

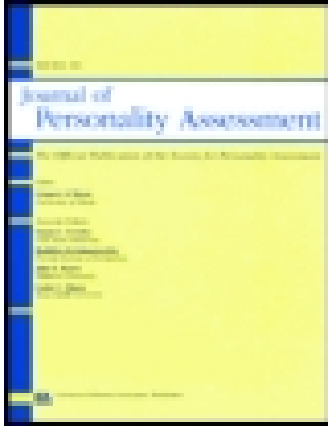
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Origin and History of the Earliest Thematic Apperception Test Pictures

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I present the origin and history of the “Series A” pictures of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943/1971). The TAT and its pictures evolved during the 1930s and early 1940s. The Series A pictures were probably never a distinct, fixed set of cards as the name seems to imply. The pictures used were in a constant state of flux with additions, deletions, and modifications common. In this article I describe the origins of the test and catalog its earliest pictures. It is hoped that familiarity with the test’s development will increase appreciation for the efforts of the test’s originators and add perspective and depth to one’s awareness of the stimuli used.

Perhaps unknown to most users, the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT; Murray, 1943/1971) and its pictures evolved over a period of at least a decade in the 1930s and early 1940s. The process culminated in the version published by Henry A. Murray and the Staff of the Harvard Psychological Clinic in 1943 (Murray, 1943/1971). By then the test had been through a rather chaotic beginning and three distinct revisions. The purpose of this article is to describe the origins of the test and its earliest pictures. It is hoped that familiarity with this evolution will increase appreciation for the efforts of the test’s developers and add perspective and depth to one’s awareness of the stimuli used.

PICTURE-STORY TESTS

There are several interesting versions of the origin of the TAT. Although picture-story tests had been used by other psychological investigators and clinicians before

Christiana D. Morgan and Murray began exploring their use, C. D. Morgan and Murray never indicated any awareness of this body of earlier work. Much of this early work has been reviewed by Rapaport, Gill, and Schafer (1946); Symonds (1949); and Tomkins (1947) and is only briefly mentioned here for historical perspective.

Early Picture-Story Tests

Horace L. Brittain (1907), although crediting L. William Stern and “others” with the previous use of a similar method, used “a series of stories suggested by pictures presented to the pupils” (p. 165) to investigate imagination in a sample of teenagers. Nine pictures taken from popular paintings and prints were used as stimuli with written stories as the responses. Walter Libby (1908) used a similar method with different stimuli also taken from popular pictures.

Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon (1908) used the picture-story method in their intelligence scale for children. Children were presented with three pictures and were asked, “What is this?” They observed a developmental progression in the responses they received. On average, at 3 years of age the children enumerated some of the objects pictured; at 7 years of age the pictures were described; and at 15 years of age the pictures were interpreted. In this manner it was possible to infer the mental age of the respondent (Binet & Simon, 1911/1915).

Social-Situation Pictures

However, it is Louis A. Schwartz (1932), working at the Clinic for Juvenile Research in Detroit, who deserves the credit for first using the picture-story method in the assessment of personality and psychopathology. He introduced the “Social-Situation Pictures” technique for use with delinquent children at a meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association in 1931. He described the technique as a nonthreatening adjunct to the psychiatric interview. The stimuli consisted of a series of eight 9 × 12 in. black-and-white pictures that were specially drawn to show a boy in various solitary and social situations. The child to be examined was given at least 3 min to become familiar with each picture and then was asked to describe what he saw. He was then asked to give an interpretation of each picture and asked, “What is the boy in the picture thinking about?” and “What would you think of and what would you do if you were the boy in the picture?” It should be noted that these directions are somewhat different from those employed in the administration of the TAT today but somewhat similar to the special directions suggested by Murray for the use of Picture C (W. G. Morgan, 2000).

ORIGINS OF THE TAT

The first published report of the TAT, "A method for investigation of fantasies: The Thematic Apperception Test," by C. D. Morgan and Murray, appeared in 1935. However, a somewhat earlier manuscript titled "A Method for the Investigation of Unconscious Phantasies" had been rejected for publication by Ernest Jones, the editor of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, in 1934 (E. Jones personal communication to H. A. Murray, November 9, 1934). It is interesting to note that the letter was written to Murray rather than C. D. Morgan. It is unclear if this indicates that Murray had been senior author of the manuscript, or sexism on Jones' part, or if C. D. Morgan had designated Murray as "corresponding author."

Carl Jung

There were probably a multiplicity of influences that culminated in the creation of the TAT. One influence would surely be C. D. Morgan's experience with Jung's technique of active imagination, "trancing" or "visioning," as she called it. Using this technique, C. D. Morgan reported over 100 "visions" from July 9, 1926 to April 17, 1928 (Douglas, 1989), many of which she painted. Forty-four were used as the basis for a series of seminars Jung (1976, 1997) later presented. Here, however, I focus on two other possible influences. The first was a suggestion made by an undergraduate student, Cecilia Roberts, and the second was provided by the American author, Thomas Wolfe.

