

ELEMENTS OF SENOI DREAMING APPLIED in a WESTERN CULTURE

Jack Johnston
California School for Professional
Psychology, San Francisco

The dreamwork of the Senoi tribe of Malaysia bespeaks an elegantly simple and effective holistic system of community mental health. According to the limited material available (see references 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18), each morning over breakfast the children, beginning with the youngest who can speak, share their dreams. The family praises them and offers encouragement and suggestions regarding actions they can take in future dreams. Many of the adults then adjourn to a tribal council for further dream sharing from which they plan for the governance and welfare of the tribe.

The Senoi boast of a healthy, autonomous people who for approximately the past three centuries have experienced virtually no armed conflict, violent crime, or insanity. It is said that each day they spend only two or three hours farming and hunting, using simple and efficient methods refined over the years. The remainder of the day they develop projects based on gifts and symbols, such as making new kinds of traps, and teaching each other songs, poems, and dances, all originally obtained from the "spirits" of their "dream universe." They also prepare for evening celebrations by making paper costumes and decorating them with symbols from their most recent dreams.

The Senoi recognize that these "spirits" are manifestations of their own personalities, a synthesis of responses to both their

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I wish to thank Dr. Eric Greenleaf who first demonstrated the Senoi dreamwork process to me in a class at the California School for Professional Psychology, September 1973.

internal and external environments. As such, their dream philosophy is a startlingly lucid metaphor for our more "sophisticated" personality theories. They believe that if a person does not conquer a hostile spirit which appears in the dream and make this spirit an ally, it will forever hold power over the dreamer and eventually join forces with another evil spirit. If these two are then avoided, they will join with still others and soon the dreamer will be plagued by an entire army.

We might extend this allegory to gain a perspective of the process we call "psychosis." If an individual continually avoids confronting these hostile spirits, the army may build to such a strength that it can force its way through the boundary between the dream universe and the waking life and burst forth as frightening hallucinations in the waking life. (It is worth noting that most anti-psychotic medications suppress REM activity and this may be the process whereby they decrease the hallucinatory activity.)

On the other hand, once a person makes a spirit an ally that person has a friend for life who will aid in conquering other spirits and who will provide the dreamer with gifts from the dream universe which can be shared with the entire tribe in the waking life. Notice I do not refer to the waking life as "real" life in contrast to the dream universe, for the Senoi hold the two forms of experience in equal esteem. It is the integration of these two modes of consciousness that is for them the truly real human life. The dream universe, although qualitatively different from the waking life, is equally valid and equally real to the Senoi. The person who focuses on the waking life to the exclusion of dream experience, or who focuses on dreams to the exclusion of waking life events, lives only half a life at best.

Elements of Senoi Dreamwork

Since my first exposure to Senoi dreamwork in Dr. Greenleaf's class, I have developed certain techniques based on the Senoi philosophy, including what I believe to be the essential goals and points of emphasis for a dreamwork leader in working with members of our Western culture.

The leader begins the process by telling the dreamer, "Close your eyes and let me know when you are in the dream." When the dreamer acknowledges being *in* the (unfinished) dream, the leader asks, "What is happening now?" The encounter with the dream universe then typically proceeds through six stages: Key, Embellishment, Main Figure, Gift, Artifact ("trophy, souvenir"), and Quest.

Key. Many of us initially report difficulty in remembering dreams. It seems that quite frequently we have the habit of discounting waking life memories of dream experiences. I hear

someone say, "Well, I only remembered a fragment," or, "I know it's about a certain figure, but that's all," or, "All I know is that I had a dream; I don't know what it was about."

By relabeling this remembered experience the "key," *no matter how* brief or vague, one takes the first important step toward fuller recall of dreams and a rich dreamwork experience. By thinking of this perception as the key or index point rather than as "*just* a fragment," the dreamer has begun to accept within a positive framework whatever the dream universe ("unconscious") presents (i.e., presents to the conscious "I").

