

Defining the Mind: The struggle for legitimacy in Psychiatry and Psychology in the 1970's

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Defining the Mind: The struggle for legitimacy in psychology and psychiatry during the 1970s.
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INTRODUCTION

GAME BOOK

FRONT MATTER

INTRODUCTION

0.1 The Game

This game highlights the intellectual conflicts that changed American psychiatry and psychology in the early part of the 1970s.

It might seem a little odd, in reacting game, to be exploring relatively recent events. While there will be no executions, ostracisms or civil wars in this game, the intellectual stakes are no less high. What you know of Psychiatry and Psychology today—the social significance of the APA's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM), the use of psychopharmaceuticals for 'everyday' life (such as Ritalin, Adderall and anti-depressants), and the theoretically pluralistic basis of Psychology departments (behaviorism, cognitivism)—originate in this time period, in this conflict.

During the course of this game, your class will be the 'APA.' Your class will be responsible for determining what conditions shall be labeled 'Mental Illness', and what evidence shall be required for distinguishing different conditions. Actual game play will consist of organizing annual conferences, where the nation's psychiatrists and psychologists meet to share their research and conduct association business. In 'real time', a single conference takes 1 week. Each weekend of real time then, represents an entire year in game play time. According to your specific role, you may be presenting papers, participating in a symposium, serving on a committee, or even running for one.

Players will join 'committees' with different responsibilities, such as scheduling each conference and determining who will present papers on what subjects. The schedule for the first annual conference is already set: you can review it on p. 399 . Pay careful attention to the schedule of submission and review detailed by the conference committee. If your role sheet requires that you present your research at the conference, you must get your proposal to the conference committee on time. There is a detailed description of the form required for proposals provided under '??.' on p. ??.

Playing a Psychologist or Psychiatrist in the 1970s.

In 1974, the vast majority of psychiatrists would have been trained in the psychoanalytic tradition of Freud and Jung. In psychology, the vast majority would have been trained as behaviorists.

Each camp believed that they alone had a monopoly of the scientific study of the mind, and other traded in pseudoscience. During the 1970s, crystallizing around the demedicalization of homosexuality, this all began to change.

In this game, we ask you to put aside what you know about modern psychology and psychiatry, and put yourself in the shoes of a died-in-the-wool psychoanalyst or hard-nosed behaviorist¹. Unlike many other professional organizations of the late 19th century, the APA immediately granted membership to women: specifically the eminent experimental psychophysicist Christine Ladd-Franklin and Margaret Washburn in 1894, two years after its founding. Mary Whiton Calkins was the first woman elected the first president in 1905.¹

¹ Titchener, who was a founding member of the APA but probably never attended a meeting, created a separate organization called the "Experimentalists" in 1904, from which he explicitly barred women. Christine Ladd-Frankling engaged in high profile war of words with Titchener until his death in 1925. Unfortunately, many people misremember this conflict as happening

in the APA, which is incorrect. Also unfortunately, Titchener's student E.G. Boring wrote the most famous history of experimental psychology, in which he attacks Christine Ladd-Franklin as 'invading' laboratories and 'the women graduate students manicure her fingers' in the laboratory. (see 'Women scientists in American: struggles and strategies to 1940', p. 390)]. We'll get to what that means later in the game book, but if you just can't wait, check out the introduction to psychoanalysis in section 3.3 and introduction to behaviorism in section 3.3.

Context: the role of Psychology and Psychiatry in American Political Life

In 1964, a magazine called Fact asked 12,000 psychiatrists if they would be willing to diagnose conservative presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. Of the more than 2000 that responded 1,189 responded that he appeared to have a 'personality disorder'-that slippery category between psychosis and neurosis. The headline proclaimed (under the magazine's title 'fact:') that "1,198 Psychiatrists Say Goldwater Is Psychologically Unfit To Be President! You may recall that the 1964 election witnessed Johnson's famous 'Daisy' ad, which suggested that the election of Barry Goldwater would lead to nuclear annihilation.¹

At this same time, you may recall that the US Supreme court decided in 1973 that abortion was covered by the constitutional dictate to a right to privacy, thereby blocking all laws that had kept abortion illegal.