Cecilia Washburn Roberts

Murray, quoted in an early edition of *The TAT Newsletter*, stated the following:

A conversation I had with a student (Cecilia Roberts—now Mrs. Crane Brinton) was the spark that started us collecting pictures in 1933. At the beginning [C. D. Morgan's] part was to help in the selection of the pictures (looking through magazines, etc.): to redraw a few of the selected pictures; and to administer the test to half our subjects (or half the test to all our subjects, I don't remember which). We wrote the article together rather quickly—in about two weeks, as I remember. (Holt, 1949, p. 492)

This same basic story was repeated by Murray (1951, 1985) on several occasions. In these later comments, Murray added the additional information that Mrs. Roberts had been a student in abnormal psychology at Radcliffe. Claire Douglas (1993), C. D. Morgan's biographer, put it this way:

The idea for the TAT germinated from a question raised by a student in one of Murray's classes. The class had been discussing fantasies and Jung's idea of active

imagination. Cecilia Roberts reported that her son, when ill, one day greeted his mother when she came home from work with stories he had made up about the pictures in the magazines she had left for him. She wondered if pictures couldn't similarly release fantasy material in a clinical setting. Murray discussed this enthusiastically with Morgan, then presented the idea at a lunch meeting. (p. 203)

What seems to be a variant of the story was related by Murray to James Anderson in an interview in 1973. Anderson (1990) stated

One of Murray's students, Cecelia [sic] Roberts, faced the same difficulty as she tried to gather fantasies from blind people and sighted people in order to compare them. She tried to get her son to tell her his fantasies. "He wasn't being productive; he thought it was silly to tell his mother what his fantasies were," Murray said. "She had a book and asked him to tell a story about one of the pictures." Her son responded by making up a rich, imaginative story. When Roberts told Murray about this experience, he capitalized on it and started working on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). (p. 321)

Murray (n.d.-a) also attributed some changes in the directions given to participants to Roberts.

If the experimenter merely said, "Can you tell me a story about this picture?" the child's embarrassment or resistance would often fade and his speech would thenceforth flow more freely.* This finding led to a radical change in the instructions. Instead of asking for an interpretation of each picture, an interpretation which the subject thought was likely to be true, he was instructed to tell a story using his imagination to the limit. [Footnote:] *These initial experiments were done by Mrs. Roberts while a student at the Harvard Psychological Clinic. (p. 9)

Roberts began her college education at Connecticut College for Women in 1918 and then transferred to Radcliffe College in 1919 where she studied English until withdrawing in 1921. She had three children, Jane (in 1923), John (in 1926), and Emily (in 1927) before moving with her family from Cambridge, Massachusetts to Lake Nagog, Massachusetts in 1929. John developed celiac disease at about age 4 and became a virtual invalid until age 11. He was tutored at home by his grandmother after Robert's parents came to live with them. This enabled Roberts to return to her studies at Radcliffe. It was during this period that she became interested in psychology.

Information gathered from Radcliffe College by David Winter indicated that Roberts took Murray's Psychology 24 (Half-course) in Abnormal Psychology during the 1929 to 1930 academic year as well as Murray's Psychology 24a (Half-course) in Individual Psychology (dealing with dispositions and individual differences). She followed that by taking Psychology 20d (graduate course) in Research

in Abnormal Psychology with Murray during the 1930 to 1931 academic year (J. S. Knowles personal communication to D. Winter, February 4, 1986). The context of Murray's previous remarks suggest, but do not state explicitly, that it was while Roberts was a student in one of the abnormal classes that she made her germinal observations. If true, then this would support a date earlier than 1933 for the origin of the TAT. Additional information relevant to the date of origin comes from a reminiscence of Saul Rosenzweig. Eleanor Clement Jones, a short-story writer, volunteered to work at the Harvard Psychological Clinic from Summer 1930 to July 1933 (Robinson, 1992). Rosenzweig, who had a laboratory office next to hers at the 64 Plympton Street Clinic, remembers Jones spending "a year or more gathering possible pictures for the TAT by browsing through innumerable copies of illustrated magazines, etc." (S. Rosenzweig, personal communication, February 24, 1994). If the preceding dates are accurate, this would also indicate that TAT work had started somewhat before the 1933 date given by Murray in Holt (1949) and repeated to Anderson (1999).

After the death of her first husband, MIT history professor Penfield Roberts in 1944, Roberts married Harvard history professor Crane Brinton in 1946, and after his death in 1968 married Walter Bogner. Her daughter, Jane Roberts Gill recalled that her mother and Brinton commented somewhat cynically that Murray only recognized her mother's contribution publicly after she married Brinton and was once again part of the academic community in Cambridge (J. R. Gill, personal communication, March 29, 1998). Roberts went on to have a long career as a psychologist beginning in 1934 or 1935. She did psychological evaluations of children at the Neurological Clinic of Children's Hospital, the Putney School, the Buckingham School and École Bilingue, and she was a longtime board member of Rutland Corner House, an early halfway house for women. She died in 1993 at the age of 93 ("Cecilia Brinton Bogner," 1993).

Thomas Wolfe

A second possible germinal influence was revealed by Nevitt Sanford (1980), an early worker at the Harvard Psychological Clinic and contributor to the TAT. When Sanford was a student in Murray's class in 1930 (perhaps in the same class as Roberts?) he recalled Murray reading the recently published book, *Look Homeward, Angel: A Story of the Buried Life* by Wolfe (1929). Murray brought the book with him to several lectures, and Sanford, after reading the book himself, came to believe that an episode in the book suggested the thematic apperceptive method to Murray.