It is often helpful to think of remembering "only" the Key as the indexing system provided for conscious awareness by the dream universe. In this light, a behavior which previously was thought of as "resistance" can be seen as a most efficient means of accessing dream content. Why squander the energy of consciousness to retain continuously the entire dream in waking awareness, when it is totally available at virtually a moment's notice by using the Key or indexing system? Implicit in adopting this attitude is an increased trust and appreciation of the power and basic friendliness of our more mysterious personality processes. We have begun to accept our unconscious as a force whose natural functioning is consistent with our general welfare and well-being.

Some people have reported that when they use the Keying system, the "dream" they "recall" is not always the same as the original dream. One possibility is that the dreamer has already unconsciously attended to and responded to some of the message in the original dream. Thus the dreamer has modified the symbology of the original dream. It is also interesting to note that in reporting that the keyed imagery is not the same as the original, the dreamer acknowledges some memory of the original experience.

Even if the dreamer sees something entirely different than the original dream, the dream universe may be saying, "Since you dreamed that dream, some other issues have become more important for you. Attend to these first." Some people have reported remembering the original dream once they had finished the "different dream." This phenomenon appears to support my contention.

The loss of dream recall tends to follow a certain progression. Let us assume that dreams are messages from our inner self to our conscious self that concern our continued growth. If our dreams are telling us something we are not willing to accept consciously and act on, then in effect the dream universe says, "OK, I'll give it to you in a different way." This process may be the basis for the recurring theme phenomenon. If we still refuse to admit the message to conscious awareness, the dream universe says, "Here's an instant replay." In this case we begin re-dreaming the exact dream. Finally, if we still avoid the issue, the dream universe says, "No further messages until you accept this one," and recall ceases altogether.

To re-establish an active relationship with the dream universe, the dreamer consequently returns to the last (or the most-important-feeling) dream Key that is remembered. By working through that dream, recall returns, often immediately.

A final resort in locating the Key is to ask how the dreamer felt after waking up. This feeling is the Key to that dream. The essential assumption regarding contact with the dream

universe is that there is *always* a Key. The issue then is to find the Key and use it. The Key opens the gate to the dream universe.

Embellishment. Once the dreamer signals being in the dream, the leader initiates the Embellishment stage by the query, "What is happening *right now*?" It is essential that the dreamer be actively re-experiencing the dream. The dreamer often indicates this by speaking in the first person, present tense. If the dreamer becomes more passively descriptive or begins speaking in the past tense, a statement such as "And that is what is happening *now*, isn't it?" usually restores active participation in the dream (3).

It is also essential to remain as concrete and tangible as possible while working in the dream. If the dreamer starts talking about disembodied "feelings" or other abstractions, the leader asks, "How is that represented? *What* do you see, hear, smell, taste or touch?" If the participant continues to have trouble staying concrete, he/she may be encouraged to call out to the spirit of the feeling, for example. If the leader follows this with "What are you seeing?" the dreamer will usually report seeing something before very long. The leader assumes that whatever then emerges is a manifestation of the summoned spirit. If there is any question about this, it is a simple matter to ask the spirit to identify itself clearly.

It is important during the Embellishment to give the dreamer time to make contact with the dream universe. A few questions regarding physical details of what is being seen help "flesh out" the imagery. In addition, the leader may establish a fail-safe situation (a "positive double bind"; see references 1, 3, 4) by encouraging the dreamer to "Take all of the time you need." If the dreamer responds with "But it will take years," the leader can reply, "Fine, let all of the years go by that are necessary, *and* let me know when the necessary time has passed. In the dream universe all is possible and you are the absolute master." Further, the more the leader can let dreamers "solo" once they know the six-step progression, i.e., by telling them, "Go ahead and do what you already know how to do," the sooner they tend to incorporate the Senoi technique into their night dreaming. (Note that there is no way to say "Yes, but" to a positive double bind.)

