

Chapter 2

Charcot's Axis

The modern history of dynamic theories of personality in Western science begins with Jean-Martin Charcot in 1881.¹ True, the Christian church had long before appropriated the idea of personality as a way to define the soul and to compare it to the personality of Jesus. True, mesmerism could be construed as a dynamic theory of consciousness, but it was generally rejected by the scientific establishment of the times. True, by the early 1830s the phrenologists had devised a map of characteristics defining the person according to bumps on their head which the homeopathic phreno-magnetists then fused in their system with techniques for entering altered consciousness by way of parlor entertainments such as mesmerism.² The founder of homeopathy, Samuel Hahnemann, had even included a chapter on mesmerism as an appendix to his *Organon of Medicine*.³ The result was a map of personality, a technique for getting below the surface of consciousness, and a total psychophysical system of mind/body healing to go along with it. And true, Emerson lectured on scientific subjects to the Boston Society of Natural History just after stepping down from his Unitarian pulpit at the First and Second Church; and true, the New England transcendentalists had articulated an intuitive, spiritual psychology of character development. Within that intuitive psychology, everything one needed to know about psychosomatic medicine could be found in Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) or his friend Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851). It was Melville, who when reviewing Emerson, opened with "I love all men who dive," while Emerson also wrote a book on personality types, *Representative Men* (1850).⁴ There is also a sophisticated and complete classification of personality, thoroughly dynamic in orientation, though based on phrenology, that can be found in James Freeman Clarke's *Self-culture* (1880).

But these were not science, according to modern historians of science. Charcot, however, was science through and through. A wealthy, sophisticated, world-class neurologist who had treated kings and queens, Charcot was a major contributor to our understanding of aphasia, and a skilled laboratory man and clinician who oversaw 2000 inmates at the Salpêtrière, a mental asylum in the heart of Paris for women only. It was Charcot who, in 1882, rehabilitated hypnosis before the French Academy of Sciences, after three previous scientific commissions had debunked it under the names of mesmerism and animal magnetism.⁵

Forget that Charles Richet, experimental physiologist in Charcot's inner circle, had started it all by allowing the hypnotist Burq into the Salpêtrière to first introduce hypnosis to the patients; forget that hypnosis was still the primary tool of the spiritualists for their regimes of mental healing; forget that, until Charcot, no French, German, Italian, or Russian medical scientist in their right mind would have considered hypnosis to be in any way more than mere charlatanism.⁶

Instead, Charcot's tack was to present hypnosis as a true physiological phenomenon having distinct and identifiable neurological stages. He called them lethargy, catalepsy, and somnambulism and he could command the attention of large professional audiences at his weekly lectures at the hospital while he demonstrated these stages in his patients. One was the infamous Blanche Whitman, though it was later shown that the women were coached. Hypnosis was a state, Charcot claimed, of extreme hypersuggestibility brought on by mental pathology, which disappeared once the patient got well. The response of the academy was not enthusiastic, but neither did they condemn him, so the idea that hypnosis might be genuine went through.

Charcot had first made a name for himself in anatomical pathology and the demonstration of the tabetic arthropathies. He went on to a delineation of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (Charcot's disease), locomotor ataxia, cerebral and medullar localizations, and aphasia. He launched several medical journals and he transformed the Salpêtrière from a backwater warehouse to a first-rate facility for research and teaching. In his later career, however, he became known primarily for his identification of hysteria, hypnotism, dual personality, catalepsy, and somnambulism. He differentiated hysteria from epilepsy and identified the full-blown hysterical crisis as *grand hystérie*. He investigated the traumatic paralyses, differentiating true neurological conditions growing out of organic causes from those caused by psychological factors associated with hysteria. Hysterical paralyses could be induced through post-hypnotic suggestion under hypnosis and also banished under hypnosis by the same means. He called them "dynamic paralyses"—hysterical, post-traumatic, and hypnotic, in contrast to paralyses which had an organic origin in lesions of the nervous system.⁷

Charcot had also been interested in the type problem. Studying cases of aphasia, he noted problems with memory associated with specific kinds of representation, which he categorized as auditive, visual, motor, or indifferent. William James took note of this classification scheme in his *Principles of Psychology* (1890a),⁸ while Charcot's primary spokesperson, Alfred Binet, developed them as distinct personality types, to which Théodule Ribot added an affective type. This model was widely taken up at the time.⁹

Charcot's circle included a number of distinguished personages. Among his students there had been Gilles de la Tourette, later investigator of Tourette's syndrome, Paul Richer, Charcot's disciple who had assisted him in identifying *grand hystérie*¹⁰ and in the investigation of psychogenesis—that symptoms of hysteria could be the reenactment of portions of the original traumatic experience.¹¹

Charles Richet was a noted research physiologist and later winner of the Nobel Prize who rediscovered the earlier magnetists such as Antoine de Puységur and

showed contemporary investigators that most of what they had discovered was already known to French doctors 40 years earlier. An early investigator of what we call today parapsychology, he introduced Charcot to hypnosis in 1878. Among other things he wrote a sensational novel of dual personality, *Sister Marthe*, under the pseudonym of Charles d'Ephere, the story of a would-be nun whom a young doctor hypnotized to cure her hysteric symptoms. He encountered an alternate personality instead, who became as if another person—lively and vivacious, who fell in love with him. The young doctor naturally fell in love with her. But on the night of their elopement she changed back to the original personality, went on to take her vows as a nun, and died shortly thereafter.¹²

Joseph Babinski was an old schoolmate of Binet, who had assisted Charcot with the hysteric Blanche Wittman in Brouillet's famous painting. He retained the neurological portion of Charcot's legacy and continued to be suspicious of the more purely psychological parts. Later he turned against Charcot's star pupil, Pierre Janet.

Alfred Tissié was another member of Charcot's circle. He was later known as the father of French sport psychology. Tissié wrote on dreams and also studied cases of extreme exertion, such as the state of bicyclists immediately after long-distance marathons.¹³ He also wrote on alien voyagers, a study of people who enter fugue states for long periods. His best-known case was that of Albert, a soldier who, when commanded to turn left 1 day, kept on walking in a straight line all the way across Europe, with no knowledge of who he was or what he had done.¹⁴

Théodore Ribot¹⁵ was a renowned physiologist who first introduced then most recent developments in English and German psychology into France. Today he is called the father of French psychology. He wrote on disorders of memory, introduced the concept of retrograde amnesia—that brain damage effects recent more than distant memories—and anhedonia, pathological loss of interest in objects of pleasure.¹⁶ He was an early correspondent of William James, whose psychology of the emotions influenced Ribot's essays on memory and personality. In the early 1880s, Ribot was a major figure in Charcot's circle. He chaired several of the more important International Congresses of Experimental Psychology in which French dissociation psychology was featured.

Julian Ochorowicz¹⁷ was a Polish physician who was a member who had summarized in print Pierre Janet's first paper before Charcot's Society for Physiological Psychology in 1885. He had an interest in psychical research.¹⁸ While a lecturer at the University of Lemberg, he had discovered the mediumship of Mlle. Stanisława Tomczyk, of Wisla, Poland, a woman who had been one of his patients. In the state of hypnotic sleep she revealed an alternate personality, Little Stasia, who would converse with Ochorowicz without the knowledge of the primary personality of Mlle. Tomczyk. Through Little Stasia, Ochorowicz recorded his observations on double consciousness.

Charles Féré studied such topics as moral choice in infants and was interested in the sexual perversions emanating from an original psychological trauma.¹⁹ He began his career with an interest in the neurology of movement, criminal degeneracy, and hereditary psychopathology in the family. During this period he also assisted Charcot in the differentiation of epilepsy from hysteria. Thereafter, he

co-authored a survey of animal magnetism with Alfred Binet, and wrote, himself, on the pathology of the emotions.²⁰

Eugene Azam, professor of surgery at the Bordeaux Medical School and another associate of Charcot's, was interested in the relation between sleep and hypnosis in his search to understand the difference between reason and madness. In 1858, he began his study of the celebrated case of Félicité X, who demonstrated the phenomenon of dual personality. Félicité had lost her father when she was very young and grew up in relatively normal circumstances, but with persistent headaches and neuralgias. At one point she fell into syncope and awakened a different person, before sullen and taciturn, but now a gay, vivacious, and elated personality. From then on, she alternated regularly between her old primary state and the newer secondary one. To these she later added a newer state of extreme fright and terrible hallucinations. Azam studied her for over 30 years and was able to document a developmental picture of her disorder. He published on this case and related subjects in *Hypnotism, Double Consciousness, and Alternations of Personality*, which appeared with a preface by Charcot in 1887.²¹

Alfred Binet was a biologist with a PhD. Long before he got into mental testing of the feeble-minded in French schools, he had originally written on such topics as the psychic life of microorganisms. He became Charcot's chief spokesperson for the physiological explanation of hypnosis and hysteria and, with Charles Féré, a distinguished investigator of dissociation and multiple personality. Binet's career plummeted, however, after Charcot's theories waned and he experienced a number of setbacks in his own professional development that cast him into obscurity. All this was before he took up the study of intelligence, beginning with an investigation of his own two children. In 1889 he did produce a book-length study, *Multiple Personality*, an edition of which has been found in the library of William James.²²

Possibly the most enduring of Charcot's pupils was Pierre Janet, professor at the Collège de France and accomplished psychopathologist, all the more curious because, according to Ellenberger, Janet had only a small following among professionals during his early career and his most ardent audiences he continued to find in the United States, not France.²³ Janet brought forward the famous case of Léonie, the subject of his doctoral dissertation in philosophy, before apprenticing himself to Charcot, under whom he studied for the MD degree while working at the Salpêtrière. Janet's career began with two influential works, *Psychological Automatism* (1889) and *The Mental State of Hystericals* (1893), before he wrote major works on hysteria, psychasthenia, and the obsessions. He, and many others, believed that he held priority over Freud for defining psychogenesis based on subconscious fixed ideas and their remediation.

The distinguished nature of Charcot's international reputation drew attention to the phenomenon of hypnosis, but, according to Ellenberger, the real impetus for international attention afforded to dynamic theories of personality occurred as a result of an ideological war that soon developed between Charcot's circle and the so-called Nancy School around Hippolyte Bernheim. Shortly after Charcot read his paper on hypnosis before the French Academy of Sciences, Bernheim, a professor at the Medical School at Nancy, attacked Charcot's position by claiming that

hypnosis was neither a pathological condition nor a physical one, but a psychological phenomenon that was based on suggestion alone and characteristic of the normal personality. In fact, the same changes that could be achieved under hypnosis could be effected by suggestion in the waking state, making hypnotism itself superfluous. Moreover, Bernheim and his followers emphasized that many cures could be effected of maladies brought to the physician by his patients, including such organic diseases of the nervous system as rheumatism, gastrointestinal diseases, and menstrual ailments. Ellenberger even asserts that Bernheim's followers were the ones who first coined the term "psychotherapeutics."²⁴

It is hardly ever the case that the provinces are able to trump the Parisian point of view, but in this instance, the little school at Nancy won the day and established a point of view with regard to dynamic theories of the subconscious that prevails to this day, namely, that one does not have to acknowledge the reality of alternate states of consciousness different from the waking state to study trance consciousness. This is likely one source for the debate between trait versus state theorists in contemporary hypnotherapy, a debate which has degenerated into patent but superficial rationalizations to placate the trait theorists.