The episode under consideration is one in which the 11-year-old protagonist, Eugene Gant, is asked along with other students to look at a picture and write a composition based on it. The picture was "The Song of the Lark." "They were asked to describe what they saw in the expression of the girl's face. They were asked to tell

what the picture meant to them” (Wolfe, 1929, p. 207). *Look Homeward, Angel* is a classic example of autobiographical fiction, and the character Eugene Gant represents the author’s alter ego. The event described in the book portrays a very similar event in Wolfe’s own life when Mr. J. M. Roberts, the principal of Orange Street Public School in Asheville, North Carolina where Wolfe was a student, read a story to the class and then asked the pupils to write their own interpretation of the story (Donald, 1987; Turnbull, 1967; Wheaton, 1961). Later the principal asked his wife to read the compositions in her spare time. The stories that Wolfe (and the fictional Eugene) wrote revealed much about their personality and potential. After reading the paper, the principal’s wife was quite favorably impressed with the child’s paper. The couple was in the process of starting a private preparatory school, and on the basis of the composition that Wolfe wrote, they approached his parents about sending him to their private academy. Eugene shared a similar fate in the book. Gieser and I (Gieser & Morgan, 1999) presented additional circumstantial evidence suggesting that Murray may have been influenced by Wolfe.

A few months before his death, Sanford repeated his story and claimed that Wolfe’s influence on the TAT was common knowledge among the clinic staff during the early years (N. Sanford personal communication to L. Gieser, April 8, 1995). Attempts have been made to confirm this version of the TAT’s origin with a number of the surviving early Harvard Psychological Clinic workers. However, S. Rosenzweig (personal communication to W. G. Morgan, May 3, 1995), Morris I. Stein (personal communication to W. G. Morgan, May 27, 1995), Holt, and Leopold Bellak (personal communication to L. Gieser, April 1995) were unable to remember previously hearing of Sanford’s version. Nevertheless, Sanford’s story seems to have the ring of plausibility.

MURRAY’S NAMING CONVENTION

Murray suggested a scheme for identifying the various versions of the TAT as it was developed at the Harvard Psychological Clinic during the period from the early 1930s to 1943 (Holt, 1946).

“Series A”

The designation Series A was to be used to refer to the original photographed set of pictures used by the Clinic and in the early studies reported by C. D. Morgan and Murray (1935, 1938) and C. D. Morgan (1938). These pictures and the numerical identification scheme for the individual pictures seemed to be in a state of flux throughout the period of their development and use. According to Rapaport et al. (1946) they were probably never widely circulated.

“Series B”

Series B was the designation suggested for the small-format, photographed, 30-card edition placed in circulation by the Clinic in 1936. These cards were constructed by gluing small photographic reproductions onto approximately 6 × 6 in. pieces of white Bristol board. In one set of cards that I have examined, each original card was stamped “Harvard Psychological Clinic, 64 Plympton Street, Cambridge, Mass.” and hand numbered on the reverse. The series consisted of 10 cards suitable for men and women with an additional 10 cards recommended for men and another 10 cards recommended for women. Illustrations depicting these cards can be found in Rapaport et al. (1946).

“Series C”

Series C was the designation suggested for the large-format, photographed, 28-card edition used in 1942. The cards were about the size of the later 1943 cards and consisted of two series of cards. The first series or “Standard set” contained 10 cards with 4 alternates for women, and a second series of 10 cards with 4 alternates for women that were to be given at the examiner’s discretion. Some of the cards I have examined were stamped as previously noted on the reverse, whereas others were not. All were hand numbered. The previously unused cards found in Series C for the first time were largely suggested by Frederick Watt. R. R. Holt (personal communication to W. G. Morgan, March 2, 1994) speculated that there were not more than a dozen sets made.

“Series D”

Series D was the designation suggested for the large picture printed version issued by the Harvard University Press beginning in 1943 and are the cards in current use today. The sources and history of these pictures can be found in W. G. Morgan (1995, 1999).

PICTURE DESCRIPTIONS OF SERIES A

The first series of cards, Series A, were probably never a distinct, fixed set of cards as the name might imply. It seems as if the pictures used were in a constant state of flux with additions, deletions, and modifications common. Descriptions of apparently identical pictures also varied from one source to another. Illustrations, reproductions, or actual examples of these early cards are quite rare with the exception of those examples published in *Explorations in Personality: A Clinical and Experimental Study of Fifty Men of College Age* (Murray, 1938b) or those pictures continued in the later series.

In an attempt to cope with this rather chaotic state of affairs, I have grouped examples of similar picture descriptions together and assigned them a reference (Ref.) number to help simplify the job of keeping track of the pictures. I have tried to keep the reference number similar to the picture or card number found in the various descriptions, but this was not always possible because sometimes the same picture was used with different descriptions and sometimes the same picture description was found with different numbers. I have assumed that the numbers were used consecutively (at least at some point) and thus I have indicated reference numbers for which no description or illustration have yet been found. The descriptions found in the square brackets are those provided by C. D. Morgan, Murray, or other members of the Harvard Psychological Clinic. Table 1 has been constructed to indicate which of the Series A pictures were used in the later series or editions of the test. Citations for references to the original sources of illustrations for the pictures are provided when known.