I have found it very helpful to both the leader and the dreamer to regard the dreamer as reporting a current experience from another plane of consciousness. Whether or not this is "truly" the case, this attitude is a useful working hypothesis. In this way, the experience of the dreamer is treated with a certain awe and respect. The Embellishment stage ends once a Main Figure emerges, be it a person, monster, creature, spectre, object, or even a more amorphous entity such as smoke, blackness, fog, "blankness," etc.

Main Figure. Now develops the fulcrum of the dreamwork. The Main Figure usually presents itself rather easily. If, however, there is only the more ambiguous situation, such as the fog or a group of entities, the leader can direct the dreamer to move *into the center* of the fog or whatever and ask to speak



to the "spirit of the fog" (for example), or to the leader or spokesperson of the group. The goal is to approach the Main Figure and establish a dialogue. If a figure appears, but is hazy or unclear, Greenleaf suggested that the leader direct the dreamer to move either closer or further away, whichever is necessary to be both far enough away to feel comfortable yet close enough to deal with the figure successfully.

If the Main Figure disappears, fades or starts to flee, we encourage the dreamer to chase it and to call on the help of acquaintances or even friendly strangers if necessary, telling the spirit, "Take me to the source of your power." A very useful "positive paradox" (3,4) is to suggest, "Take all the time you need and call on whatever help you need to get the job done. Let me know when that help has arrived." By making such a suggestion, the leader sets up a situation whereby the dreamer, by signalling the arrival of the help, also acknowledges, in effect, that there will be success in "getting the job done" (3,4).

The Main Figure may try other ways to elude contact with the dreamer, such as becoming uglier and more menacing, or some similar tactic. The dreamer need only do what is logical, such as tell the figure to take off its ugly mask. If the spirit keeps presenting the same mask or keeps presenting ugly ones, the

leader can tell the dreamer to keep taking off the masks until a face appears that can be dealt with successfully.

In dealing with a hostile spirit, one of the most powerful interventions is simply to ask the Figure, "How may I help you?" (6). Inevitably the Main Figure will respond to this gesture. The initial response may be one of avoidance, which can be handled with the persistence described above. It is important to stay in contact with the Figure, using whatever method works. Anything is possible in the dream universe. Sometimes the Figure will simply remain silent. In this case, "How may I help you?" may be asked; or the Figure can be told to take off its mask.

Preliminary evidence suggests that this same sequence can be used for the treatment of certain specific symptoms. For example, a young woman who had been experiencing some major interpersonal changes in her life recently presented an outbreak of large, itchy hives over most of her body. I told her that her physical self might be giving her a message and asked her if she would be willing to meet the "hive spirit," find out the message, and in making that spirit her ally, ask it to suggest what she could do in the waking life to get rid of the hives, once she had received the message. She agreed to do so.

She made contact with the hive spirit, who showed itself to her as a snake. It told her that she was in the process of shedding her "skin" just as the snake does. This comment was evidently related to the changes occurring in her personal life. She then asked the snake what she could do to make the hives go away, now that she had received the message. The spirit told her to eat a garlic clove and then fast until lunchtime the following day. I asked her if she was willing to do so. She said "Yes," received a gift from the snake, and returned to the waking life. By noon the next day all sign of the hives had vanished. It is interesting that many herbalists consider garlic to be a natural sedative and capable of cleansing the body of toxins. This person's ability to use her own inner wisdom to "cure" the unwanted symptom *after resolving the conflict* is most remarkable.

In asking the spirits for instructions regarding behavior in the waking life, it is essential that the leader ask the dreamers whether or not they are willing to do what is asked. It is likewise essential at this time for the leader to reflect the suggestion against his/her own judgment of reality. Sometimes in cases of "psychotics" or even with certain "normal" people, the limits of the dream universe and those of the waking life may be confused by the person who is at the time in the dream universe. For example, if a spirit says, "You must die," it is OK for the person to agree to do this *in the dream universe* as he/she is reborn immediately in a new form. Of course, we cannot rely on the process being the same in the waking life. Thus the leader should establish a clear distinction between the different limitations of the two worlds, and contract with the person that any dying gets done in the dream universe, while every effort is made to take good care of oneself in the waking life. Drye, Goulding and Goulding (2) describe an excellent model for the treatment of suicidal ideation in clients.

