyst!

I graduated in medicine here during the War, but even before that, when I was only 21, I'd begun my Theatre of Spontaneity in Vienna. People come into a group where they act out--improvise--their deepest dreams, frustrations, hopes, angers, love; it's a "psycho-drama." The most fascinating people in the city--Alfred Adler, Theodore Reik, and (*turning to Aichhorn and shaking hands with him*) August Aichhorn-- have come to my Theatre.

Once in one of my own spontaneous dramas, I died and went to heaven. I was allowed into a dialogue with some of the brilliant minds of history: Spinoza, Einstein, Hegel, Christ and Freud, and still more. One day the subject of our debate was: how do psychoanalysis and psychodrama compare in value? It was brilliant and lengthy, but Freud was strangely silent. At last someone asked him for his view. He remained silent for a long time and then said, "If I could live long enough, I too would most certainly become a psychodramatist like Moreno"

(*He shrugs with humourous self-mockery*).

And what happens if people can listen to themselves afterwards? (*He puts forth a sound recorder*): What will be the effect of that? I've invented a recording machine, which I'll be promoting. (*He begins moving towards "America."*) And where better than in the United States?

After a pause, Freud gets to his feet and begins pacing: I've discovered a tumour on my palate and my jaw, on the right side (*he rubs his right cheek*). I asked Deutsch to have a look at it, warned him he wouldn't like what he saw. I don't think he did, but he's playing it down, told me to stop smoking and have it removed. I've arranged with Hajek to remove it. At his outpatient clinic.

(He puts on his hat and walks in a circuitous route to a short distance away and sits on a chair there).

Jones: *(speaking from "Britain"):* Strangely, Freud chose a rhinologist--as his friend Fliess from long ago also was--to perform the surgery. Stranger still, he did not think much of Hajek's competence ... and he was right.

Anna Freud *(walking by the same path over to Freud and standing behind his chair with her hand on it):* Something went terribly wrong on the operating table. Father bled heavily both during and after it. Mother and I were asked to bring some of his necessities and we found him sitting blood-spattered on a kitchen chair. They wouldn't let us stay, saying he was fine. He was in a tiny room on the ward and with him was a dwarfed man who was also retarded. He very likely saved Father's life, because Father began to bleed again and when he rang the bell it wouldn't work. The man ran out and brought the nurse, but they could hardly get the bleeding under control. After that, I refused to leave. The nurses, who felt very guilty, were kind. They gave me black coffee and a chair and my father, the dwarf and I spent the night together. I hid during morning rounds and that day took Father home.

(Freud rises from his chair and takes Anna's arm. They retrace the circuitous route to his chair at home)

Anna: I would not leave him now under any circumstances.

Freud *takes up a letter:* Ferenczi, my friend *(reading unhappily):* I find I've had no new ideas in four months—the longest period I can remember.

Jones: May first, 1923. Dear Professor, I was very distressed to hear from your letter of the very unpleasant time you have been passing through ... I hope it will not leave any disagreeable effects, such as restriction in smoking. *The Ego and the Id* arrived this afternoon and looks most thrilling! I shall not go to bed early tonight. Thank you warmly for sending it.

Anna: Very soon there was another surgery, this time by a fine specialist. There will in time be more than 30 more. Father has had part of his hard palate and his jaw removed. He has to wear a prosthesis, like a great ungainly denture. It is never comfortable. He doesn't like to eat and drink socially now and he has to learn to speak again. His hearing on the right side is going.

Freud *bends to write a letter*

Abraham *reading from same letter:* Dear incorrigible optimist. *(chuckles)* Today got up. Still existing remnants stuck into clothes... I am keen to finish off the short piece on masochism. Affectionately, Freud.

(Abraham leans back, and after a considerable pause, picks up a pen, writes briefly then reads): I write to you, dear Professor, from my bed as I'm just recovering from some sort of bronchitis.

Freud (*writing anxiously*): Dear Jones, Abraham's illness keeps us all in suspense. This week will be the critical period.

(Abraham slumps forward, pulling a scarf over himself as he does so).

Freud *takes another sheet and writes, anxiously*: My dear Ferenczi, I have been looking forward to your visit during the Christmas holiday, but as with all of us I think constantly of Abraham--his loss could never be replaced. I do not feel well enough to go to Berlin, but I expect that you will be doing so.

(Ferenczi gets up and walks over to Berlin)

Jones: 25 December, 1925. Dear Professor: What is to be said about today's frightful news?