[Ref. #1]

- Picture 1. [A heavily built man, naked to the waist, is standing in a semi-crouched position.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)
- Picture A. [A heavily-built man naked to the waist gazing at the ground with his arms hanging limply at his side.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1938, p. 541)
- Picture A. [A heavily-built man standing in his undershirt gazing at the ground with his arms hanging limply at his sides.] (Murray, 1938a, p. 622)

Here one finds varying descriptions of the picture, and reference to an “undershirt” in Murray (1938a) is puzzling unless there were two versions of this picture. The picture itself can be found in an illustration on page 542 of C. D. Morgan & Murray (1938). Clinical lore has referred to this picture as “the beachcomber.” I presume that C. D. Morgan drew this picture as it seems similar in style to many of her illustrated visions (Jung, 1976, 1997). The picture was used in the first series of cards but not in any of the later series.

[Ref. #2]

- Picture 2. [Woman with a child in arms is taking a long stride with her hair streaming out behind.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)
- Picture B. [A formal design of a young woman holding a baby in her arms. She seems to be running. Her long hair streams out behind.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1938, p. 541)

A picture of the card can be found in an illustration on page 543 of C. D. Morgan & Murray (1938). The picture appears to be a close copy of a print, “Idea,” by the Anglo-American wood engraver, author, and prolific illustrator of children’s

TABLE 1
Correspondence Table for Series A

<i>Series A</i>	<i>Series B</i>	<i>Series C</i>	<i>Series D</i>
Ref. #1			
Ref. #2			
Ref. #3			
Ref. #4§	M 13§	6 M*§	3 BM*§
Ref. #4a			
Ref. #5§	1§	1§	1*§
Ref. #5a			
Ref. #6§	4§	4§	14*§
Ref. #6a			
Ref. #7§	M 11§	3 M*§	6 BM*§
Ref. #7a			
Ref. #7b			
Ref. #8?			
Ref. #9			
Ref. #10	M 16	—	17 BM*†
Ref. #10a			
Ref. #11			
Ref. #12§	M 12§	9 M*§	18 BM*§
Ref. #12a			
Ref. #13			
Ref. #14	M 14	12 M	12 M*†
Ref. #14a			
Ref. #15	M 15	8 M	7 BM*†
Ref. #16			
Ref. #17			
Ref. #18			
Ref. #19	M 20		
Ref. #20?			
Ref. #21			
Ref. #22?			
Ref. #23?			
Ref. #24?			
Ref. #25			
Ref. #Blank Card	—	13	16
Ref. #A			
Ref. #B			
Ref. #C			
Ref. #D			
Ref. #E?			
Ref. #F			
Ref. #G			

Note. ? = no description found; * = changes in wording from the indexed series, often minor; § = “old standbys” designated by Murray (1943/1971); † = redrawing by Samuel Thal.

books, Nora Spicer Unwin (1907–1982). An illustration of her print can be found on page 196 of the March 1931 issue of *The Studio* (St. Bernard, 1931). Picture 2 differs from Unwin's print in that it omits some background foliage and shows the woman dressed in white rather than in outline as in the original. I speculate that the copy was made by C. D. Morgan.

Unwin was born in Surrey, England and immigrated to the United States in 1946. She has illustrated more than 100 books for other authors and has written and illustrated 12 of her own (McGoldrick, 1991).

[Ref. #3]

Picture 3. (No description or illustration found.)

[Ref. #4]

Picture 4. [On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is an object which resembles a revolver.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 295)

Picture No. 13. [On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is an object which resembles a revolver.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1938, p. 536; illustration on p. 537)

Murray (1943/1971) stated that this picture, one of the "old standbys," is a drawing by C. D. Morgan. It also appeared later as Card M 13 in Series B, as Card 6 M in Series C, and as Card 3 BM in Series D. Actually this drawing comes from a printed halftone photograph and is not an original composition as Murray implied. The photograph may now be found, framed along with C. D. Morgan's drawing, at the Henry A. Murray Research Center, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was rescued from the trash by David Ricks who presented it along with other materials to the Center at the time of its inauguration in 1976 (W. G. Morgan, 2000). The photograph shows significantly more detail than the drawing including printed material on the couch instead of a solid color, a pillow to the figure's right, and another room to the figure's left. I do not know if the photograph itself or C. D. Morgan's drawing was used as the Series A picture. Her drawing was used in the Series B, C, and D cards. There were slight changes in the wording of the descriptions of the picture from series to series.

Murray (HAM), in an interview with Anderson (JWA) on October 2, 1987, made some interesting comments concerning this picture:

HAM: It's a picture that was in the paper, a real picture of a real boy. I showed it to people, and some said "a boy" and some said "a girl." I immediately picked it for that reason.

JWA: It was intentional in the drawing to make the sex more ambiguous?

HAM: Yes, yes.

JWA: Did you also try to make the gun more ambiguous?

HAM: The same thing. I'm not sure if it was a gun or not in the original.

He's a teenager, 16 years old, who murdered partly by mistake in one of these great meetings of 200–300 teenagers with motorcycles and leather coats. He's caught, and this is the end of a chase, and he's all played out. He's lying down in the corner.

JWA: Was it fiction, that is an illustration of a fictional story?

HAM: It originally [actually?] happened. (J. W. Anderson personal communication to W. G. Morgan, November 4, 1997)

[Ref. #4a]

Picture No. 4. [Man at window.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.)

It is possible that this description refers to the picture given in Ref. #6 following.

[Ref. #5]

Picture 5. [A young boy contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 302)

Picture No. 12. [A young boy contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936).