In a few cases, persons have reported headaches or other somatic discomfort after completing a dreamwork sequence. Rather than confronting the participant about this "resistance," I tell the dreamer, "This is the dream universe's way of saying, 'Hey, come back for a minute. You're not quite finished. We have another gift for you.'" I then ask the dreamer if he/she is willing to meet the headache spirit (e.g.) and get the message. In all cases

participants have responded in the affirmative and by the end of this second sequence have reported no further symptoms.

One workshop participant reported such a headache. When she encountered the headache spirit, she experienced a spinning/flying sensation which at first she described as uncomfortable. She summoned allies to accompany her, and the sensation became quite enjoyable for her. She received a gift from the spirit and returned to the waking life. Since that time, she has experienced no further headaches after dreamwork and has reported the spinning experience as a frequent and enjoyable adjunct to succeeding meditation and dreamwork sessions.

Gift. Receiving a gift from a spirit, a gift that is both the essence of that spirit's power and a symbol of the spirit's lifelong alliance with the dreamer is the "proof of the pudding." Sometimes a spirit will readily agree to be a dreamer's ally, but when asked for the essence of its form, will balk.

In other cases, the spirit will present the dreamer with a gift which does not seem to represent completely the essence of the spirit's power and alliance with the dreamer. This has appeared to be a fairly common tactic. In most cases, consequently, once the dreamer has received a gift, I ask if the dreamer is sure it feels as if the gift represents the *essence* of the spirit's power. If the dreamer is at all hesitant, I encourage accepting the gift, as it *does* mean that the spirit is offering *some* of its power and *will therefore be easier to deal with successfully* (note spoken emphasis). I then encourage the dreamer to repeat the request for the spirit's best gift until successful.

When asking the Figure for the best gift, it is important to ask for something tangible that can be brought back to the waking life, such as a poem, dance, song, symbol or object that can be replicated and shared with others in the dreamer's waking life. If the spirit offers "good feelings" or a like abstraction, the dreamer asks for a concrete representation of it. Once the spirit has offered its best, the dreamer may return to the waking life or continue in the dream universe, taking along the newly acquired gift (power) to meet another spirit and repeat the process in the new encounter.

Artifact. This and the following stage are the two which are completed in the waking life and, although preceded in Senoi customs, apparently have not until now been emphasized in applying the techniques in a Western culture. Nevertheless, the importance of completing the Artifact and Quest stages should be emphasized. It is at this point in the dreamwork that the dreamer may become most hesitant. Yet it is the translation of the inner experiences into something in the physical world which constitutes the intrinsic nature of creative activity.

In the Artifact stage the dreamer makes manifest the Figure's gift in the waking life. A sketch or other preliminary recording of the gift makes up the first part of this stage. The dreamer can then sculpt, model, weave, carve, or otherwise fashion a waking life representation of the spirit's gift as the second phase.

As an individual begins practicing this form of Senoi dreamwork on a regular basis, it may not be practical to complete the second part of the Artifact stage in every case. Therefore, I usually suggest that the person at least sketch the gift and keep this sketch in a prominent place for a while. In addition, the person can then further concretize those artifacts from the work that was felt to be most significant.

In effect, the Artifact is a trophy representing the dreamer's victory over the spirit. If the dreamer keeps the Artifact in a "special" place where it will be seen often, the dreamer will automatically be reminded (reinforced) of the victory and newly acquired power. It is conceivable that the dreamer gleans considerable benefit being around such trophies, even when they are not consciously attended to, since the trophies may key-in to such deep areas of the personality.

As a general rule of thumb, the more ways the dreamer can manifest the gift in the waking life, the more completely the person assimilates and integrates this remodeled aspect of the personality. Secondly, the dreamer's peers have more ways they can celebrate the dreamer's victory, and support the personality changes by remarking on the Artifacts.