(Everyone in Berlin sits with heads bowed into their hands)

Jones continues: There is no way of meeting this blow. Karl was my best friend. I am preparing now to leave for Berlin.

Freud (*standing*): I have always found exaggerations at death particularly embarrassing and have taken care to avoid them, but of Abraham I can truthfully say this line from Horace: "*Integer vitae scelerisque purus*: He was a man of integrity and free of vice."

I shall soon depart, you others I hope not until much later. But our work must continue. In comparison with its greatness all of us put together are insignificant. I clasp your hands with a deep feeling of fellowship.

(Abraham gets up and leaves stage).

Everyone in Berlin resumes positions. Jones returns to London and Ferenczi to Budapest. Freud resumes his seat).

Klein stands to speak: Now that Karl Abraham is no longer here, I am facing open opposition. It is very difficult. When I was lecturing in London recently, audiences there were very appreciative. And Dr. Jones is manifestly very taken with my work. He has asked me to analyze his wife and his two children. I have decided to move to London. It is 1926 and I am 44 years old. Time for a new beginning!

(Klein moves across the stage to London. Jones comes forward to shake her hand in welcome)..

Jones: Mrs. Klein is, of course, a controversial person wherever she is, but such an enormously valuable one as well! She functions as a catalyst here in Great Britain and has besides drawn to herself the attention of some of our most remarkable physicians.

Winnicott walks on to the London scene: Donald W. Winnicott here. If anyone earned my gratitude it was Ernest Jones, and it was Jones to whom I went when I found I needed help in 1923. He put me in touch with James Strachey, to whom I went for analysis for ten years, but I

always knew that it was because of Jones that there was a Strachey and a British Psychoanalytic Society for me to use.

I was starting up as a consultant pediatrician. At that time no other analyst was also a pediatrician. I was astounded by the insight psychoanalysis gave into the lives of children--but I also came to see that something was wrong somewhere. At that time the Oedipal complex, which occurs around 4-5 years of age, was seen as the core of childhood disturbance. But countless case histories were showing me that children who became disturbed had begun to do so as far back as infancy. This was whether their disturbance was neurotic, psychotic, psychosomatic or antisocial. I started saying so--in a frightened kind of way.

Then came an important moment in my life when my analyst told me about Melanie Klein. What she says may or may not be true, Strachey said, but you must find out for yourself. So I did--and found an analyst who had a great deal to say about the anxieties that belong to infancy. I asked her to supervise a case. This was difficult for me because overnight I changed from being a pioneer into being a student with a pioneer teacher. I found other teachers rigid compared to her. She showed me the tiny toys she used with the children--she has a way of making inner psychic reality very real. After a time she entrusted me with her son for analysis. I refused her offer to supervise the work! Nor did I ever seek analysis from her.

One night Ronald Fairbairn came down from Edinburgh to talk to us. The question was whether the first introjection is of a good or a bad object--the sort of talk I'm no good at. It took me a long time to see what Fairbairn was getting to about the infant. And soon I realised that it is impossible to talk about the baby without talking about the mother. How far back can you go talking about what's happening within the infant if you leave out the mother--who is from the beginning part of the infant?

Fairbairn, by the way, has suggested to one of his patients that he come to me to discuss a paper. Remarkable fellow--Harry Guntrip.

Winnicott (begins to turn away, then reconsiders and says): As for the controversy that has developed between Melanie Klein and Anna Freud, this has no importance to me, nor will it have to you--because a strong wind will soon blow it away.

Freud: Ferenczi seems to have fallen into a kind of isolation. *(He picks up a page, reads):* Dear Friend, What does your silence mean? I hope you are not ill? I understand that you shall be visiting America in the coming months. Most of the analysts there remain obdurate on the question of lay analysis. I look forward to hearing how you will fare with it.

(Turning to audience): I am caught up in a legal battle here in Vienna. Theodor Reik, one of our finest lay analysts, is now threatened by the possibility that under an interpretation of the quackery law he will not be allowed to practice. Nor shall anyone, including some of our leading analysts, be allowed to practice without a medical degree! The battle for lay analysis must be fought to the finish. As long as I live I shall resist that psychoanalysis be swallowed up by medicine!

(Pause) I should like to hand it over to a profession that does not yet exist, a profession of lay curers of souls who need not be doctors and should not be priests.

Jones: Ferenczi was enthusiastically received in America, where he went to lecture for a term at the New School of Social Research and elsewhere---until he began forming a group of lay analysts there! He left the United States on very bad terms with the American Psychoanalytic Association. I wonder if he's losing his balance, I ...