This picture has a long history of use as a TAT card. It later appeared as Card 1 in Series B (Rapaport et al., 1946; White, Sanford, Murray, & Bellak, 1941), Series C (Clark, 1944), and Series D in which Murray (1943/1971) called it one of the old standbys. In the 1943 test manual, Murray informs the reader that the picture is a "Drawing by Christiana D. Morgan" (Murray, 1943/1971, p. 18). Although this is true as far as it goes, the credit by Murray does not tell the whole story. The drawing is actually a close copy of a photograph of the young violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, by the New York photographer Samuel Lumiere. Reproductions of the photograph can be seen in an autobiography of Moshe Menuhin, Y. Menuhin's father (M. Menuhin, 1984), in Y. Menuhin and Davis (1979), and on the back of the dust jacket for a Y. Menuhin biography by Magidoff (1955). The photograph had also appeared much earlier in various magazine and news reports concerning the young prodigy (e.g., Block, 1930; Brower, 1928; Crowthers, 1928; "Yehudi Menuhin," 1929; "Yehudi Menuhin Returns," 1929). It is one such article that I believe was the original source for this picture.

During his early years, Y. Menuhin was managed by Evans and Salter of New York, who at the time also managed other outstanding musical personalities including Amelita Galli-Curci, Tito Schipa, Elizabeth Rethberg, and Lawrence Tibbett. All of these artists had publicity photographs made by Lumiere whose studio was on Fifth Avenue not far from the office of Evans and Salter.

Lumiere studied art in Petrograd, Russia and taught art and photography in Europe before coming to the United States. According to one biographical sketch, his reputation was based largely on his portraits of members of the theatrical profession.

Being a student of physiology as well as psychology, he has been most proficient in the diplomatic handling of temperamental theatrical luminaries. It was only recently that a noted grand opera singer, speaking of Mr. Lumiere's skill, said, 'He not only photographs you well, but he pictures your very soul.'" ("Our cover portrait," 1920)

The identity of the boy depicted in the picture has been recognized for quite some time. Stein (1955) provided a hint in one of the sample stories that he presents in his manual. In it a female participant ends her story with the question, "Was it deliberately made to look like Yehudi Menuhin?" (Stein, 1955, p. 3). Later Holt (1978) identified the picture as a "Drawing by Christiana D. Morgan, after a photograph of Yehudi Menuhin as a child" (p. 80).

When I wrote Sir (Y.) Menuhin to ask him about the picture, he was kind enough to reply with his own short TAT story:

Actually, I was gazing in my usual state of being half absent in my own world and half in the present. I have usually been able to "retire" in this way. I was also thinking that my life was tied up with the instrument and would I do it justice?" (Y. Menuhin, personal communication, October 31, 1993)

Additional details regarding the violin and Y. Menuhin's age at the time the photograph was made can be found in Jahnke and Morgan (1997). C. D. Morgan's original drawing and the magazine clipping can be found on display at the Henry A. Murray Research Center.

[Ref. #5a]

Picture No. 5. [A man and his wife being ejected from home on non-payment of rent.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936).

Picture No. 5. (See [Ref. #C] discussed later.)

[Ref. #6]

Picture 6. [The silhouette of a man's figure against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally dark.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 296)

Picture No. 6. [The figure of a man silhouetted against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally dark.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)

Picture No. 10. [The figure of a man silhouetted against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally dark.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936).

This drawing by C. D. Morgan, another of the old standbys, later appeared as Card 4 in Series B and Series C and as Card 14 in Series D. The original magazine clipping that served as the source of this image and C. D. Morgan's framed pen-and-ink drawing can be found at the Henry A. Murray Research Center. In the original magazine picture, it is clear that the figure in silhouette is looking into a room through the window, as there is a framed picture visible hanging on the wall seen through the window. The source of the clipping has yet to be identified.

[Ref. #6a]

Picture No. 6. [It illustrates two men engaged in an animated conversation.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.; possibly the same as [Ref. #13] later)

[Ref. #7]

Picture No. 7. [A short elderly woman stands with her back turned to a tall young man. The latter is looking downward with a perplexed expression, his hat in his hands.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 298)

Picture No. 11. [A short elderly woman stands with her back turned to a tall young man. The latter is looking downward with a perplexed expression, his hat in his hands.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1938, p. 537)

This drawing, another of the old standbys, was done by C. D. Morgan and illustrated on page 538 of *Explorations in Personality* (Murray, 1938b). It was later used as Card M 11 in Series B, Card 3 M in Series C, and Card 6 BM in Series D. In the earlier cards there was no window shown to the left of the woman. The window was added for the Series D card. A photograph of Picture 7 with the window painted on it and C. D. Morgan's original pen-and-ink drawing can be found at the Henry A. Murray Research Center.

[Ref. #7a]

Picture No. 7. [It illustrates a young couple standing together arm in arm.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.)

[Ref. #7b]

Picture No. 7. [A young woman embracing a young man.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)

[Ref. #8]

Picture 8. (No description found.)

[Ref. #9]

Picture No. 9. (See [Ref. #10] following.)