This entire system positively reinforces the dreamer's creativity. What finer example of training *anyone* to express in the waking life the essence of his inner world! Indeed, the Artifact process serves as one operational definition of "artist" and does so in the ancient tradition of artistic production known as shamanism (11). It is noteworthy that the Senoi, rather than assigning the shaman role to a small number of individuals in the tribe, shamanize, i.e., heal their emotional problems through artistic production, as an entire tribe, through their dreamwork. This is apparently without precedent in comparable cultural groups.

Quest. When a physical representation of the spirit's gift is not readily available in the waking life, the participant can quest for it. The quest for the Grail in Arthurian legend suggests that such a questing heritage exists in our culture. As such, the quest has always symbolized a search for an internal, spiritual goal as well as for its counterpart in the physical world (18).

Noone (12) tells of a Senoi tribesman who was given a six-foot blowgun by his spirit guide. The Senoi make their blowguns from a reed which typically grows to a length of only five feet. But the elders told him of a high ridge on the other side of the Central Highlands in Malaysia where legends spoke of the reed growing to a greater length. The young man's peers enthusiastically encouraged him to go on a quest to the legendary place. Reportedly the quest took two years, with the young man stopping several times along the way at different villages and even getting married in the course of his adventure. Eventually he did find a reed long enough to make the blowgun of his dreams and upon his return to his original village there was a great celebration and his name and story spread throughout the entire tribe. Henceforth he was held in very high esteem by his peers.



Questing is particularly appropriate when the participant describes a specific place or a specific kind of place in meeting with the Main Figure. In one case a woman met a spirit at the foot of a willow tree and there received her gift. When she returned to the waking life, I encouraged her to sketch not only the gift, but also the tree and suggested she look for a willow that felt like the one she saw in her dream and have a picnic under it with a friend.

I support people's adopting a Zen-like attitude of "non-attachment" to their questing. Rather than seeking only one thing at a time and becoming intensely involved in the success or failure of securing this single goal, they can "file" the objects for questing in their "quest catalogue." The "quest catalogue" is a metaphor for an intuitive memory process whereby the dreamer assumes that in the course of daily living one is also questing. Many people have reported a great deal of pleasure in adopting this attitude. An example of the unconscious direction a person provides for oneself in this regard is that very often when the person is questing a particular item, other quest items will "show up" in the course of the search.

Not all ideas or gifts may reach complete fruition in the waking life. As one further integrates the questing attitude, however, the limitations that the waking life imposes on our quests become more acceptable as there are always other gifts

and quests. In effect, the entire dreamwork process trains and reinforces an individual's ability to become increasingly creative, to develop a number of options in life, and to accept creative productions seriously. And yet it does this in a manner that does not invest one's entire self-esteem in the success or failure of a single project. The individual receives continual waking life support for this creative activity through participation in a dreamwork community.

A metaphor I have found helpful in learning how to maintain a number of options is that of sowing seed. When a seed is planted, it is helpful to water it (i.e., add energy to it) a little, but then it must be left alone. Then the sower returns from time to time to fertilize it and water it some more. It usually would not do simply to stand over the seed and continuously pour water on it. Further, the sower does not depend solely on the successful sprouting of one or two seeds, but plants a crop. Some of the seeds may never sprout, but some are bound to. If the sprouts eventually do not bear a nourishing fruit, they can be plowed back into the soil to fertilize it for a new planting. This horticultural rhythm can be applied to questing.

I have found that "unconscious" puns can sometimes provide powerful metaphorical communications to us on the essence of the Senoi philosophy as it may be applied in our culture. A favorite pun I was "given by my spirit guide" in a workshop is: "How to Have More: Re-Quest."

Discussion

This current adaption differs from the traditional Senoi customs in three significant ways. Contrary to the Senoi tendency to analyze the "hidden" meaning of the dream figures once any conflicts between them and the dreamer have been resolved, I have elected to work directly with the dream figures and suspend any further attempts to interpret these symbols.