Sullivan (*interrupting Jones enthusiastically*): I went to hear Ferenczi speak on "Present-Day Problems in Psychoanalysis". He is the genius of the psychoanalytic movement! We must have him to Washington as well.

(*He begins to pace up and down with his hands behind his back and then mimes dialing a 2-piece telephone, speaker in one hand, receiver in ear; he waits, then says*):

Clara? Are you coming round on the idea of your going to Europe for psychoanalysis?

Thompson (*also miming telephone*): I'd much rather you satisfy your curiosity by going over yourself. But then, we've been over that, haven't we?

Sullivan: Yes and it's much better that you go and then teach me when you come back. I'll come to you for analysis. Anyway you're the one with the money. But look here, Clara, the only analyst over there I really trust is Ferenczi.

Thompson *puts down telephone, takes a deep breath and walks onto and across stage to Budapest where she is courteously received by Ferenczi. They sit down, facing each other.*

Ferenczi: You speak very eloquently of Dr. Sullivan who clearly has influenced you deeply. I am surprised, Dr. Thompson, at the similarity of so many of Dr. Sullivan's views and my own! If you will forgive a self-indulgent remark, Dr. Sullivan puts me in mind of what my young colleague, Michael Balint, has said, this time, about me. He calls me an analyst for hopeless cases, a haven for the lost!

After a pause Thompson gets up and goes back to America, pauses and turns to make her way back to Budapest. She pauses midway:

I went to see Dr. Ferenczi in the summer of 1928, and for four subsequent summers, and in between I discussed it all with my eager friend Harry. I was aware that Ferenczi and Dr. Freud were in disagreement over some aspects of the therapeutic relationship and that Dr. Freud, whom I also contacted, was bothered by the freedom with which affection was expressed between patient and analyst in Ferenczi's sessions. He was uneasy about the kind of mutuality there--it is not so alien to me or to Sullivan.

(**Freud and Ferenczi** *then begin an exchange from their respective cities. They are slightly turned to one another*).

Freud: True, a kiss may be harmless. People in the Soviet Union kiss each other freely. But we are not living in Russia! Here it signifies an unmistakable erotic intimacy.

Ferenczi: I can no longer agree with the mannered, formal procedures of the classical way. We must be more natural and sincere. Empathy is important: I'm not ashamed to say that on occasion I have shed a tear.

Freud (*turning to Anna*): Ferenczi told me during his visit today that we must accept the criticisms of our patients, and acknowledge our own mistakes in front of them! (*shakes his head in consternation*).

Ferenczi: You will understand and forgive such a state as this withdrawing-upon-oneself. I am immersed in a rather difficult internal and external and scientific work of purification.

Freud: At last again a sign of life and of love from you, after such a long time! I hope, though you are not growing apart from me, that you are not growing estranged.

Ferenczi: I am slowly recovering from a kind of nervous breakdown. My pernicious anemia has returned.

Freud (*with alarm*): Dear Friend, I urge you to take good care of yourself! The differences we have to thrash out between theory and technique can wait.

Anna Freud (*standing*): Ferenczi has died today, May 22, 1933.

(*The Vienna group stands up and walks towards Budapest where they stand around Ferenczi who sits absolutely still. Freud and Anna remain in Vienna*).

Freud: All those years of holidays together, our endless walks when we shaped what would then appear in print under his name or mine. From unexhausted springs of emotion he became convinced that one could effect far more with one's patients if one gave them enough of the love which they had longed for as children. He wanted to discover how to do so within the framework of the psychoanalytic situation, and in his effort, he withdrew from us more and more. Probably with our therapeutic means today his aims are altogether out of reach. But we shall not know where his pursuit would have led him.

(*Ferenczi gets up and walks off stage*).

Horney: Psychoanalysis is sustaining yet another blow, at least in Germany. The Nazi party is, unbelievably, gaining in power. They hate psychoanalysis and have begun to make it impossible to practise here. I have decided to go to Chicago. Franz Alexander, once our colleague here in Berlin, has been most welcoming.

(*She gets up and moves across the stage to "America"*):

But after a short time I moved into a vibrant association with the fascinating circle of Sullivan and Thompson.

(*Horney moves towards Sullivan and Thompson who shake hands with her warmly*).

Fr.-Reichmann: It is not only psychoanalysis the Nazis hate. They have also set about destroying us Jews. I too will be leaving.