There were only a few men who constituted the Nancy School's point of view: Ambroise Auguste Liébeault, Hippolyte Bernheim, Henri Beaunis, and Jules Liégeois. The Nancy school of thought originated with A. A. Liébeault, a country doctor who practiced in a small village near Nancy and was successful enough to have made himself a small fortune practicing regular medicine. In medical school he had found an old book on magnetism and, self-taught, began a separate practice treating patients by psychological means alone. He kept these patients completely separate from his regular practice, treating 40 patients a day in an old shed, and, in fact, did not charge them, taking only voluntary contributions. He treated all disorders, whether psychological or organic, by the same method, which he called induced sleep.

Eventually, in 1868, Liébeault published a book on his researches, *Sleep and Analogous States*, in which he described hypnosis as a conscious focus on sleep and the rapport that developed between patient and physician as the logical extension of that intention. The local physicians considered the book the work of a quack and a fool. Ellenberger notes that few copies of the book were sold, some in France and Switzerland and a few in Russia.²⁵ William James purchased a copy as a young medical student at Harvard and read it while abroad at the baths at Bad Nauheim instead of attending lectures by Wundt and Helmholtz, contrary to the chain of events presented by the historians of experimental psychology. James then wrote a provocative review of Liébeault, which he published in *The Nation*.²⁶ It took Bernheim another 12 years to discover Liébeault, become his disciple, and draw his methods into the medical school curriculum. Liébeault then became quite famous.

Ellenberger notes that Bernheim was the real center of the Nancy point of view, however. Already known for his medical work on typhoid fever and pulmonary diseases, Bernheim had secured a position at Nancy after he was forced from his medical school position at Strasbourg in 1871 when it was annexed by the Germans. He began using Liébeault's method in 1882 on peasants, industrial workers, and

old soldiers, but with less success on the wealthier classes. Nevertheless, he was so successful that he published *Suggestive Therapeutics* in 1886 to wide acclaim.²⁷

Henri Etienne Beaunis, a forensic medical expert at Nancy and colleague from Strasbourg, had written on pathological anatomy of the nervous system before turning his attention to the physiology and psychology of provoked sleep. Liégeois was a lawyer interested in hypnosis and criminal responsibility. At one point he gave a dramatic demonstration, where he had hypnotized his subjects and provided them with the means to commit a pseudo-murder, which they did, implying that hypnosis could be used to control a person and to force them into acts that were illegal.

Bernheim's followers, on the other hand, were legion. There was Albert Moll in Berlin, author of *Das Doppel-Ich* (1890), *The Double Ego*, Baron von Schrenk-Notzing in Germany, Krafft-Ebing in Vienna, Vladimir Bechterev in Russia, Milne Bramwell in England, G. Stanley Hall, Morton Prince and to some extent Boris Sidis in the United States, Otto Wetterstrand in Sweden, Frederick van Eeden and A. W. van Renterghem in the Netherlands, August Forel in Switzerland, and, of course, Sigmund Freud. Charcot died in 1893 and in a certain sense his school of interpretation had already gone into eclipse by then, but was carried on in a new form in the United States, in the so-called Boston School of Psychopathology, where Janet found his own greatest following.

Accompanying these developments in France was the founding of the Society for Psychical Research in England in 1882. In 1884, the American Society for Psychical Research was founded in the United States. Spiritualism had suddenly sprung up in 1846 with the advent of the Fox sisters, though it had been around for millennia before that. The claim that the sisters could communicate with a departed spirit who had previously died in their home was judged by the popular press as absolutely genuine. It inflamed a movement that quickly spread across the United States and soon reached international proportions in the West. Allan Kardec, a French spiritualist, for instance, was a significant influence on the spread of spiritualism to Brazil. Millions came to believe that we had scientifically established communication with the dead and séances were regularly conducted accordingly. A huge underground network of newspapers and venues for public lectures sprang up, particularly in the United States. Itinerant vendors of all sorts proliferated. Elixirs, methods for altering consciousness, psychic healings, and advice for everything from marriage to personal transformation became the vogue, now mixed with the more established communications emanating from the Christian church and the halls of orthodox science. In the United States, as reductionistic science came under increasing scrutiny for its narrowness, atomistic focus, and materialistic orientation, a virtual second Great Awakening was occurring in the Midwest, in which membership in the major Christian denominations as well as spiritualist circles swelled. Spiritualism and mental healing, Christian revivalism, and orthodox science became rivals for control of the same set of living symbols in the mental and spiritual life of the individual.

Sitting in the audience at the Salpêtrière in the summer of 1882 was the American physician and psychologist William James.²⁸ James was well known to the French, as his psychological essays, published in American and British journals

had been translated into French by Renouvier, Delboeuf, and Pillion, editors of *Revue Philosophique*, for a decade. Delboeuf had introduced James to Théodule Ribot, which later developed into an important correspondence linking French and American developments in experimental psychopathology.

To put the matter in a larger historical perspective, neurology and dynamic psychology were becoming more and more intertwined. In 1873, the New York neurologist George Miller Beard had addressed the American Neurological Association on "The Potency of Definite Expectation in the Cause and Cure of Disease."²⁹ Physicians use psychology all the time in their practice, Beard declared. Why not harness its uses in medicine more systematically? His proposal was received with hostility, however, and the derision heaped upon Beard was quelled only when it was determined by cooler heads among the members present that science just did not know enough about the emotions.

Nine years later, in 1884, William James brought the study of the emotions out of philosophy and into physiology with his controversial paper, "What is an Emotion?" (1884).³⁰ He had only meant, he said, to make the point that emotions were physiological and therefore amenable to the methods of science, not merely ideal philosophical categories of the mind, as was commonly held. This and other theories similar to his, such as that of the Danish physician, Walter Lange, established that the emotions were a legitimate topic of study in a scientific context. The scientific study of the emotions was soon to proliferate. Letters and footnote references show that James's essay influenced a series of papers by Ribot on "Diseases of the Will," "Diseases of Attention," and "The Psychology of the Emotions," culminating in "Diseases of Personality" in 1888, thus linking advances in physiology in the United States and France.³¹ The emotions were linked not only to cognitions but to the subconscious. A study of their pathology became a vital part of dynamic theories of consciousness, revealing the hidden springs of thoughts and actions. And out of these investigations, the field of motivation was born.

Meanwhile, another link in this chain was being forged by the psychical researchers. In 1882, The Society for Psychical Research was first founded in England around a distinguished coterie of Cambridge and Oxford men who spanned the sciences, humanities, and the clergy. Its purpose was to apply the methods of science to test the outrageous claims of the spiritualists and mental healers. At the same time, their remarkable success in attracting a large number of members was also partly fueled by the extraordinarily zealous and hyper-rational response among scientists to the Darwinian hypothesis, verging on an atheism that the educated English class found intolerable, even in such distinguished lights as Julian Huxley.

While numerous luminaries signed up to support a more moderate view of science, the actual players in the Society were a tight group of investigators with varied backgrounds. Sir Arthur Balfour, Henry Sidgwick, Alfred Russel Wallace, and Sir William Crookes carried the banner for science. The actual day-to-day running of the organization fell to Frederick William Henry Myers, a classicist with an extensive knowledge of contemporary science whose métier was the investigation of mediums. There was also Edmund Gurney, who organized many of the studies of hypnosis, replicating the results of what Binet (1890) had dubbed the French

Experimental Psychology of the Subconscious.³² There was also Frank Podmore, who was interested in the study of apparitions, hallucinations, and other phenomena of mental imagery. Investigating the possibility of clairvoyance, telepathy, and telekinesis excited them. But the real phenomenon they set out to prove or disprove turned out to be the question of life after death. It was also the question upon which the ultimate fate of the British group foundered for lack of ever finding definitive proof.

Nevertheless, their efforts drew large audiences interested in resolving the conflicts that had arisen between science and religion in an era when science was on the ascendant. Phantasms of the living, visions communicated over long distances at the moment of death, the ability to move objects without touching them, and such topics as the influence of one person's thoughts on another, made their investigations pre-eminently psychological. Thus, investigators in the United States, such as William James, already drawn to the researches of the French psychopathologists, turned as well to the psychical researchers in Britain. James had lectured on the self and the stream of consciousness to the "Scratch Eight," when in London in 1882. In attendance when James lectured was F. W. H. Myers, with whom James was to establish a lifelong friendship and who would prove to be a lynchpin linking dynamic theories of personality in England, Europe, and America.

Frederick William Henry Myers (1843–1901), classicist, poet, and psychical researcher, was a Fellow and College Lecturer at Trinity College from 1865 to 1869; Inspector of Schools from 1862 to 1901; and founding member of the Society for Psychical Research in 1882. He was the son of an Anglican minister. While his background was in literature and poetry, his knowledge of the sciences was extensive, and he played a crucial role in abstracting advances in dynamic theories of personality from the French and German literature so they might reach a larger English-speaking audience. With Edmund Gurney, Frank Podmore, and others, Myers replicated the hypnotic researches of the French in the hope of not only finding out more about the interior life but also producing evidence for life after death. Thus, his own study of séances and mediums was also extensive.

As the French physicians had discovered, all the symptoms of hysteria could be induced under hypnosis. Myers and his colleagues also discovered that all the phenomena of mediumship could similarly be reproduced in the hypnotic trance. He now had a means to open the door to the interior life of the person, and the scope of what he found there astonished him. He consumed all the known information of the day on these subjects and began to formulate his own theories about the nature of personality and states of consciousness possible to experience. This work culminated in his posthumously published *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death* (1903).³³

The mediumistic séance was the living laboratory of experiments for the psychical researchers. Séances had sprung up everywhere, in which a circle of sensitive and sympathetic individuals joined hands and attempted to call forth one of the departed spirits. Usually, one would allegedly return through the personality of someone sitting at the table that had recently lost a loved one. That person became the medium for the dead spirit, who was called the control. Through the medium, who would

pass off into a trance, others in the group were able to communicate through the control with additional spirits and learn more details of the afterlife.

While entranced, the medium, if a woman, might speak like a man. Similarly, a man might take on the aura of a woman. Married women, who were usually not permitted to speak in public except through their husbands, would now be permitted to address sometimes audiences of thousands, giving communications from beyond the grave while entranced.³⁴ It was also not infrequent that those who discovered they possessed mediumistic powers to thereafter also demonstrate other capacities for such abilities as clairvoyant visions and telepathic communication. In this regard, mediums held the same status as subjects prone to hysteria and multiple personality. Both mediums and hysterics were considered viable means for investigators to enter the subconscious.

Hypnosis was the main avenue of exploration. Different levels of trance could be demonstrated, suggesting successively deeper strata of personality. Through suggestion, the subject could have parts of his body made anesthetic, or perhaps paralytic. Hysterical blindness could be induced or suggested away. Through post-hypnotic suggestion, the subject could be made to perform acts at a later time. And when entranced during the interval, it was found that at the subconscious level, the patient was counting the days and the hours until the appointed time. But in waking consciousness, the subject denied any such knowledge that a suggestion of any kind had been made. The only exception was that, at the precise moment the act was to be carried out, the waking state of the subject would disappear, and the trance state reappears, during which time the suggested act would be performed, without the later memory of the subject for the act. As well, another post-hypnotic suggestion could also be implanted at this time, so the subject would perform some other unconscious act at some even later date.