In 1969, the American Psychological Association issued a public proclamation, citing lack of evidence to the contrary that:

WHEREAS in many state legislature, bills have recently been introduced for the purpose of repealing or drastically modifying the existing criminal codes with respect to the termination of unwanted pregnancies;

and **WHEREAS**, termination of unwanted pregnancies is clearly a mental health and child welfare issue, and a legitimate concern of APA;

BE IT RESOLVED that termination of pregnancy be considered a civil right of the pregnant woman, to be handled as other medical and surgical procedures in consultation with her physician, and to be considered legal if performed by a licensed physician in a licensed medical facility.²

The American Psychiatric Association followed in 1977 with:

The emotional consequences of unwanted pregnancy on parents and their offspring may lead to long-standing life distress and disability, and the children of unwanted pregnancies are at high risk for abuse, neglect, mental illness, and deprivation of the quality of life. Pregnancy that results from undue coercion, rape, or incest creates even greater potential distress or disability in the child and the parents. The adolescent most vulnerable to early pregnancy is the product of adverse sociocultural conditions involving poverty, discrimination, and family disorganization, and statistics indicate

¹For a brief history see Pinsker, H. (2007). "Goldwater Rule' History", *Psychiatric News*, 42 (15), p. 33 (<http://pn.psychiatryonline.org/content/42/15/33.1.full>)

²Available at <http://www.apa.org/about/governance/council/policy/abortion.aspx>

that the resulting pregnancy is laden with medical complications which threaten the well-being of mother and fetus. The delivery that ensues from teenage pregnancy is prone to prematurity and major threats to the health of mother and child, and the resulting newborns have a higher percentage of birth defects, developmental difficulties, and a poorer life and health expectancy than the average for our society. Such children are often not released for adoption and thus get caught in the web of foster care and welfare systems, possibly entering lifetimes of dependency and costly social interventions. The tendency of this pattern to pass from generation to generation is very marked and thus serves to perpetuate a cycle of social and educational failure, mental and physical illness, and serious delinquency.

Because of these considerations, and in the interest of public welfare, the American Psychiatric Association

- 1) opposes all constitutional amendments, legislation, and regulations curtailing family planning and abortion services to any segment of the population;
- 2) reaffirms its position that abortion is a medical procedure in which physicians should respect the patient's right to freedom of choice - psychiatrists may be called on as consultants to the patient or physician in those cases in which the patient or physician requests such consultation to expand mutual appreciation of motivation and consequences; and
- 3) affirms that the freedom to act to interrupt pregnancy must be considered a mental health imperative with major social and mental health implications.³

Needless to say, not only were these political events hugely controversial in the United States, the professional involvement of psychiatrists and psychologists was *itself* hugely controversial.

The 'Goldwater affair', as it became to be known, embarrassed Psychiatry as a whole, painting the entire discipline as either politically motivated and unreliable.⁴

And the declarations regarding abortion were widely seen as unmotivated by scientific evidence.

To this day, academic organizations have a reputation of bias toward liberal political parties. Given that contemporary conservatism traces its root to Goldwater's failed presidential bid, it is unsurprising that conservative groups may still harbor some suspicion of academia.

0.2 Prologue

Your cab pulls up in front of the Shoreham hotel in Rock Creek Park, a particularly tranquil part of the chaos that is Washington D.C. You nervously check the entrance to the hotel. It's clear. This year, there are no throngs of protesters bent on face-to-face confrontation.

They must be down at the mall participating in the massive protest calling for an end to the Vietnam war. The radio reported an estimated crowd of at least 50,000. And that's before the 10,000 National Guardsmen were called into try to open the flow of traffic.

³Available at <http://www.psych.org/Departments/EDU/Library/APAOOfficialDocumentsandRelated/PositionStatements/197703.aspx>

⁴'Unreliable' should be read here in the technical sense—the same individual would not be classified the same way by a different analysts)

The story was not the same last year, in San Francisco.

When you arrived at the hotel last year, the entrance was completely blocked by an angry crowd of gay rights activists. Individuals in the crowd were personally confronting—non-violently but aggressively—any member of the APA who appeared. The activists called this ‘Zapping.’ You found it terrifying.

Last year’s conference was almost shut down by the protesters. There are rumors that the FBI was in attendance last year, and it is almost certain they are here now. The Washington Post covered the event thusly:

The Washington Post May 14th 1970 – The gay liberation and their women allies out-shrieked the head shrinkers today and took over an American Psychiatric Association session on sex. Before the morning was over the 500 psychiatrists who gathered to hear scientific studies on sexual problems demonstrated that they were just as prone to anti-social behaviour as anyone else. ‘This lack of discipline is disgusting’, said Dr Leo Alexander, a psychiatrist at the meeting. Then he diagnosed the problem of one of the lesbian protesters: ‘She’s a paranoid fool,’ the doctor said, ‘and a stupid bitch.’⁵

The conference was a circus. Young men dressed in flamboyant gowns stormed through the hallways. Sessions were disrupted by guerrilla theater. In one, an activist named Frank Kameny grabbed the microphone and shouted “Psychiatry is the enemy incarnate. Psychiatry has waged a relentless war of extermination against us. You may take this as a declaration of war against you.”