[Ref. #10]

- Picture 10. [A dimly indicated figure of a man clinging to a rope. He is in the act of climbing up or down.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 297)
- Picture No. 9. [A figure of a man clinging to a rope.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)
- Picture No. 16. [A dimly indicated figure of a man clinging to a rope. He is in the act of climbing up or down.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1938, p. 539)

The French cartoonist, lithographer and painter Honoré Daumier (1808–1879), painted a canvas now known as “L’Homme à la Corde à Noeuds” (“Man on a Rope”) in about 1860 to 1862 during a period described by Rey (1985) as “years of joyless work and discouragement” (p. 38). There are three versions of this composition (Maison, 1967, Plates 174, 175, and 176). The earliest version is at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa. A version at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA #43.31) is the second, and the final version, being nearly a silhouette with knots in the rope, is in a private collection in Paris. There is also a pencil drawing of the same man (Klossowski, 1923). The first two versions are unsigned, and Murray (1943/1971) and Holt (1978) have both noted that the source was an unfinished sketch. The painting used as the source for the TAT card was the second version (Fuchs, 1927, #896; Maison, 1967, #I–123).

Maison (1967) listed two alternative titles for the paintings, “Le badigeonneur” (“Whitewasher”) and “L’évasion” (“Escape”). Holt (1978) referred to the title of the source as “The Housepainter,” and when reproductions of the second version of the painting were printed in *The Arts*, the painting was listed with the title “Escape.” The reproductions appeared in *The Arts* on page 298 of the May 1929 issue (Watson, 1929) and on page 88 of the November 1930 issue (Du Bois, 1930). At that time the painting was on loan from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kerrigan to the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, New York. The painting also appeared in an exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1929 and may well have been viewed by C. Morgan and/or Murray at that time. The painting then passed into the hands of E. S. Kerrigan and then to art dealers Weitzner and Schnittjer before the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston acquired the painting in 1943 (Maison, 1967). Color reproductions of the Museum of Fine Arts oil painting can be found in Adhémar (1954, p. 119) and Rey (1985, p. 99).

The image first appeared as Picture 10 in C. D. Morgan and Murray (1935) and as Picture 16 in C. D. Morgan and Murray (1938, p. 540). There the image seems to be a redrawing of the Daumier painting, perhaps by C. D. Morgan, showing slightly more detail of the face and upper hand. Later the image appeared as Card M 16 in Series B. It was not used in Series C and was later redrawn by Samuel Thal as Card 17 BM for Series D (Murray, 1943/1971). More consistent with the Daumier painting, the earlier images show much less facial detail than does the Thal drawing.

[Ref. #10a]

Picture No. 10. [A little boy leaning against a rail overlooking what appears to be a huge factory or smelting plant.] (C. D. Morgan, 1936)

Picture No. 10. (See [Ref. #6] previously.)

Picture D. [A small boy is standing against a fence looking at a factory dimly outlined in the distance.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 674)

I have not been able to find an actual reproduction of this card; therefore, the following must be viewed as a speculation. With that qualification, I speculate that this picture is a cropped version of a photograph titled "When We Grow Up," by Charles K. Archer. That photograph shows three children leaning against the rail of a fence overlooking what would appear to be a large factory or plant. The photo appears on page 11 in the February 1932 issue of *McCall's* in an article, "Land of the Pilgrims' Pride" by Morris Markey. The article deals with the people: "miners, bosses, steel workers, boat captains, capitalists" (p. 10), of the "Iron Empire" (p. 10) of the upper Midwest; therefore, the photograph may well be of a smelting plant as given in the first description. It was also found in the same issue of *McCall's* in which Card F 13 of Series B appeared, lending some additional plausibility to the speculation. It is also worthy to note that this same photograph was used as the basis for an artist's drawing that appeared on Card 8 of the later and little known TAT-II (Douglas, 1993).

Another very similar photograph by Archer, "Prosperity: A Vision," was entered in the Pittsburgh Salon of 1932 and appeared on page 189 of the May 1932 issue of *Camera Craft* (Herron, 1932). This photograph is taken from a slightly different angle and shows the same three children, rail fence, and industrial plant. Of course it is possible that a cropped version of this photo could have been used as Picture No. 10 or D instead.

[Ref. #11]

Picture 11. [A young man with his head buried in the lap of a young woman who bends over him with a tender expression.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 296)

Picture No. 11. [A young man with his head buried in the lap of a young woman who bends over him with a tender expression.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 679)

[Ref. #12]

Picture 12. [A man helplessly clutched from behind by two hands, one on each of his shoulders. The figure of his antagonist is invisible.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 297)

Picture No. 12. [A man helplessly clutched from behind by two hands, one on each of his shoulders. The figure of his antagonist is invisible.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 676).

This picture, another of the old standbys drawn by C. D. Morgan, is described as “A young man helplessly clutched from behind by *two* [italics added] hands, one on each of his shoulders. The figure of the antagonist is invisible” (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 297). The same description of two hands is given in White et al. (1941) for Series B, Card M 12. However, by Card 9 M of Series C, the description of the card had changed to “three hands” (Clark, 1944).

The original magazine illustration that served as the basis for C. D. Morgan’s drawing can be found along with the pen-and-ink drawing at the Henry A. Murray Research Center. This photograph clearly shows another two men in the background and the hands of additional unpictured men restraining the central figure. The central figure is wearing a striped rather than solid tie and his overcoat with buttons are clearly shown. One of the men behind has his right hand around the central figure’s neck rather than on his shoulder, as shown in the TAT picture. A light fixture is visible over the victim’s head. The magazine illustration has the background figures penciled out clearly signaling C. D. Morgan’s intent to omit them in her drawing of the picture. The original magazine source has yet to be identified.