Myers had also been experimenting with the technique of automatic writing, which took different forms.³⁵ He had long known of writers who could pass off into a lightly distracted state and write continuously, only half-conscious of what they wrote. Automatic writing, however, was a more systematic version of this phenomenon, in which the hypnotized subject could be made to sit at a table with a screen between his head and his hand, which held a pencil over a piece of paper, and write automatically from deeper and more profound springs of intelligence from within. The hypnotist could speak to the subject, or else speak to the hand, which the subject could not see, and get two different versions of the same story. A subject in a light trance might be asked about some incident involving a plausible explanation, which the hand would then contradict through a written statement when asked about the same incident. The hand behind the screen would remain immobile while the subject talked to the investigator, but when the investigator talked to the hand, the subject's head would fall to the side and his eyes would close, as he seemed to pass into a deeper trance as long as the hand was writing. Thus, different states of consciousness holding different sets of memories emerged as a defining characteristic of personality.

Crystal gazing was yet another means that Myers and the psychical researchers used to tap into interior states of consciousness. The image reminds us of the circus

magician looking into the crystal ball, but neurological records at the Massachusetts General Hospital show that the method of crystal gazing was used there as early as the 1880s to induce a dissociated state of consciousness in hysteric patients.³⁶ Thoreau did this when he sat by Walden Pond meditating on the reflection of the setting sun on the water, after which he would write about insights that resulted from his trance reverie in nature. James Jackson Putnam, MD, would induce the trance state in his patients by getting them to do relaxed breathing while gazing at a source of light reflected off the surface of a common glass of water. Myers called this the subliminal region and soon came to champion, as his colleague William James also did, what he called a subliminal psychology.³⁷

Myers was convinced that not only do we live perpetually ignorant of these interior states of consciousness, but that the majority of who we are can be found there. Others may think we are only whom we appear to be in the external world, but within is a vast interior life which actually determines who we are and how we then shape our outward personality, which may show little of what is actually within. Myers called the layer immediately beyond the waking state the hypnotic stratum and identified it as both highly susceptible to suggestion and also the source of our interior imaginative productions. Normal psychology stops here and declares all that is beyond cognitive thought is mere fantasy, but Myers believed that there were potentially different levels, or strata of the person, each level containing knowledge and memories which may or may not be known to the other levels. The condition most in the dark about these other states was particularly our own daily habitual state of waking awareness.

The deeper we went, the more ideas became images, which then took on a numinous character, sometimes creating visions of mythic proportions. To the insane, such visions come unbidden and are known as unwanted hallucinations. To the physician they are mere fantasy. To the psychic, the medium, and the religious adept, they are welcomed as signs of a higher spiritual state of consciousness beyond the normal everyday waking one. Myers called this visionary capacity mythopoesis, referring to not only the creative capacity of our imagination, but to the manner in which representations from a universal source deeply within each of us finds expression through the life of the individual personality. This included the mythic, numinous, and energetic power of our inner symbolic life, as well as the image laden domain of the person allegedly suffering from mental illness.

Hysteria, Myers maintained, was a disease of the hypnotic stratum, while instances of telepathy, clairvoyance, and telekinesis gave us a clue to the growth-oriented dimension of personality. The disintegration of personality he referred to as the dissolutive dimension of the subliminal, while the visions of ecstasy, spiritual epiphanies, and psychic occurrences he called evolutive—indications of where mankind as a whole could evolve into in the future.

We are thus an ultimate plurality of selves in Myers's scheme, capable of experiencing states of consciousness that range from the psychopathic to the transcendent. Waking consciousness occurs probably somewhere in the middle—its function being primarily the biological survival of the physical organism, so that we could experience those other states of consciousness beyond waking,

which, as yet unknown, somewhere had their appropriate fields of application and adaptation.

Myers developed these ideas in a series of essays first published in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* (British) (*JSPR*) beginning in 1884. During this same period, he traveled to Paris and visited Charcot at the Salpêtrière and to Nancy, where he met with Bernheim and Liébeault. On his return, he and his brother, A. T. Myers, along with Edmund Gurney and Frank Podmore, attempted to replicate the findings of the French investigators and to report their results in the *JSPR*, copies of which were immediately distributed to British and American audiences.

Of particular importance was his essay "Human Personality in Light of Hypnotic Suggestion" (1886). There, Myers emphasized the possibility of a super-normal dimension to personality development. Experimental psychology in its strictest sense, Myers said, at least acknowledges normal and abnormal functioning, both mental and physical, of all kinds. Spontaneous states included sleep and dreams, somnambulism, trance, hysteria, automatism, alternating consciousness, epilepsy, insanity, death, and dissolution. Induced states included narcotism, hypnotic catalepsy, hypnotic somnambulism, and the like, which M. Beaunis had called "psychical vivisection." These topics are generally disregarded by scientists who focus on the rational ordering of sense data alone as the only acceptable method for conducting empirical science.

Following Reid's common sense philosophy, Myers characterized the normal view of personality as one of personal identity, which

Implies the continued existence of that indivisible thing which I call myself. Whatever this self may be, it is something which thinks, and deliberates, and resolves, and acts, and suffers. I am not thought, I am not action. I am not feeling: I am something that thinks, and acts, and suffers. My thoughts and actions and feelings change every moment: they have no continued [effect], but a successive existence; but that *self* or *I*, to which they belong, is permanent, and has the same relation to all the succeeding thoughts, actions, and feelings which I call mine. . . .³⁸

A central will, continuous memory, and homogenous character represent the three key elements of the theory of personality at that time put forth by psychophysical inquiry, he said. Yet hypnotism, when employed as a tool in experimental psychology, can show through post-hypnotic suggestion that the will can be held in abeyance and also preprogrammed from without, that memories are not continuous but state dependent, and that the self may actually exist within us as fragments, each being a part of the greater whole. Personality, in other words, is neither definite, permanent, nor stationary, but is, rather, shifting, illusory, and modifiable.

Myers went on to examine cases where the hypnotic trance could not be considered abnormal, such as its successful use in problems of alcohol and nicotine addiction and recovery from a variety of functional disturbances of the nervous system. He presented in the end, what William James was later to call "Myers's problem," the fact that waking consciousness confuses the psychopathic and the transcendent, because both ends of the psychic spectrum present themselves to

waking rational consciousness through the self-same channels. How to differentiate them is the question, for each one of us ought to want to move, both individually and collectively, from the lower, dissolutive states to the higher evolutive levels.

By 1886, Myers had proceeded sufficiently in his own investigations to outline his psychology of the subliminal. He began with the first of a series of seminal articles with the subject of automatic writing in the *JSPR*. But his major publication that same year was Gurney, Myers, and Podmore's *Phantasms of the Living* (1886).³⁹ The book is ostensibly about telepathy, apparitions, and phantasms of all kinds, meaning not just visual, but auditory, tactile, and even purely ideational and emotional impressions. In other words, this is a contribution to the early scientific study of mental imagery. The cases they collected were purely anecdotal, but soon gave way to the first international census on hallucinations, the first truly scientific attempt in experimental psychology to collect data on a single subject of study on a mass scale.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the American Society for Psychical Research (ASPR) was first convened in 1884 and officially launched in 1885 as an independent but parallel organization to the British group. G. Stanley Hall, William James, and Josiah Royce were among the founding vice presidents of the ASPR. Simon Newcomb, Director of the Smithsonian Institution, was its first president. Originally they convened in the prestigious rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, where they organized investigating committees devoted to experimental psychology, hypnotism, apparitions, thought transference, etc. These committees were made up of a distinguished coterie of scientists and professors, mainly from Harvard and MIT.

The astronomers wanted to test for evidence of thought transference and launched an extensive study to gauge the extent of this alleged faculty in the general population at large. The committee on hypnotism under William James operated mainly out of the Harvard Psychological Laboratory and replicated most of the major phenomena identified by the French Experimental Psychology of the Subconscious and the British psychical researchers. The committee on mediumship went out and took verbatim transcripts of séances. The committees investigated any claim brought before them. Their aim was not to prove the existence of life after death, but they did hope to establish what they termed "consistent laws of mental action."⁴¹

Possibly the single most important accomplishment of the ASPR was to verify the efficacy of crystal gazing, automatic writing, and light hypnosis and to recommend that these were the most effective techniques for understanding and inducing dissociative states of consciousness. In some cases they also provided a therapeutic intervention for the alleviation of symptoms of hysteria or neurasthenia. As a result, these techniques were taken up in the newly opened outpatient clinics at local medical centers such as the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Adams Nervine Asylum, and the Boston City Hospital in the treatment of the ambulatory psychoneuroses, beginning in the mid-1880s. By the 1890s, functional disorders of the nervous system with no known organic origin were combined with psychotherapeutic

treatments and presented alongside the theories of biological insanity in an altogether new field called experimental psychopathology. William James taught such a course at Harvard at the graduate level from 1893 to 1898, and Adolf Meyer taught a similar course at Clark University after 1897 as Chief Pathologist at the Worcester State Hospital, while Morton Prince taught similar courses at Tufts after 1898.⁴²

James's major contribution from this earlier period was the discovery of the medium, Mrs. Leonora Piper. Born in 1857 into a working class family, Leonora Piper sustained a blow to her head at age 8 and at the same time experienced a voice telling her that her Aunt Sarah was still with her. The aunt had, in fact, died a distance away at that very moment. The girl continued to have similar experiences throughout her otherwise normal childhood. She married at age 22, after which she went to visit J. R. Cocke, a blind clairvoyant medium, who entranced the young girl in an attempt to heal her of these episodes. Cocke drew her into one of his group séances, and she began to receive a communication from the spirit of a dead son of a judge who was in the same circle. She wrote the message down and gave it to the judge. Thereafter, when word got around of the episode, she was inundated with people who wanted sittings.

She withdrew from these overtures, but did agree at one point to an appointment with the mother of William James's wife, Alice Howe Gibbons James. Mrs. Gibbons was favorably impressed and convinced William James to visit Mrs. Piper as well. James was so astounded at the information Mrs. Piper was able to impart that he arranged an extended study of her abilities, including the scheduling of all her sittings for an 18-month period. She seemed to have either secret information and was a fake or had real supernormal abilities, which James wanted to investigate.

While Mrs. Piper had several later temporary controls, among them an Indian girl named Chlorine, a Commodore Vanderbilt, Longfellow, Loretta Pencini, J. Sebastian Bach, and an actress, a Mrs. Siddons, a so-called Dr. Phenuit appeared as her spirit control while James was studying her trances. Phenuit was later replaced by the spirit of the recently departed George Pelham. He reigned for some time, but was himself eventually replaced by The Emperor, a triumvirate of three apparently distinct personalities.

The investigation of Mrs. Piper was taken over by Richard Hodgson when he arrived to become the officiating secretary of the ASPR in 1886. He continued to study her trances until his death in 1905, whereupon Mrs. Piper began receiving communications from him from beyond the grave, which James was forced to investigate, with inconclusive results.⁴³ While he was alive, Hodgson arranged for Mrs. Piper to go to London to be tested by the psychical researchers there. Her fame preceded her and she grew even more well known afterward.

The significance of her case for James was that the evidence suggested she had genuine powers and was not a fake. Moreover, she was a healthy mother of two children and could not be labeled pathological. She became his famous "white crow," proving that all crows are not black. The medium was no humbug. Rather, his point was that scientific prejudice against the phenomena of mediumship was all that was preventing it from being studied.