(*She walks towards the front of the stage*):

I shall go to the United States, to test psychoanalytic treatment with psychotic patients. I shall be going to Chestnut Lodge in Maryland.

(Sullivan coming forward to meet her)... Where Harry Stack Sullivan and I shall become close friends and co-workers.

Mahler: I shall go to New York City where I shall establish a project at the Masters Children's Center--for observational research of young children and their mothers. Heinz Hartmann along with so many from the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society will come here and take up leading roles. As will Erik Erikson, who as a young man was also briefly at Vienna with us. My old friends Michael and Alice Balint will move to London.

Reich *(beginning to follow Mahler off stage and towards America):* And I, in time, shall move to Ranglely, Maine to pursue my consuming experiment with Life Energy--Orgone Energy. I am also intent upon developing the new orgonomic therapy.

The stage is now emptied of all but Freud and Anna.

Anna Fr.: The Nazis have invaded Austria. Each day becomes more dangerous for us. Our dear friends--Jones, Princess Marie Bonaparte and others--have been working internationally to enable us to leave Austria. They have at last succeeded and we shan't waste a moment. Today, June 4, 1938, we shall leave for Paris and then--to London...

(Freud stands up and takes Anna's arm. They walk towards the front and centre of the stage and down one step).

Kohut *walks up towards them but addresses audience:* I am Heinz Kohut. My analyst, August Aichhorn, told me Freud would be leaving from the Vienna station. He said that the analytic community had to remain invisible because of the Nazis. But I, a young unknown, made sure I was on the platform when Freud's train left. I caught his eye through the train window--*(Kohut raises his hat)*-- and raised my hat in salute.

(Freud takes off his cap and waves it, looking not only at Kohut but out past him into the room, as Kohut continues): He graciously took off his cap and waved it back at me. That low point of my life became the wellspring of the most important commitments of my future.

Narrator *stepping forward to centre:* Freud died the following year in London, in September of 1939, at the age of 83. On his desk lay an unfinished manuscript, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*.

CAST OF CHARACTERS (January 9, 2010)

In order of appearance:

Narrator I	Marjory Lewis
Sigmund Freud	Robin Blake
Wilhelm Stekel	Frank Cherry
Alfred Adler	John Gross
Otto Rank	Nick Diamand
Max Graf	Rian Cassells
Carl Jung	Michael Gotthardt
Ludwig Binswanger	David Westbrook
Karl Abraham	Barry Olshen
Ernest Jones	Ken Ludlow
Sandor Ferenczi	Nick Power
Sabina Spielrein	Susan Chernin

Narrator II	Marjory Lewis
Karen Horney	Judith Knibb
Margaret Mahler	Barbara Milroy
Frieda Fromm Reichmann	Lisa Darrach
Clara Thompson	Leslie Scott
Harry Stack Sullivan	Nick Diamand
Melanie Klein	Judy Dales
Anna Freud	Jeri Reason
August Aichhorn	Frank Cherry
Wilhelm Reich	Mario Fiorante
Jacob Moreno	Rian Cassells
Donald W. Winnicott	Peter Dales
Heinz Kohut	Paul Hemrend

Staging: Sue Hunter

Author: Sharon MacIsaac McKenna

NOTES TO PART ONE

Not everything spoken in the drama is an authentic quotation. To ascertain what is quoted, what is paraphrased or where some dramatic liberties were taken, it will be necessary to consult the sources. I have tried to avoid fictionalizing as much as possible.

1. Freud's remarks on the *Interpretation of Dreams* include a direct quotation from the Preface to the Third English Edition, S.E. IV, xxxii; V, 608.

2. Sources for the Wednesday Psychological Society were: Freud's *History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*, S.E. XIV, esp. pp. xiv, 25-27; Peter Gay's *Freud*, pp.155 to 243; Clark's *Freud*, pp.213-255, 256-338 (I have used Graf as a mouthpiece, drawing from Clark, p. 214); Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, Volume 2, *Years of Maturity, 1901-*

1919, pp. 7-10, 27-106, 126-151; *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society*, Vol. 1 (1906-1908), pp.1-7, 138-145, 270-275, and Vol. 3 (1910-1911), pp. 168-177; Edward Hoffman, *The Drive for Self*, pp. 44-77.

3. For Jung (and Freud and others) I also used Jung's *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 146-169; *The Freud/Jung Letters*, 4J, 5F, 16J, 33J, 106F177F.