[Ref. #12a]

Picture No. 12. [It illustrates a young man sitting in a chair—brooding rather disconsolately.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.)

Picture No. 12. (See [Ref. #5] previously.)

[Ref. #13]

Picture No. 13. [It illustrates two laborers engaged in conversation.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.) (Possibly the same as [Ref. #6a] previously.)

Picture No. 13. (See [Ref. #4] previously.)

[Ref. #14]

Picture No. 14. [A young man lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Sitting beside the couch is an elderly man leaning forward with one hand raised above the forehead of the reclining figure.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 677)

This image is similar to Card M 14 in Series B and Card 12 M in Series C. It was redrawn by Thal for Card 12 M of Series D to show the elderly man standing by the couch with his knee on the bed rather than sitting in a chair beside the bed. The man lying down is wearing a coat in the earlier picture. In answer to a question from Anderson, White claimed that he sat for C. D. Morgan’s early drawing of the “hypnosis picture” (Anderson, 1996). In fact, White (1938) described the card as “... a picture representing a hypnotic session.” (p. 456). The description of the picture in the 1943 manual is changed to reflect Thal’s redrawing (Murray, 1943/1971).

[Ref. #14a]

Picture 14. [The nude figure of a man clinging to a pole.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 301)

The description of this picture sounds as if it could be the same as a detail of the picture that was later used in Card 15 of the TAT-II, a test that was first mentioned by Murray in 1949 (Holt, 1949; Murray, n.d.-c). The description of this card reads, "A naked man climbing a pole. On a promontory in the background is an indistinct human figure. A flaming spear rises out of the sea beyond" (Murray, n.d.-b). The detail of the man on a pole comes from a wood engraving, "Sea and Sky," by Rockwell Kent (1882–1971). The print was part of a series of such engravings made for a national advertising campaign for the American Car and Foundry Company. "Sea and Sky" was the 9th in the series of 12 prints and appeared in several popular magazines during March 1931 (e.g., *The Sportsman*, March 1931, p. 36; *Time*, March 9, 1931, p. 70).

[Ref. #15]

Picture No. 15. [A gray-haired man is looking at a young man who is sullenly staring into space.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 677)

This picture was later used as Card M 15 in Series B and Card 8 M in the Series C pictures. Eventually it was redrawn by Thal as Card 7 BM for the Series D set of cards. The original image comes from an advertisement for Fleischman's Yeast that appeared in a number of popular magazines in the Fall and Winter of 1930 (e.g., *American Magazine*, October 1930, p. 89; *Delineator*, November 1930, p. 37; *Hearst's International-Cosmopolitan*, November 1930, p. 99; *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1930, p. 73; *Literary Digest*, October 18, 1930, p. 39; *McCall's*, November 1930, p. 43; *New Yorker*, October 25, 1930, p. 45; *Pictorial Review*, October 1930, p. 37; *Saturday Evening Post*, October 11, 1930, p. 63; *Woman's Home Companion*, November 1930, p. 145). The advertisement was part of a long-running series that featured endorsements by a string of largely European doctors. They encouraged the use of yeast in the treatment of a variety of physical complaints including indigestion, headache, constipation, skin problems, and bad breath. The advertisement under consideration features a distinguished, gray-haired man, the Parisian physician Dr. Georges Rosenthal (1872–19??). Rosenthal, president of the Société Thérapeutique of Paris, Laureate of the Academy of Medicine of France, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, is pointing out something to a young male, presumably a patient suffering with constipation. Rosenthal is quoted in the advertisement as saying, "Keep the digestive and intestinal tract clean with fresh yeast and your health will improve." The advertisement encourages one to eat three cakes of yeast a day.

It is not known whether a cropped version of the advertising photo or a drawing of it was used in the Series A cards. The picture used in Series B is clearly a drawn copy of part of the advertising photo by C. D. Morgan. The drawing crops off the left side of the advertisement and omits a microscope, book, chart, and the doctor's right arm and left hand. It changes the doctor's white laboratory coat into a dark suit and darkens the color of the patient's suit as well. The doctor's hair is slightly better groomed in the drawing and his beard is more pronounced.

[Ref. #16]

Picture No. 16. (See [Ref. #9] previously.)

[Ref. #17]

Picture 17. [A young man sitting opposite to an older man. The latter has his hand out as though emphasizing some point in an argument.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 299)

Picture F. [A young man sitting opposite to an older man. The latter has his hand out as though emphasizing some point in an argument.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 677)

[Ref. #18]

Picture 18. [A malicious-looking man grasping the arm of a young girl who appears to be trying to pull away from him. He clutches her throat, and her expression denotes terror.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 302)

[Ref. #19]

Picture 19. [A gaunt, poorly dressed and disheveled man stands behind and to the right of a well dressed, prosperous-looking man.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 303)

This picture was later used as Card M 20 in Series B. It was not used in either the Series C or D sets. The original image comes from an advertisement for Veedol Motor Oil, "The Aristocrat of Motor Oils," which appeared in a number of popular magazines in the summer of 1932 (e.g., *Collier's*, June 25, 1932, p. 31 and July 30, 1932, p. 35; *Saturday Evening Post*, July 16, 1932, p. 54; *Time*, June 20, 1932, p. 25). Veedol was a product of Braford-Pennsylvania crude oil, and the advertisement features two men of contrasting appearance looking into the camera. The lead into the advertisement states, "Sure ... they both come from Pennsylvania! But all Pennsylvania men are not alike! Neither are all Pennsylvania motor oils."