Janet's Case of Léonie

The years from 1882 to 1889 constituted the first phase of Janet's theories. During this time Janet taught at the Lyceum at La Havre, an industrial center outside Paris. This allowed him to visit his family often, where he sometimes saw patients with his brother, who was studying medicine and who had a keen interest in psychology and hypnosis. While at Le Havre, it is known that Janet devoted much of his spare time to volunteer work at La Havre Hospital and to psychiatric researches of his own. Looking for a topic for his thesis in pursuit of a *doctorate es-lettres*, he was led to a patient, Léonie, a hysteric woman who reputedly could be hypnotized from a distance. His extensive experiments on her showed that she was very highly suggestible and could display all the usual signs of being easily hypnotized. The results of these studies were first presented in a paper Janet wrote that was delivered in Paris by his uncle, Paul Janet, November 30, 1885, at the *Société de Psychologie Physiologique*, which had been convened by Charcot.⁴⁴

This paper created a sensation, and delegations from both Charcot's group of psychopathologists in Paris and psychical researchers in England converged on La Havre to make their own examination of the patient. F. W. H. Myers, his brother, and Henry Sidgwick came from England, and Charles Richet, the physiologist, brought Ochorowicz and Marillier from Paris. It was a historic meeting for several reasons. Not the least of these, Janet came to the attention of Charcot. Janet also became familiar with the psychical researchers. He remained skeptical of their agenda, however, and afterward vowed to stay focused on the psychological and medical phenomena of hypnosis and suggestibility.

Janet's experiments with suggestion at-a-distance, published in the *Revue Philosophique* between 1886 and 1889, culminated in his PhD thesis, *L'automatisme Psychologique*. They confirmed Charcot's previous findings that in psychopathology patients of this kind were more highly suggestible, that physical symptoms can be controlled, being either induced or banished away by a suggestion implanted while entranced, and that the origin of a particular hysteric symptom is often found in a previous traumatic experience.

Moreover, the persistent state of consciousness the patients found themselves in caused a certain monoideism for the therapist, such that the therapist's personality assumed an inordinate influence over all others in the psychic life of the patient. Janet considered this phenomenon a form of "negative hallucination," where the patient, through a decision made subconsciously, became anesthetic to all other sensory impressions, while those impressions coming from the therapist were pathologically heightened. The hypnotizer could speak to the patient in low tones and be heard by her across the room in a crowd of people. Over time, Janet found the patient could show dramatic improvements in the treatment of her symptoms and then suddenly relapse, due largely to an uncontrollable urge to return to the hypnotic state and a pathological need for more contact with the therapist, whom, it turns out, she had been thinking about subconsciously all the time. This phenomenon, which had been long known to the old magnetizers, was called hypnotic rapport.⁴⁵ Janet recognized it as the basis for successful treatment, since it

had to be invoked before it could be worked through. He also noted its erotic element.

L'automatisme Psychologique (1889a)⁴⁶ was on psychological and motor automatisms. These encompassed behaviors such as writing, sleeping, walking, talking, and hallucinating below the level of conscious awareness, activities which nevertheless Janet believed always held some primitive element of consciousness and, hence, were as much psychological as motoric. Total automatisms, such as catalepsy, extended to the person as a whole, but partial automatisms implied that only a segment of personality was split off from the rest, such as with obsessions, fixed ideas, hallucinations, and feelings of possession. In either case, the organism functions without awareness or control by the ego. Janet considered these behaviors to be inferior forms of human activity, but they were nevertheless not only partly conscious but tied to immediate acts. Thus he was able to explain compulsions, post-hypnotic suggestion, hypersuggestibility in some subjects, and more.⁴⁷

The method Janet developed, which he called psychological analysis, began with a detailed investigation of the life history of the patient, followed by an attempt at a synthesis of the parts. He first discovered that every time a symptom had been banished a new one appeared, representing an even older trauma. As Myers had pointed out, personality seemed to be made of deeper and deeper strata of memories.⁴⁸

The 1889 Congress of Experimental Psychology

L'automatisme Psychologique (1889a), Janet's dissertation for the PhD in philosophy, broke new ground because it applied the budding principles of psychodynamic psychology to psychotic patients. Moreover, Janet's patient population was entirely separate from that of Charcot's at la Salpêtrière, so his results were not contaminated by the tremendous forces of suggestion in what Ellenberger described as "that hothouse environment." He also departed from the classical traits of the prevailing psychology, which employed concepts such as the will, the affections, and reason. Instead, he forged a new theory of personality based on levels of instinctual and subconscious activity. His dissertation was awarded publicly in Paris in 1889 at the First International Congress of Physiological Psychology.

The Congress, it turned out, was an event of historic importance for the development of the new dynamic psychology of the subconscious. Originally organized by Charcot's circle, delegates from all over Europe, England, and the United States were invited to discuss the newest developments in the new science.⁴⁹ Representatives from Austria, Brazil, Belgium, Chile, England, Germany, Holland, Italy, Mexico, Romania, Russia, Finland, Poland, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States took part. F. W. H. Myers, A. T. Myers, and Henry Sidgwick came from England, among others. William James, Joseph Jastrow, Boris Sidis, and Morton Prince came from the United States. Bernheim, Liégeois, Binet, Janet, Richet, and Ribot were there from France as well as Déjerine. Delboeuf came from Belgium, Forel from Zurich, Caesar Lombroso and G. Ferrari came from Italy, and Münsterberg and Schrenk-Notzing came from Germany. Unfortunately, most of the

other invitees from Germany boycotted the meeting. Although it was originally organized by Charcot, who could not make it for medical reasons, Magnan, Richet, and Ribot, as members of the executive committee, convened the meeting instead. The discussions were quite lively, but in the on-going rivalry between the Salpêtrière and the Nancy schools, the Nancy group dominated the discussions, which centered on hypnosis and suggestibility. Clearly, the explanation that the Nancy group put forward—that the phenomena of hypnosis were a function of normal suggestibility rather than a symptom of pathology, as Charcot had claimed—was firmly established as a result of the meetings.

Nevertheless, Janet's work was highlighted and thereafter served to bring together international opinion that fueled further development of a so-called French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis. It should also be mentioned that lurking around the meetings of his own accord as an auditor, but remaining in the background, was a young Viennese neurologist who had come into town to consult with Bernheim about a patient. The neurologist was Sigmund Freud.

James on “Person and Personality”

James is always remembered for having written on the tender and tough-minded types in the first chapter of his *Pragmatism* (1907). He was there talking about different types of philosophers and made the point that the differences between their theories was always one of temperament. The tender-minded were rationalistic and operated according to theories. They were intellectualistic, idealist, optimistic, religious, free-willist, monistic, and dogmatical. The tough-minded were empiricists, relying on facts; they tended to be sensationalistic, materialistic, pessimistic, irreligious, fatalistic, pluralistic, and skeptical.

Next to that discussion, James is always remembered for his definition of the self in his *Principles of Psychology* (1890a).⁵⁰ He said there that there is, first of all, the me and the I, who I am in the experience of the first person, and the I as an objectified entity. Of this objectified entity, we have biological, social, and spiritual sides to the self, which may actually be independent from each other. He also gave a number of examples of multiple personality throughout the text, that is, the possibility of multiple states of consciousness within us. He affirmed this position in his article “The Hidden Self,” which appeared the same year in *Scribner's Magazine*.⁵¹ There he introduced the work of Janet and Binet on psychogenesis and multiple personality, citing numerous cases presented by each investigator. In 1894 he was the first to mention the work of Breuer and Freud to the American psychological public, when he reviewed their “Preliminary Communication on the Nature of Hysterical Phenomena,” noting that it was corroboration for Janet's “already old findings.”⁵²

Throughout the 1890s James continued to interpret the psychological literature on dynamic theories of the subconscious to American audiences, generally favoring the advances of the so-called French Experimental Psychology of the Subconscious, the investigations of Théodore Flournoy in Switzerland, and those of the British psychical researchers. He refuted the so-called searchlight view of consciousness put

forward by the German investigators, who by their very conceptualization of the problem privileged waking rational consciousness as the evolutionary state superior to any that might exist below the surface. He also continued to challenge the American psychologists on the scientific study of the emotions as a way to get them to see that everything is not just a study of cognition alone and that an emotion is not just an ideal category in the mind. He also repeatedly attacked the brass instrument psychologists who haunted the laboratories and asserted that only by the rational ordering of sense data could all of reality be known.

What James had in mind instead was a radically different epistemology for experimental science that was much more phenomenologically oriented, which he eventually dubbed radical empiricism.⁵³ For this, however, he was rejected by psychologists as a mere philosopher and a has-been. After all, psychology had at last established itself as a laboratory science and the philosophers had just been metaphorically banished from the newly founded American Psychological Association and encouraged to start their own national organization. James was made to look like a throw back to the days when psychology was dominated by philosophy, a chant repeated particularly by newly minted psychologists returning from Germany. His days as a psychologist they believed, as reductionistic psychologists continue to believe today, ended with *The Principles of Psychology* in 1890.

James, however, was not to be deterred. He set about pioneering in a variety of new fields that he considered legitimate science, among them, besides experimental psychopathology and psychical research, philosophical psychology, and the psychology of religion. Meanwhile, he continued to clarify the meaning of the person in psychology.

James himself published on the meaning of "person and personality" in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia*, which remained in print between 1893 and 1898.⁵⁴ He began his entry by deriving the word person through Old French, but originally from the Latin *persona*, meaning a theater mask, the part one has, as in a play, personage, or person, which he took to be a loan word from Greek for mask, or face. Its presumed etymology comes from *per*, meaning through, and *sonare*, sound, meaning sound, or "to speak."

Insofar as usage is concerned, he said, personality came to denote a man's corporal appearance rather than his inner attributes. Later the word came to represent relationships with others, as in *personage*, and still later it came to refer to a spiritual function. So James said, "In common parlance today 'person' means an individual man in his typical completeness as uniting a human body with a free and rational soul."⁵⁵ This, he assured his mainly Christian readers, excludes pure spirits, the souls of the departed awaiting resurrection, idiots, maniacs, and animals other than humans.

In psychology the term referred, James said, to personal identity, either as the ultimate principle at the core of man or a subsidiary derived from other principles. He then turned to Hindu philosophy, where he contrasted the Samkhya from the Vedanta on the subject. "Absolute plurality or independent finite souls," James compared to the doctrine that "there exists only one self, the supreme Brahman, with whom all particular selves (Atman) are really coincidental, but (until they

are redeemed by knowledge) dwell in the illusion of finite personality through not distinguishing themselves from the organisms with which they are severally conjoined.”⁵⁶ This distinction is crucial, because it indicates a relatively sophisticated understanding of the difference in the varying Hindu systems with particular reference to the uniqueness of the Samkhya, which can be construed as non-Vedic in origin. Samkhya was committed to a dualism in which pure consciousness and lifeless matter both exist as ultimately real but separate forces. This is one potential source for both his doctrine of noetic pluralism and his conception of radical empiricism as pure experience in the immediate moment, before the differentiation of subject and object.⁵⁷

Having established the doctrine of the Samkhya, James then proceeded to give a description in the Vedanta system. That is, how, after the disintegration of the physical body after death, the subtle body, with the senses, active powers, including consciousness and will, the breath, and the person's *karma*, or “moral worth acquired,” form principles of individuality, which enter future bodies, and through an indefinite series of transmigrations keep up one's finite personal life. He commented that the Theosophists' doctrine of personality is almost wholly constructed on the Vedanta system.⁵⁸ He then concluded with reference to other conceptions of the person from different religious traditions and finished with a discussion of then recent scientific studies in the French, German, and English literature on multiple personality.