4. For Ferenczi (and Freud and others) I used also *The Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sandor Ferenczi, Vol.I, 1908-1914*. Letters 12, 39, 40, 44, 126, 190, 317, 373, 466, n.2, and the Introduction by Andre Haynal, pp. xvii-xxxv; and Freud, "Sandor Ferenczi" (1933), S.E. XXII, 227.

5. My sources for Sabina Spielrein were Aldo Carotenuto's *A Secret Symmetry*, pp. 78, 91-3, 112, 114 *et al*; *The Freud/Jung Letters*, 4J, 5F, 143F, 144J.

6. For Freud's outburst to the Vienna group on p. 8 of the dramatization I might better have used or included his words in a letter to Karl Abraham of December 26, 1908 as quoted by Clark, p. 243: "Our Aryan comrades are really completely indispensable to us; otherwise psychoanalysis would succumb to anti-Semitism."

6. I reluctantly left aside the wonderful exchange of letters among Freud, Ferenczi and Jung about the imminent trip to the US, and from Freud to his family. See Jones, *Freud*, Vol.2, pp.54-57.

NOTES TO PART TWO

1. General sources for Part Two are Gay's *Freud*, chs. 9-12 ; Clark, *Freud*, especially pp. 407, 458f; Jones, *Freud*, Vol. 3, Part 1, notably, pp. 89-96, 109-120, 163, 174, 424-427, 578-586.

2. Frieda Fromm Reichmann's monologue and biographical detail are drawn from Edith Weigert's Foreword to Dexter M. Bullard, ed., *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy: Selected Papers of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann*, pp. v-x. See also Preface to Pat Barker's, *Regeneration*.

3. Details about Clara Thomson and Harry Stack Sullivan (as well as Fromm-Reichmann, Horney and Ferenczi) are from Helen Swick Perry, *Psychiatrist of America*, pp 189-204, 228-231, and Dale H. Ortmeier, "History of the Founders of Interpersonal Psychoanalysis", in Lionello, M. et al, eds., *Handbook of Interpersonal Psychoanalysis*, pp. 11-25.

4. For Margaret Mahler, as well as for the Budapest, Vienna and New York scenes, see P. Stepansky, ed., *The Memoirs of Margaret S. Mahler*, pp. 12-18, 54, 58-83.

5. Phyllis Grosskurth's *Melanie Klein* is a major source for Klein and for the psychoanalytic societies in Budapest, Berlin, Vienna and London. See especially pp. 69, 70-76, 93-109

6. I have taken dramatic licence in Karen Horney's monologue, bringing together information from various sources to have her describe the Berlin scene. The remarks about the meetings with Abraham are actually from Michael Balint, quoted in Grosskurth, *Klein*, pp. 122f.; see also Horney, "The Flight From Womanhood", in *Feminine Psychology*, pp. 57f.; Ortmeier, *op.cit.*; Elizabeth Young-Breuhl, *Anna Freud*. p. 157;

7. Young-Breuhl, *Anna Freud*. pp. 71-81, 95-102, 153-164, 166 is a source for Anna Freud as well as for Aichhorn, Klein and the many analysts with whom Anna F. was involved. Aichhorn is also written about in Mahler's *Memoirs*, pp. 54, 66-77, 81-83, and in Winnicott's *The Maturation Processes*, pp. 126 (for Ferenczi, see pp. 125f).

8. For Wilhelm Reich see *Anna Freud, Biography*, p. 157, and Myron Sharaf, *Fury on Earth*.

9. For Moreno, see Lewis Yablonsky, *Psychodrama*, pp. 274-285.

10. See the Freud/Jones *Correspondence*, Letters 399, 469-475 on Freud's cancer and Abraham's illness and death. And Jones, *Freud*, vol. 3, p. 109.
11. Winnicott's monologue is drawn from *Maturational Processes*, pp. 171-178, 125f., and "Postscript: D.W.W. on D.W.W.", in *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, pp. 574-582.
12. The last lines of Freud's monologue on lay analysis are from his letter to Oscar Pfister on November 25, 1928; as quoted in Clark, *Freud*, pp.463f.
13. See Gay, *Freud*, pp. 576-586 for last exchanges between Ferenczi and Freud. Freud's last remarks about him are from the Obituary he wrote: "Sandor Ferenczi" (1933), S.E. XXII, 229.
14. Kohut's meeting Freud was drawn from Charles B. Strozier's *Heinz Kohut: The Making of a Psychoanalyst*, p. 18.

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