It is not known whether this photograph was used directly in Series A or whether a redrawing of it was used. However, the photograph was likely copied by

C. D. Morgan and did appear in its redrawn state in Series B. The redrawing removes the hat from the man in the rear and replaces the spotted necktie with a solid colored one. In other respects the redrawing of the photograph is very similar to the original. The redrawing, of course, eliminated any potential problems with copyright.

[Ref. #20]

Picture 20. (No description found.)

[Ref. #21]

Picture 21. [An obscurely outlined figure, which might be a male or female, sits musing in the firelight, hands folded.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 303)

[Ref. #22]

Picture 22. (No description found.)

[Ref. #23]

Picture 23. (No description found.)

[Ref. #24]

Picture 24. (No description found.)

[Ref. #25]

Picture 25. [A girl standing alone. The expression on her face is obviously one of terror and anxiety.] (C. D. Morgan & Murray, 1935, p. 302)

[Ref. #Blank Card]

Blank Card. (Murray, 1938a, p. 623).

A blank card was used along with the earliest cards, although references to it are somewhat ambiguous as to whether or not it was thought to be included as part of the TAT. For example, "The E hands the S a blank card (the same size as the cards used in the Thematic Apperception Test)." (Murray, 1938b, p. 407). A blank card was not included in the set of Series B (Rapaport et al., 1946; White et al., 1941), but one was used as Card 13 in Series C and Card 16 in Series D.

[Ref. #A]

Picture A. (See [Ref. #1] previously.)

[Ref. #B]

Picture B. (See [Ref. #2] previously.)

[Ref. #C]

Picture C. [A young man lying prostrate on a bed and a young woman standing outside the door with her head buried in her hand.] (Murray, 1938a, p. 622)

Picture No. 5. [It illustrated a man lying prostrate across a stateroom bed, and a woman nearby—her head buried in her hands.] (C. D. Morgan, n.d.)

This picture is largely a pen-and-ink copy of a magazine illustration by C. D. Morgan. The pen-and-ink drawing is illustrated on page 406 of *Explorations in Personality* (Murray, 1938b) and can be seen on the dust jacket of *Evocative Images: The Thematic Apperception Test and the Art of Projection* (Gieser & Stein, 1999).

Puett Carter (1891–1955), an American illustrator, made a two-color illustration for the serialized story, “Captain Archer’s Daughter” (Deland, 1931) by Margaret Deland (1857–1945). The illustration appeared in that article on page 30 of the September 1931 issue of *Woman’s Home Companion*. The illustration pictures Captain Archer’s daughter, Martha (Mattie) and Isadore, a half-Portuguese sailor and owner of the ship *Ladybird*. The drawing is captioned, “‘Why did I marry him?’ She said, dazed. ‘Why?’”

Mattie and Isadore had eloped after a 4-day romance and sailed away on his four-masted ship. Mattie had just determined that she was pregnant and had gone below deck to find Isadore and talk with him. She found him, “... in the dark nasty cabin which reeked with the smell of whisky and pulsed with his slobbering snores” (Deland, 1931, p. 118). Mattie, feeling ill and disgusted, is in the process of making her way back up on deck.

C. D. Morgan’s pen-and-ink redrawing of the illustration changes the porthole to a window and the vented passage door to a four-panel wooden door to add ambiguity to the picture. Some of Mattie’s dress ornamentation has been changed and the flask and table by the bed have been omitted, but in other respects C. D. Morgan’s drawing is a close copy of Carter’s illustration.

Both the original pen-and-ink drawing and a copy of the magazine illustration can be found in the Henry A. Murray Research Center. A more extended discussion of Picture C can be found in W. G. Morgan (2000).

[Ref. #D]

Picture D. (See [Ref. #10a] previously.)

[Ref. #E]

Picture E. (No description found.)

[Ref. #F]

Picture F. (See [Ref. #17] previously.)

[Ref. #G]

Picture G. [A middle-aged man leaning forward with his jaw thrust out and his fists clenched.] (C. D. Morgan, 1938, p. 674)

PICTURES IN THE HENRY A. MURRAY PAPERS

There are 30 or so pictures somewhat similar in style to the cards previously mentioned mounted on cardboard in the Henry A. Murray Papers in the Harvard Archives. Those pictures do not fit any of the known descriptions given previously or the Series B, C, or D cards. Some of the pictures may well have been used as the pictures for which no descriptions have been found. Others may have only been briefly considered before being rejected or remained in consideration for one of the later series of cards. A larger group of other pictures in the collection seem much more similar to the pictures used on the TAT-II (Douglas, 1993).

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, I have been only modestly successful in identifying the earliest TAT pictures and finding their sources. Much remains unknown. As Table 1 indicates, at least nine of the pictures in Series A were retained and appear in Series B, and nine of the pictures in Series A remain in some form in the current (Murray, 1943/1971) version of the TAT. For the pictures for which the sources are known, all but one originated in magazines of the era. I expect that the others had similar origins.

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