James on Multiple Personality in the Lectures on *Exceptional Mental States*

His own major contribution to similar developments in the United States was the effect his work had on the development of what came to be called the Boston School of Psychopathology, which flourished between 1884, the year the American Society for Psychical Research first convened, and 1918, the year James Jackson Putnam died. The so-called Boston “school,” which actually refers to an attitude toward personality and consciousness rather than a specific facility or institution, was made up of a loose-knit group of investigators with various backgrounds in medicine, psychiatry, psychology, philosophy, ethics, social work, and nursing. The first generation was defined by the activities to establish, first, mental science, and then experimental psychopathology at Harvard, Clark, and Tufts. William James, James Jackson Putnam, and Henry Pickering Bowditch, Josiah Royce, Richard Cabot, Joseph Hersey Pratt, Elwood Worcester, Morton Prince, Adolf Meyer, and Edward Cowles were among the early players. G. Stanley Hall came out of this group but soon stood apart from them with his own agenda. A similar situation obtained with the German émigré, Hugo Münsterberg, who opposed hypnosis and dynamic theories from the moment he arrived at Harvard to teach experimental psychology in 1892. The next generation of their students or junior colleagues included figures such as William Healy, Boris Sidis, Gertrude Stein, Ida Cannon, Isador Coriat, William Parker, Harry Linenthal, and L. Eugene Emerson, among others.

The true era of applied psychotherapeutics occurred after 1896, however, when there was an explosion of interest in personality, consciousness, and psychotherapeutics both nationally and internationally. In the United States, Boston became the Mecca for the new cures. Clinical trials on various psychotherapeutic regimes began at the Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) in 1903, group psychotherapy for the treatment of tuberculosis was initiated at the Emmanuel Church in the Back Bay in 1904; the Department of Social Services was founded at the MGH in 1905 and the first school of social work in the United States was launched at Simmons College that same year. The Emmanuel Movement was first launched in 1906, which combined then known advances in scientific psychotherapy with the Christian teachings of character formation, and brought physicians and ministers together. Soon, it became international in scope. In addition to a major era launching the field of the psychology of religion, the Emmanuel Movement can also be considered as chapter one of the clinical pastoral education movement that re-emerged in the 1920s around Rev. Anton Boisen and the physician, Helen Flanders Dunbar.

A major event identifying the emergence of the Boston School of Psychopathology was William James's 1896 Lowell Lectures on *Exceptional Mental States*.⁵⁹ They were eight lectures delivered in late October in the Lowell Institute building in the Back Bay to a public audience under the auspices of the Lowell Institute. Since 1838, The Lowell Lectures had been paying a handsome sum for a just a short lecture series to Harvard and MIT professors only if they were able to make their field of specialization intelligible to the common working man and woman. James's titles were "Dreams and Hypnotism," "Automatism," "Hysteria," "Multiple Personality," "Demonic Possession," "Witchcraft," "Degeneration," and "Genius." The first four lectures established James' understanding of then known advances in a dynamic psychology of the subliminal, while the second four described the workings of the subconscious in the social sphere. Of particular interest for the present discussion is James's lecture on "Multiple Personality."

He began by reviewing the three major types of alienation from one's self—fugue states, where the person's consciousness passes from one state to another with no memory for the previous one; epileptic cases, where there are convulsive fits, contractions, and anesthetics of the hysterical crises, which pass off when the subject returns to waking consciousness; and psychopathic cases characterized by dreamy states, hallucinations, and morbid insanity, but which occur while fully awake. To these he added a fourth type—mediumship.

He reviewed a variety of cases, beginning with alternating personalities, proceeding to cases of multiple selves. He noted in detail Tissié's case of Albert, highlighted in Tissié's *Les Aliénés Voyageurs* (1887). He discussed Raymond and Janet's case of "P," and one of his own, the case of "Miss O.," Mitchell's case of Mary Reynolds, which he had previously cited in *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), along with the example of the Rev. Ansel Bourne. He cited the case of Mollie Fancher, "The Brooklyn Enigma," which demonstrated five different personalities. James's copy of the printed version of the case, by A. H. Dailey, contains the only letter extant written to James from Pierre Janet.⁶⁰ James then introduced

the physician, Osgood Mason's case of "Number One, Twooey, and The Boy," reviewed Azam's case of Felida X., and then Janet's case of Léonie and her several selves.

He reviewed Janet's explanation of multiple personality as split off fragments of the waking state, which operate in the subconscious according to laws of their own, until they gather enough memories and psychic energy to present themselves by bursting forth into consciousness as an apparently different and independent personality. From there he turned to F. W. H. Myers's theory that at any given time, each one of us has in the subliminal region, parallel personalities to the one our friends know that habitually shows itself in the waking state. These parallel personalities are ready to surge forth at any moment, given the right circumstances, some more malevolent, some more transcendent. James cited cases such as Mrs. Sarah Underwood and her "spirit control," and the case of Laurancy Venuum, the "Watskeska Wonder," whose body was allegedly inhabited by that of her dead neighbor's daughter, Mary Roff.

Personality Transformation in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*

With these non-pathological examples in the lectures on *Exceptional Mental States* (1896), James posited a growth-oriented dimension to personality and the possibility that we could evolve into a higher, better, more discerning type of individual. It was a theme he brought into a more precise clarity in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.⁶¹ By religion, he told his audience there, he did not mean to refer to the specific denominations or the institutional church, made up of the priesthood and the texts. Rather, he equated religion with spiritual experiences within the individual. Further, he suggested that exploration of the personal subconscious was the doorway to opening the person up to ultimately transforming experiences of a mystical nature, and he proposed that the truths of such experiences be tested in terms of their fruits for life; in other words, in their ability to improve the moral and esthetic quality of a person's daily living. Psychological science confirms this view, James said there, in light of work by F. W. H. Myers, Pierre Janet, Morton Prince, Boris Sidis, and "Breuer and Freud"—In Boston, Freud was always considered the junior pupil of Breuer, up until 1915, according to James Jackson Putnam.⁶²

The transcendent experience, he maintained, was the vehicle for the ultimate transformation of personality. Veritably, James implied, it was possibly the source of the discursive intellect itself. The change in who the individual was, precipitated by the transcendent experience, remained just as profound as the change that the railroad worker Phineas Gage had undergone in 1848 when an explosion had driven a bar through his skull and he had afterward lived a relatively normal life to tell about it, but as a completely changed person. The one means was wholly psychological and not pathological, while the other was wholly physical, but the results were the same. It was possible to achieve a radical transformation

of personality by psychological means alone and *The Varieties* was full of such examples.

The Swiss psychiatrist, Carl Gustav Jung, understood this when he later counseled Rowland Hazard that there was nothing in medicine or psychiatry that could cure him of his alcoholism. Jung suggested instead that Hazard seek out some spiritual community that would foster the experience of transcendence as the only means to change his behavior and cure his addiction.⁶³ Hazard went out and saved Ebby Thatcher, who then took James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* to Bill Wilson in the hospital. Bill Wilson came to understand this same point when, after what he called a white light experience, read James's *Varieties*, and later said that James was the source of the first three of the Twelve Steps of Alcoholics Anonymous.⁶⁴

Along with James, other figures in the Boston School of Psychopathology who were considered experts on the subject of multiple personality included Boris Sidis and Morton Prince. As a young man, Sidis had escaped from political persecution in Russia and landed penniless in the United States. By sheer resourcefulness he made his way to Boston and worked his way into Harvard as an undergraduate. Befriended by William James from the beginning, Sidis went on to take a PhD under James in experimental psychopathology for a dissertation on crowd psychology, which was later published with a preface by James as *The Psychology of Suggestion* (1898).⁶⁵

According to the historian Starch, Sidis's work, among other influences, made a major contribution to the continued development of crowd psychology in France during that period.⁶⁶ While Charcot and Bernheim were busy in the 1880s arguing for a dynamic psychiatry within the individual, Gabriel Tarde and Gustave Le Bon were developing the new dynamic concepts of the subconscious and applying them to an understanding of social phenomena by the early 1890s. Sidis's work further fueled the dynamic interpretation of the period and extended the dissociation hypothesis well into the 20th century. Actually, James had left the development of a dynamic theory of the subconscious in the social sphere unfinished after he delivered his 1896 Lowell lectures, which he never returned to publish. Instead, the dynamic theories found a significant place in various chapters of *The Varieties of Religious Experience* in 1902 and contributed to the development of the psychology of religion. James even went so far as to call for the development of a cross-cultural comparative psychology of mystical states of consciousness in 1902, suggesting an international scope for his dynamic theories of personality, while at the same time proposing that this was possibly psychology's most important contribution to the religious sphere.

James also bequeathed those theories to Sidis as one of the next generation of investigators to develop them. Sidis went on to the New York Psychiatric Institute, where he taught techniques of psychotherapy to budding young physicians such as William Alanson White. Sidis began publishing on dissociation and multiple personality and presented his own case of alternating personality, the Rev. Hannah. He soon returned to Boston to take an MD under James Jackson Putnam at Harvard Medical School in 1904. While there, he did an extensive study of sleep and concluded that the hypnotic trance was a special case of an alternate hypnoid condition which he hypothesized was once the dominant state of consciousness in humans.

Over evolutionary time, deep sleep and waking consciousness became differentiated from the more primitive hypnoid condition, but it was possible to enter into it again through different means by dissociating consciousness. His important contribution of the period was his article "The Psychotherapeutic Value of the Hypnoidal State."⁶⁷

Prince on Ms. Beauchamp

Morton Prince (Harvard Medical School Class of 1879), began his career as an eye, a ear, a nose, and a throat man, but soon changed his field of specialization to diseases of the nervous system. He became an ardent spokesperson for developments in French psychopathology and even took his mother abroad for a consultation with Charcot. Influenced at first by John Hughlings Jackson and Pierre Janet, Prince began his study of multiple personality in the 1890s, soon adding the work of Ivan Pavlov to his theories. In charge of what came to be the Department of Neurology at the Boston City Hospital, Prince was also a Professor of Neurology at Tufts Medical School. He is best remembered for the case of Sally Beauchamp, a multiple whom he treated successfully and later reported about in *Dissociation of a Personality* (1906).⁶⁸ Among other contributions, he was founder and editor of *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology* in 1906, the main organ of the Boston School of Psychopathology. He was also elected first President of the American Psychopathological Association, which sought to represent psychotherapeutics in psychology, psychiatry, and neurology from an eclectic standpoint. Toward the end of his career, in 1926, after James, Putnam, Bowditch, and others had long passed from the scene; Prince endowed the Harvard Psychological Clinic, eventually empowering the career and accomplishments of yet an even younger generation of investigators around Henry A. Murray.