I am making two assumptions. First, by accepting experiences in the dream universe at face value while still dealing with them in an active and successful manner, and yet not attempting to assign additional meanings to them consciously, a person may accept more waking life events at face value as well. Consequently one might forego the frequent tendency in our culture to distance oneself from affective experience by over-intellectualization. Secondly, assuming our mind can operate in either a verbal/linear mode or a metaphorical/intuitive mode, it is possible that the majority of a Westerner's defenses or "roadblocks" to growth are linear in nature, particularly in the form of rationalizations. By resolving conflicts metaphorically, we may in some way be bypassing this linear "resistance." Given this hypothesis, I have noted a "filtering through" process whereby an individual acquires intellectual understanding of the dream world events some time after having completed the dreamwork. This phenomenon appears to occur through association rather than by deduction and has been described by a large number of participants as quite pleasing and preferable to analytic interpretation.

The second major way in which this current adaption differs from Senoi tradition is that Senoi customs specify certain taboo images which are to be driven out of the dream universe rather

than confronted and made allies. Instead, I assume that all figures are sources of power and growth for an individual and thus I remind a dreamer: "This ally (no matter how initially distasteful it appears) is power for you. It's up to you how you use that power."

If the dream sequence concerns situations which in our culture are taboo, such as an incest dream, I encourage the participant to remove the figure's masks until the dreamer finds a face which can be dealt with comfortably and successfully.

The final major difference between this Western version of Senoi dreamwork and that of the Senoi tribe is that the Senoi very frequently "kill" the dream figure as a means of conquering it. I have found that in all but a very few cases a person can make virtually any figure an ally by using means other than killing it. These alternatives include calling on enough allies to mediate successfully between the dreamer and the Main Figure and to inquire what it wants from the dreamer (6).

All three of the preceding distinctions are based on the hypothesis that there is no process in a personality which is inherently evil. I have found that one's believing so is usually due to a failure of perspective. Milton Erickson (3) provides an excellent appreciation of this positive function of so-called "resistances." Though the Senoi dreamwork system as I describe it is not "pure," it nevertheless suggests how readily the Senoi philosophy can be successfully integrated into the models of psychotherapy already available in our society.

I have begun using the Senoi techniques with persons who are actively hallucinating (10) so they might learn how to convert the frightening visions into friendly ones, at the same time receiving gifts from the figures which are appearing. These persons are then encouraged to render these gifts tangible. In this way delusional systems can be used to generate artistic production. Again, this is in the shamanistic tradition (11).

Since the Senoi's basic unit of the dreamwork practice is the family, I am teaching the techniques to whole families as a means of establishing a positive and creative system of intrafamilial communication. I'm finding this paradigm to be particularly appropriate in family therapy once the crisis has been resolved, using more familiar counseling techniques. This model can help answer the question, "Now that we no longer structure time around crises, what can we do with each other?"

Stimulated by Patricia Garfield's (5) account of lucid dreaming, I have begun a "dream lab" group to develop methods of training people to remain actively conscious while in the night dream state. It is interesting to note that the lucid dreaming phenomenon is a process complementary to hallucinating. While, at least in one sense, hallucinating is projecting a dream universe onto a waking life background, lucid dreaming appears to be a projection of a waking life foreground (i.e., active consciousness) onto a dream universe background. I am interested in exploring the natural laws of the dream universe(s), to determine

its physics, as it were, and to determine ways in which lucid dreaming can serve as a gateway to other modes of consciousness. One woman in the lab already dreamed a lucid dream in which she observed me doing dreamwork on a Main Figure's dream! Since that time, one other member and myself have both had similar lucid dream experiences, including receiving a gift from the Main Figure within the dream of the Main Figure. This occurrence suggests a mirror-within-mirror quality of the dream universe. It appears that the further exploration of lucid dreaming states may provide a wealth of research and clinical data.

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