Flournoy on Hélène Smith

In this regard, a major player in the history of dynamic theories of personality, and a central figure in the French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis in the late 19th century, was Théodore Flournoy, Professor of Experimental Psychology at the University of Geneva.⁶⁹ Flournoy was born on August 13, 1854, 2 years before Freud. In 1878 he received his MD from the University of Strasbourg. He then went to Leipzig where he studied experimental psychology with Wilhelm Wundt for 2 years and even founded the first laboratory of experimental psychology in Switzerland. But he was no Wundtian and soon found himself interested in the new dynamic psychology of the subliminal according to Myers and Janet. Beginning in the late 1880s, he established ties that would lead to a lifelong friendship with William James, who believed that both of them propounded a truly functional psychology, "the only true psychology worthy of the name," as James once put it.⁷⁰

Flournoy soon discovered Hélène Smith, a case of multiple personality who claimed to speak numerous foreign languages while entranced, including French, Chinese, and Sanskrit. When pressed too closely about the actual content of these languages over the years that she was studied, she reverted to Martian, which later drew the attention of the linguists, since they believed it was the first example of a complete artificial language they had ever seen.

Flournoy's account of Ms. Smith, published in 1899 under the title *From India to the Planet Mars*, drew widespread attention to the new dynamic psychology of the subconscious. His work became a key addition to the other paradigm cases of mediumship and multiple personality that defined the era, such as Mrs. Piper, developed by William James; Rev. Hannah, developed by Boris Sidis; Sally Beauchamp, developed by Morton Prince; and Lucy Goodrich Freer, Stanton Moses, and other cases developed by F. W. H. Myers. Others, such as the young C. G. Jung, contributed the case of Hélène Preiswerk. Whereas physiological psychology in the 1860s defined its subject matter using the frog, and behaviorists from the 1920s onward would later substitute the white rat, for a 40-year period between 1880 and 1920, researchers, such as James, Flournoy, and Sidis, sought to establish a cross-cultural comparative psychology of subconscious states, based on the single case study of either a medium or a case of multiple personality.⁷¹

Flournoy was particularly interested in the phenomenon of what he called cryptomnesia, the accrual of information or experiences long forgotten which emerge into consciousness at a much later time and appear as if new material that was original to the experiencer, apparently underived from any outside source. Flournoy did not subscribe to the spiritualist hypothesis of entities trying to communicate with us from beyond the grave, and cryptomnesia, he believed, was the more likely explanation for much of the productions of the mediums he studied. Nor did he believe that there was a life after death and that science could know it. Rather, he felt that scientific study of mediumship had at least demonstrated that human beings were capable of developing supernormal capacities, that is, penetrating into dimensions of experience beyond the normal everyday waking state in which exceptional abilities could be demonstrated and that these abilities could be developed by individuals in varying degrees.

Jung on Hélène Preiswerk

Carl Gustav II Jung, so known to his family because he had been named after his grandfather who had been a physician, was born in Kesswil, Switzerland in July 1875 and raised outside Zurich. His father, a minister, was a *seelesorg*, appointed at a local asylum, and had a library of psychiatric texts, while his mother, who came from a well-to-do Swiss family, was prone to visions and promoted the reality of spiritualistic phenomena among her extensive family members, many of whom showed a similar gift of psychic second sight. One was Hélène Preiswerk, or Helly, as she was called, daughter of her sister.

Jung's decision to become a physician pushed him in the direction of the medical sciences, but in 1898, when he was considering what specialty to enter, he was drawn to psychiatry because he thought it would address some of the burning questions he had been pondering about the dynamics of human consciousness, to which he had already been exposed.⁷² The true question for Jung was to become, "where did personality get its motivational force?"⁷³

At first, he was somewhat hesitant, as psychiatry seemed to be in the grip of the lesion theory of disease, where all mental symptoms were believed to have an underlying organic cause, and all mental disorders were quickly being reduced to Kraepelin's new psychiatric classification, which later became the foundation for the DSM. The only sources for a truly dynamic psychology of personality he found in Passavant, DuPrel, Swedenborg, and others, 18th- and 19th-century authors dealing with the interior life of the mind and especially in Swedenborg's case, not only psychopathology but also the spiritual transformation of consciousness.⁷⁴ *Dreams of a Spirit Seer* (1899),⁷⁵ Kant's attack on Swedenborg, first published in 1766, was particularly influential in Jung's thinking. Then Jung read Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1892)⁷⁶ just before his state examination granting medical certification in 1900. Led by these influences, Jung committed himself to the course in psychiatry.

Immediately after passing his exam, Jung reported to the Burghölzli, the cantonal psychiatric hospital associated with the University of Zurich, to become an assistant to Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939). Bleuler practiced *Anstaltspsychiatrie*, institutionalized treatment characterized by a close relationship between patient and physician. Thus, the entire regime at the hospital was over regulated with regard to daily examinations and reports. Every physician was expected to know everything about every patient. Inmates also participated in the governance of the hospital. The psychotherapeutic treatment of the psychoses became Bleuler's specialty, in which he emphasized not only contact, but the establishment of rapport, in delivery of therapy to patients who had experienced a complete break with reality. Bleuler had studied with Charcot and Magnan in Paris and Bernard von Gudden in Munich and developed the approach called *affektiver*, rapport, or emotional connection to the schizophrenic patient. But Bleuler was chiefly known as a student of August Forel, the former superintendent. A world-class myrmecologist and brain neuropathologist, Forel had, during his tenure before Bleuler, established the Burghölzli as a world-class institution and at the same time participated as a major player introducing Swiss psychiatry into American psychotherapeutic circles.

In his new position, Jung spent his first 6 months without going out once. He was introduced to the association experiments of Wundt and Galton, and the recently published *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900)⁷⁷ by Freud, although he paid scant attention to Freud's ideas at the time. He was more interested in séances and mediumistic trances and to his surprise was encouraged by Bleuler, who was also interested in the subject. Out of this interest, Jung began to summarize a year of séances he had held with cousin Helly, which became the core of his dissertation, *On the Psychology and Pathology of so-called Occult Phenomena* (1902).⁷⁸

Jung began this dissertation with a summary of research on the topic by William James, before he turned to Charcot, Flournoy, and Bleuler. He then presented H               as his single case study. His position was that psychic powers are perfectly normal accompaniments of certain states of consciousness and do not derive from the supernatural. He believed the investigation of the s       would be transformative for experimental psychology, as it would lead to the development of a more mature psychology of the unconscious. It was approved by the medical faculty in 1901 and published in 1902.

The Young Roberto Assagioli

In the late 19th century, Italian psychiatry had been dominated by such theories as that of Cesare Lombroso, the criminal anthropologist who had made a name for himself by comparing the size of skulls of different types and cultures. Generally, the Italians looked to the Germans for their definition of psychiatry, until the Italian courts woke them up from their slumber. One year a man was tried for inciting a mob to riot in which someone had been murdered. Brought to trial, the man's lawyers argued that recent advances in French crowd psychology had scientifically proven that one loses one's identity in the hyper-suggestible environment of the crowd, whose uncontrolled madness can become infectious. Personal identity dissolves and the individuals all become fused into a vortex defined by the fickle changes of the crowd itself. Their client, in fact, was not responsible for his actions. The court agreed, which sent the Italian psychiatric community scrambling to absorb the new work on French psychopathology.

Various individuals were already involved in such researches, however. Enrico Morselli, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Turin, had studied the trances of the stage hypnotist, Donato, and written a work on hypnosis defending him. Morselli was also an enthusiastic supporter of Flournoy's researches into H              . Santi de Sanctis, another Italian psychiatrist, had been studying sleep and dreams and was favorably reviewed in the American literature by William James. Giulio Cesare Ferrari, psychiatrist and asylum superintendent who had at one point examined Helen Keller, was also favorably disposed toward developments in the French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis. Ferrari, along with Giovanni Papini, Vailati, and others were members of the Italian pragmatist circle and were involved after 1900 in translating William James's works into Italian. Ferrari was also editor of *Revista di Applicata Psicologia*. In 1909 he published a remarkable article on the psychology of forced ideas by the young medical student, Roberto Assagioli, later to become known a half a century later within the American psychotherapeutic counterculture for his psychology of the will and his system of personality development, which he called psychosynthesis.⁷⁹ The seeds of Assagioli's system, which not only included a dynamic theory of self-actualization but also drew on indigenous non-Western psychologies, were already planted at this earlier period.

In his article for Ferrari, entitled “La Psicologia Della Ideé-forze e la Psicagogia,” Assagioli began his comments with a quote from the *Dhammapada*, a Theravada Buddhist text enjoining rules for the life of the monk seeking enlightenment, that is, release from suffering through meditation and non-attachment. He began by chastising contemporary psychiatry for being so primitive in its state of development with regard to problems of consciousness. He reviewed Alfred Fouillee’s concept of forced ideas as one of the prevailing contemporary theories that might have some substance, and he also pointed out the works of such Western physicians as the Swiss psychiatrist, Paul Dubois of Bern, who had then recently promoted the idea of self-knowledge as a central focus of psychotherapy. He reviewed Janet’s *Psychological Automatism*s and mentioned works on meditation and the psychology of the will as viable topics that should be explored. He then launched into a discussion of yoga and the psychology of concentration. He referred to Breuer and Freud, but cited only Italian interpretations of their work, never referring to Freud’s writings directly. He then referred to William James’s work, just then becoming more well known in Italian through the translations of Papini and others, and he particularly recommended the psychology of Vedanta and Samkhya in Hindu philosophy as well as teachings of the Buddhists. Analogous literature, Assagioli said, can be found in the literature in Christian religious mysticism, and the American New Thought Movement, which laid out a detailed psychology of intuition, spiritual visions, and mystical consciousness. Modern psychiatry must take these claims of higher consciousness seriously and recognize that there is a spiritual dimension to personality that the epistemology of reductionistic science cannot fathom because of the limits of its own presuppositions about the nature of reality. He ended the article with an extensive annotated bibliography, expanding on the works of the authors cited with additional citations of authors from the French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis, and various authors on East-West spirituality and the American New Thought Movement. All this, Assagioli broached in 1909.

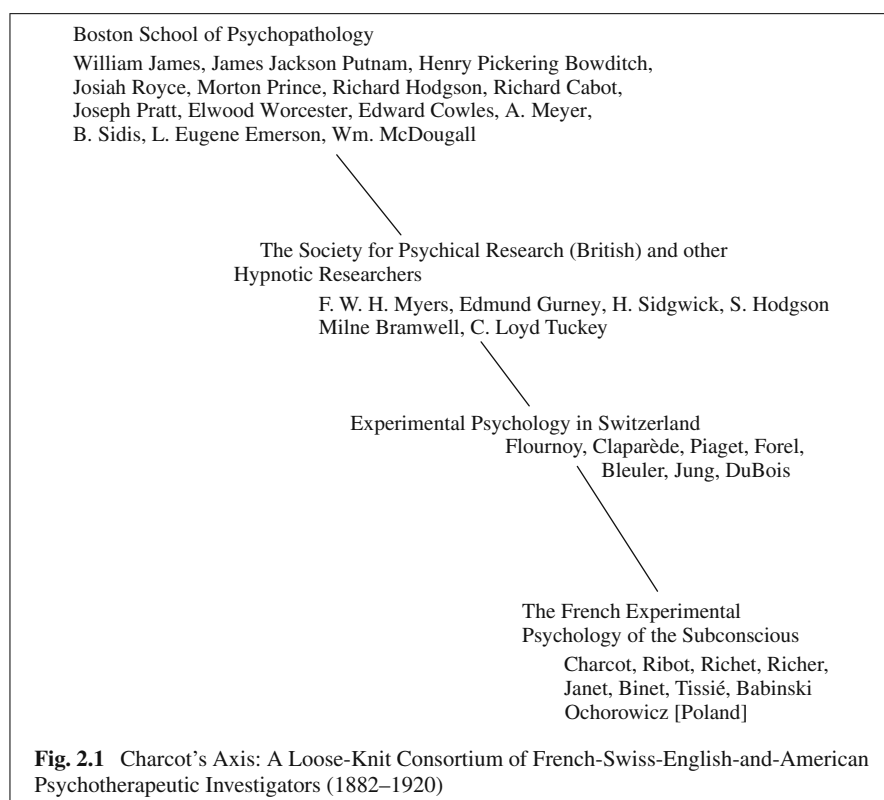
To wit, in the closing decades of the 19th century, while German experimentalists around Wilhelm Wundt were preoccupied with measuring reaction times and sensory thresholds in the laboratories, and the English, following Francis Galton, were turning toward mental testing, the French, following Charcot, Janet, and Ribot and also Bernheim, came to be identified with the investigation of hysteria, hypnotism, dual personality, catalepsy, and somnambulism. The pathology of the emotions led investigators to formulate new scientific methods for studying the subconscious springs of human actions, out of which the field of motivation was born. It would not be long before the budding subdisciplines of personality, abnormal, clinical, and social psychology would emerge as significant counterpoints to an over-rigid emphasis on laboratory methods, paper-and-pencil tests, and the emergence of reductionistic trait theory as the only allegedly legitimate forms of psychological science, especially in the American universities.

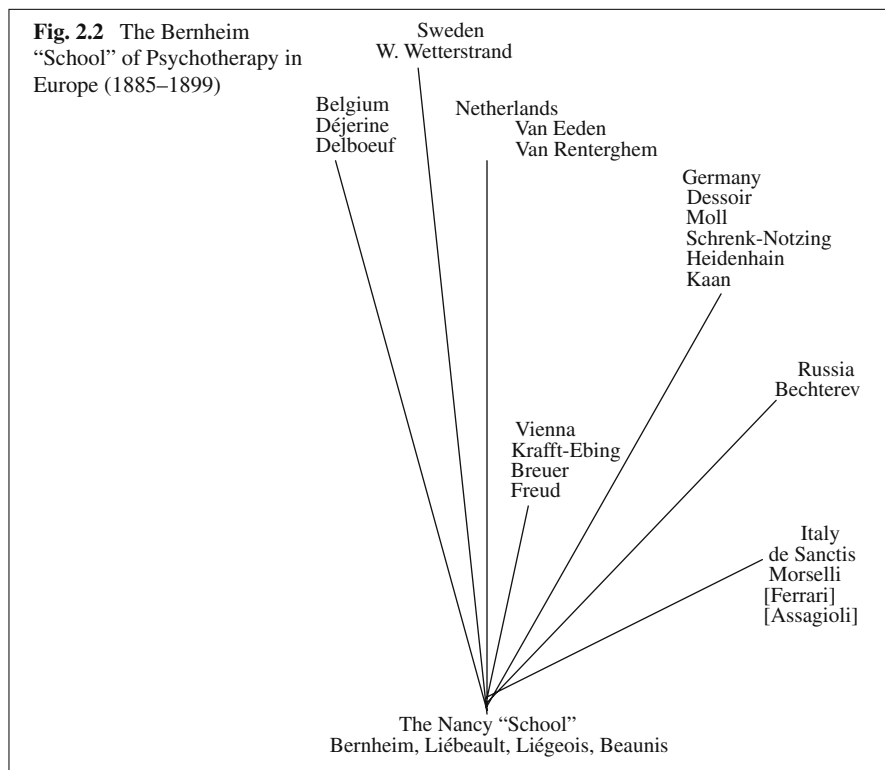
Ellenberger notes that by 1900 four different aspects of the unconscious had been demonstrated: (1) its conservative function, the capacity of storing a number of memories and perceptions; (2) its dissolutive function, the tendency for dissociation

and automatic actions; (3) its creative function, and (4) its mythopoetic function, the capacity to produce “mythopoetic subliminal romances.”⁸⁰

To this I would add the assumption that investigators acknowledged a growth-oriented dimension to personality—meaning a spiritual aspect to personality generic to each person—and that this evolutive wing of our higher nature lays in potentia until tapped through a variety of means, ranging from contemplative reflection and the moral life to the more irregular routes of creative illness, the deliberate induction of altered states of consciousness, spontaneous mystical awakening, or the systematic pursuit of techniques designed to foster spiritual insight, whether pursued within the context of organized religion or outside of it.

These ideas developed in a climate of scientific inquiry defined by a more liberal underlying epistemology within the French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis 125 years ago than that afforded by similar thinking in mainstream cognitive behaviorism and trait theory today. Preeminently, the reconstruction of this axis is the articulation of Charcot’s school of thought regarding trance states, tempered with a more eclectic and expansive definition of personality and consciousness informed by other French and German theorists, British and American psychical researchers, and influential American psychopathologists. Figure 2.1





depicts this state of affairs from approximately the early 1880s to the beginning of the 1920s. Figure 2.2 suggests at least the early decades of approximately the same time period but looking toward Europe, before the advent of psychoanalysis. There was certainly communication between these different cohorts, but nothing like the interrelationships exhibited by the French-Swiss-English-and-American psychotherapeutic axis. If anything, we could say the European investigators represented more the attitude of Bernheim and the Nancy School. There were certainly numerous interconnections. Assagioli was influenced by both Freud and Jung, for instance, but in the end his psychology looked more like Jung's than Freud's. Sidis subscribed to both schools, but was more clearly allied with James and Janet. This was also Freud's period of "glorious isolation."⁸¹ Richard von Krafft-Ebing was the foremost personality in Viennese psychiatry in this early period.

Morton Prince remarked at the end of his own career in the late 1920s that "psychoanalysis flooded the field and left the rest of us like clams submerged at high water." The essential historical question, then, is, why did psychoanalysis seem to take over so rapidly and so completely as to obscure this vibrant period that produced so many dynamic psychologies of the subconscious? Ellenberger himself remarked on this in an interview in 1964, when he pointed out that of all the developing sciences in the late 19th century, only the spectacular advances in depth

psychology failed to become assimilated into the general flow of knowledge about science in the 20th century. Psychoanalysis, in fact, was the only dynamic language of inner experience allowed entry into the ultra positivistic scientific era that followed in the United States, and even then only grudgingly.

What, then, was this theory that so captivated modern popular culture in the West that literally took control of clinical teaching in psychology and psychiatry for half a century and acted as the persistent gadfly to the reductionistic scientists who considered it so unscientific in the experimental laboratory tradition in both professions?

Notes

1. Well into the Middle Ages, the Greek physician, Hippocrates (426BC–377 BC) was best known for his references to the system of temperaments or humors, known as choleric, melancholic, sanguine, and phlegmatic. Personality in this system was equated with the predominance of different kinds of bodily fluids. Choleric was represented by yellow bile from the liver and was correlated with the passionate type; Sanguine, blood from the heart, meaning someone who was eager and optimistic; Melancholic, black bile from the kidneys, referring to a type that was reticent and doleful; and Phlegmatic, phlegm from the lungs, referring to types that were calm. A perfect balance of the humors defined the normal personality, although it was also believed that one predominated over the other and determined the primary direction of the individual.
2. Taylor (1999).
3. Hahnemann, S. (1810). *Organon der rationellen Heilkunde*. Dresden, Germany: Arnold; First English edition; Hahnemann, S. (1901). *Organon of medicine* (R. E. Dudgeon, Trans.). Philadelphia: Boericke & Tafel.
4. Hawthorne, N. (1850). *The scarlet letter*. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields; Melville, H. (1851). *Moby Dick*. New York: Harper and Brothers; Clarke, J. F. (1882) *Self-culture: Physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual*. Boston: James R. Osgood; Emerson, R. W. (1850). *Representative men*. London: John Chapman.
5. Ellenberger (1970) notes that in the 1820s, physicians such as Noizet, Deleuze, Bertrand, Despine, Dupotet, and others had tried in vain to influence the academy on the beneficial effects of mesmerism (p. 76).
6. James Braid, the Scottish physician who coined the term hypnosis, was an exception. Mesmerism and hypnosis were debunked generally throughout mainstream European and Anglo-American medicine. An examination of every issue of the *American Journal of Insanity*, for instance, through the entire decade of the 1880s did not mention anything about a psychogenic revolution going on in French neurology around hypnosis and referred only two or three times to anything in Germany, mainly having to do with stage hypnotism. Actually, a previous generation of both French and German investigators, not all of them physicians, had attempted to study the phenomena of mesmerism. Ellenberger (1970) notes that in Germany these included “Gmelin, Kluge, the brothers Hufeland, Kaiser, Nasse, Passavant, and Wolfart” (p. 77). Carl Alexander Ferdinand Kluge, in his *Versuch einer Darstellung des animalischen magnetismus als Heilmittel* (Berlin, 1811, pp. 102–108, as cited in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 78), for instance, distinguished six degrees of the magnetic state: (1) the waking state; (2) half-sleep; (3) “inner darkness,” meaning sleep proper with insensibility; (4) “inner clarity,” meaning consciousness within one’s own body, extrasensory perception, and vision through the epigastrium; (5) “self-contemplation,” meaning the subject’s ability to perceive with great accuracy the interior of his own body and that of those whom he is put into rapport; (6) “universal clarity,” meaning the removal of veils of time and space, where the subject perceives things hidden in the past, the future, or remote distances.
7. For more sources on Charcot see Micale on Charcot’s 30 cases of male hysteria. Micale, M. S. (1990). Charcot and the idea of hysteria in the male: Gender, mental science, and medical diagnostics in late 19th-century France. *Medical History* 34, 363–411; Also Micale’s *Diagnostic*

- discriminations: Jean-Martin Charcot and the nineteenth-century idea of masculine hysterical neurosis* (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1987). (*Dissertation Abstracts UMI No. ATT8729120*)
8. James, W. (1890a). *The principles of psychology* (2 Vols.). New York: Henry Holt and Company.
 9. Discussed in Shamdasani, S. (2003). *Jung and the making of modern psychology*. London: Cambridge University Press, p. 41.
 10. Richter, P. (1881). *Etudes cliniques sur l'hystéro-épilepsie ou grande hystérie*. Paris: Delahaye et Lecrosnier.
 11. For a spirited defense of Charcot's theories see Gilles de la Tourette, G. (1891). *Traité clinique et thérapeutique de l'hystérie d'après l'enseignement de la Salpêtrière*. Paris: Librairie Plon, Nourrit et Cie.
 12. Gilles de la Tourette, 1891, p. 166.
 13. Tissié, P. (1890). *Les rêves: Physiologie et pathologie*. Paris: Ancienne Librairie German Baillière, p. 214.
 14. Tissié, P. (1887). *Les aliénés voyageurs: Essai médico-psychologique*. Paris, Doin.
 15. Nicolas, S., & Murray, D. J. (1999). Théodule Ribot (1839–1916), Founder of French psychology: A biographical introduction. *History of Psychology*, 2(4), 277–301.
 16. Routh, D. K. (2004, August). *The challenges of writing a history of international clinical psychology*. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Society of Clinical Psychology in Beijing, China. Retrieved July 11, 2007 from <http://htpprints.yorku.ca/archive/00000222/01/Beijing.htm>
 17. Ochorowicz, J. (1887). *De la suggestion mentale*. Paris: Doin.
 18. Ochorowicz, J. (1891). *Mental suggestion* (J. Fitzgerald, Trans.). New York: Humboldt Publishing Company.
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 20. Féré, C. (1892). *La pathologie des émotions: Études physiologiques et cliniques*. Paris: F. Alcan. See also Féré, C. (1899b). *The pathology of emotions: Physiological and clinical studies*. (R. Park, Trans.). London: University Press.
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 22. Binet, A. (1892). *Les altérations de la personnalité*. Ancienne library. Germer Baillière et Cie. Paris: Félix Alcan.
 23. Ellenberger, H. F. (1978). Pierre Janet and his American friends. In G. E. Gifford, Jr. (Ed.), *Psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, and the New England medical scene, 1894–1944* (pp. 63–72). New York: Science History Publications.
 24. The Jung scholar Sonu Shamdasani disputes this point, Shamdasani, *Jung and the making of modern psychology*, p. 87.
 25. Ellenberger, 1978, p. 87.
 26. James, W. (1868). Moral medication. Review of Liébeault's *Du sommeil des états analogues, considérés surtout au point de vue de l'action du moral sur le physique*. *The Nation*, 7(159), 50–52.
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 29. Beard, G. M. (1873). The influence of the mind in the causation and cure of disease and the potency of expectation. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 3, 430–431.
 30. James, W. (1884). What is an emotion? *Mind*, 9(34), 188–205.
 31. The full correspondence between James and Ribot has yet to be collected in one place.
 32. Binet, A. (1890). *On double consciousness*. Chicago: Open Court.
 33. Myers, F. W. H. (1903). *Human personality and its survival of bodily death*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company.
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 35. Shamdasani, S. (1993, Spring). Automatic writing and the discovery of the unconscious. *Journal of Archetype and Culture*, 54, 100–131.
 36. Taylor, E. I. (1988). On the first use of psychoanalysis at the Massachusetts General Hospital, 1903–1908. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 43(4), 447–471.
 37. James, W. (1902b) Frederick Myers's services to psychology. *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research*, 17, 13–23.

38. Myers, F. W. H. (1886). Human personality in the light of hypnotic suggestion. *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, 4, 1–24.
39. Gurney, E., Myers, F. W. H., & Podmore, F. (1886). *Phantasms of the living*. London: Rooms of the Society for Psychical Research; Trübner and Company.
40. Remarking on his year at Harvard in 1892–1893, James Angell wrote “I enjoyed a peculiarly intimate contact with James by virtue of his turning over to me for study and digest the great mass of documentary material, which had come to him in connection with the effort of the American Society for Psychical Research to secure exhaustive and reliable information regarding abnormal psychic experiences of normal individuals—especially so-called veridical hallucinations.” Angell, J. R. (1961). James Rowland Angell. In C. Murchison (Ed.), *A history of psychology in autobiography* (Vol. 3., pp. 1–38). New York: Russell and Russell.
41. Taylor, E. I. (1985a). Psychotherapy, Harvard, and the American Society for Psychical Research, 1884–1889. *Proceedings of the 28th Annual Convention of the Parapsychological Association*. Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, August 15, 319–346.
42. Taylor, E. I. (1983). *William James on exceptional mental states*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
43. James, W. (1909). Report on Mrs. Piper’s Hodgson-Control. *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, 23, 2–121.
44. Janet, P. (1885). Notes sur quelques phénomènes de somnambulisme. *Bulletins de la Société de Psychologie physiologique*, 2, 70–80.
45. The Jungian analyst John Haule maintains that the theory of the transference originated not with Freud, but with Janet. Haule, J. R. (1986). Pierre Janet and dissociation: The first transference theory and its origins in hypnosis. *American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis*, 29(2), 86–94.
46. Janet, P. (1889a). *L’automatisme psychologique. Essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inférieures de l’activité humaine*. Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Ballière.
47. Following the prevailing notion on the will propounded by Ribot, and the theory of Fouillée on “idée-force,” Janet came to believe that it is the natural tendency of an idea to develop into an act. James, among others, called it “ideomotor activity”—the automatic discharge of a thought into its consequences.
48. By 1892, Janet reported that he had manifested such forgotten memories in dreams, automatic writing, distractions, and by a method he called automatic talking, in which the patient was encouraged to talk aloud at random. Before 1890, Janet was also aware of the often symbolic nature of the presenting symptom—the fits of terror which were traced back to the patient’s reaction to a terror filled event; a rash on the hysteric patient’s face derived from a memory where as a young girl the hysteric had to sleep in the same bed with an older woman whose face bore a disgusting eruption. He also recognized the developmental component in the patient’s recovery—that traumatic experiences from the past were usually accompanied by immature behavior and that relief from these symptoms allowed a more fully functioning and mature person to emerge.

In his medical dissertation under Charcot, *The Mental State of Hystericals* (1893), Janet summarized the cases he had been working on in the wards. Focusing on hysteria, he distinguished between two levels of symptoms, accidents, and stigmata. The accidents were contingent on circumstances and depended on the existence of fixed ideas, while the stigmata were a function of a single basic disturbance that caused an extreme narrowing of the patient’s field of consciousness. Hysteria was not purely neurological, nor was the patient pretending. It was, rather, psychogenic—of psychological origin, based upon a morbid physiological condition.

These conclusions allowed Janet to expand on his original conceptions of the psyche. At the lowest level were primitive emotional reactions and useless muscular movements. Next came the functions of imagination—memory, reasoning, fantasy, and daydreaming. Above that is the level of interested activity, which included habits and actions that were indifferent and automatic. The highest level of synthesis was that of voluntary action and attention. This is the level of what he called presentification, the capacity for grasping reality to the maximum.

By the end of the 1890s Janet had shifted his focus from the study of hysteric patients to other forms of neuroses. He developed a synthetic theory in *Neurosis and Fixed Ideas* (1898) and *Obsessions and Psychasthenia* (1903) in which hysteria and psychasthenia became the two primary forms of neurosis. By 1913, his work was publicly being subjected to systematic deconstruction by the psychoanalysts-turned historians who marginalized all his earlier work, giving credit for the

- psychogenic hypothesis exclusively to Freud. In the 1920s, Janet fell under the influence of the developmental psychologist, James Mark Baldwin, who was living as an American ex-patriot in Paris at the time. Janet's theories took a decidedly developmental turn, as he began to theorize about personality across the life span. He also presented lectures on the psychology of religion during this same period. A renaissance of his work occurred in the 1930s when his ideas were taken up by Elton Mayo at the Harvard Business School, and he was invited in 1936 to the Harvard Tercentenary to receive an honorary doctorate, along with Jung and Piaget. Then, after his death in 1946, at that time a forgotten figure, his ideas were resurrected again in the 1970s around the neo-dissociation theorists who were interested in the historical antecedents of post-traumatic stress disorder, dissociation, and traumatic shock. These included figures such as the psychiatrists Bessel van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart, psychoanalysts such as John Nemiah, and even the aging Ernest Hilgard in psychology, whose work on hypnosis had led him back to Janet's writings. [Janet, P. (1893). *Contribution à l'étude des accidents mentaux chez les hystériques*. Paris: Rueff et Cie; Janet, P. (1889b). *Névroses et idées fixes* (2 vols.). Paris: Alcan; Janet, P. (1903). *Les obsessions et la psychasthénie* (2 vols.). Paris: Alcan.]
49. Myers, A. T. (1890). International congress of experimental psychology. *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, 6, 171–182.
 50. See Leary, D. (1990). William James on the self and personality: Clearing the ground for subsequent theorists, researchers, and practitioners. In M. G. Johnson, & T. B. Henley (Eds.), *Reflections on "The Principles of Psychology": William James after a century* (pp. 101–137). Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.; Coon, D. (2000). Salvaging the self in a world without soul: William James's *Principles of Psychology*. *History of Psychology*, 3(2), 83–103.
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 54. James, W. (1893). Person and personality. *Johnson's universal cyclopedia*. In F. H. Burkhardt, F. Bowers, & I. K. Skrupskelis (Eds.). (1975), *Works of William James. Essays in psychology* (pp. 315–321). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 55. Burkhardt, Bowers, & Skrupskelis, 1975, p. 315.
 56. Burkhardt, Bowers, & Skrupskelis, 1975, p. 316.
 57. In the Samkhya, all individuals are not subsumed under the same *purusha*. Rather, each person exists as a light unto him or herself. See also, Taylor, E. I. (2008). William James on pure experience and Samadhi in Samkhya Yoga. In K. R. Rao (Ed.), *Handbook of Indian psychology*. Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press Ltd.
 58. James had been a member of the Theosophical Society in Boston since 1888, read their literature, and commented regularly upon it, particularly in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902a). The local lodge of which he was a member was run by the American branch under Katherine Tingley and William Q. Judge, who had separated from the International Society by then. The current theosophical society dates its beginnings from the 1920s, when Katherine Tingley died in an auto accident and Annie Besant brought the Boston Lodge back under the wing of the International Society, dating its inception from that period. Acknowledgments to Sylvia Cranston for providing me with documentation for James's membership in the earlier Theosophical Society.
 59. Taylor (1983).
 60. Letter dated June 8, 1895 in which Janet comments on the Fancher case—Rare Books, Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard. See also Walsh, A. A. (1978). "Mollie Fancher: The Brooklyn enigma." *New Port Magazine*, 1, 2 (Salve Regina College); and *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research [British]*, 14, 396 (1899).
 61. James (1902a).
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 63. Bluhm, A. C. (2006). Verification of C. G. Jung's analysis of Rowland Hazard and the history of Alcoholics Anonymous. *History of Psychology*, 9(4), 313–324.
 64. T. Powers (personal communication, March, 1989). Also, Taylor, E. I. (2001–2002). *The Varieties and its influence*. In *William James and the spiritual roots of American pragmatism*. Lectures on the Centenary of James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* for the Swedenborg Society at Harvard.
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66. Karpf, F. B. (1932). *American social psychology: Its origins, development, and European background*. New York, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
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71. A differentiation needs to be made at the outset between the experimentalists' view of a case study, which can be a single subject or a cohort of subjects taken by itself, and the meaning of the case study in personality theory, which conveys more of a clinical understanding regarding the assessment of a single patient. For examples more compatible with the experimentalists view that are adapted to general research designs, see Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. For a clinical example focusing on a single person, see Kreuter, E. A. (2006). *Victim vulnerability: An existential-humanistic interpretation of a single case study*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
72. At one point a 70-year-old walnut dining table had cracked in his house inexplicably in a way that could not be ascribed to any physical defect in the wood. Then a few weeks later, a loud noise had been heard and it was found that a hefty bread knife in a sideboard drawer had been inexplicably broken into three even pieces with no visible marks on the blade. These events sent Jung into the spiritist literature for an explanation. Even though he found such material weird and questionable, they at least seemed to treat such events as “objective psychic phenomena.” See Bair, D. (2003). *Jung: A biography*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, p. 43.
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81. And while Freud later claimed that “Charcot was my master,” Charcot did not remember him in that way. Bernheim was Freud's next incarnation after Charcot. Freud later developed psychoanalysis as an alternative to therapeutic suggestion, an endeavor of Bernheim's, not Charcot's. In any event, it is my impression that Freud's relation to Charcot was overplayed by Freud himself and then further amplified by Freud's followers.

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