It all culminated in a session featuring Irving Bieber, author of the 1962 study on homosexuality published in his book *Homosexuality*.

According to eye witnesses,⁶ a protester interrupted Bieber almost before he started with the claim that “I’ve read your book Dr. Bieber, and if that book talked about black people the way it talks about homosexuals, you’d be drawn and quartered, and you’d deserve it!”

Bieber tried to respond by claiming “I never said homosexuals were sick—what I said was that they had displaced sexual adjustment.”

“That’s the same thing, motherfucker!” yelled another.

Earlier this year, a meeting of the New York branch of the APA, a handful of gay activists interrupted a talk by noted Psychiatrist from Columbia University Charles Socarides.

There have long been rumors of a shadow organization of homosexual psychiatrists called the ‘Gay-PA.’ It appears these rumors are no longer in doubt. The highlight of this year’s program promises to be a symposium titled “Psychiatry: Friend or Foe to Homosexuals: A Dialogue.” The panel includes Dr. Evelyn Hooker, one of the participants in last year’s show down and the mysterious ‘Dr. H. Anonymous,’ who claims to be both a licensed psychiatrist and homosexual.

Everyone knows that a mentally ill person cannot practice psychiatry. And homosexuality is a mental illness. This Dr. H. Anonymous, if he or she is telling the truth, is risking his or her medical

⁵This is excerpted from a real article in the Washington Post.

⁶Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America, p. 200–201

license. But yet there must be more. We all know, ever since Kinsey's famous study, that about 10% of the population identifies as primarily homosexual, while a significantly larger percentage have engaged in homosexual activity. And ever since Hooker's paper in 1956, we know that most of this population are psychologically normal. Given the numbers attending this meeting, Dr. H. Anonymous surely can't be alone.

On the other hand, Socarides and Bieber have called Hooker and Kinsey's data into question. If they are correct, and only a small percentage of the population is homosexual, on what basis could one call it a 'normal' behavior? Are homosexuals, as Bieber contends, individuals whose "heterosexual function is crippled, like the legs of a polio victim"?

Back in October of 1969, Time magazine had a cover story on the movement amongst homosexuals—who they called 'inverts'⁷—for greater social recognition. In the second paragraph, it referred to "gay" bars (with the quotations), but then proceeded to use the word "gay" without quotes. It even used the term 'gay marriage.' The article, however, made the following claim:

Most experts agree that a child will not become a homosexual unless he undergoes many emotionally disturbing experiences during the course of several years. A boy who likes dolls or engages in occasional homosexual experiments is not necessarily "queer": such activities are often a normal part of growing up. On the other hand, a child who becomes preoccupied with such interests or is constantly ill at ease with the opposite sex obviously needs some form of psychiatric counseling. While only about one-third of confirmed adult inverts can be helped to change, therapists agree that a much larger number of "prehomosexual" children can be treated successfully

Who are these 'experts' anyway? Is Psychiatry headed to another embarrassment like the Goldwater affair?⁸

These thoughts raise a larger specter in your mind: are psychiatry and psychology *scientific*?

Starting a decade ago, Thomas Szasz, Professor of Psychiatry at State University of New York Health Science Center in Syracuse, New York has been arguing, quite publicly, that 'mental illness' is a myth! His ideas challenge the very foundation of your field. He's listed on the program, and you're quite excited to get a chance to discuss his polemic claims in some detail.

At the same time, George Miller, who is serving as the President of the APA this year, is something of a revolutionary himself. Miller has been arguing for the existence of something called 'Cognitive Psychology', which directly challenges the 50-year tradition of limiting psychological research to the observation, prediction and control of human behavior. For half a century, psychologists have been convinced that they cannot scientifically investigate unobservable entities like 'beliefs', 'desires', 'personalities' and 'minds', but rather must study only the behavior of an organism in its environment. Now even that is being challenged!

Are psychology and psychiatry scientific? Is there such a thing as a 'mental illness'? Can (or should) science be used to make the world a better place?

⁷You can read the entire article here: <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,839116,00.html#>

⁸In 1964, the magazine Fact ran a headline proclaiming that a majority of psychiatrists believed presidential candidate Barry Goldwater mentally unstable. See Error! Bookmark not defined. for more.

0.3 Counterfactuals

In reality there are two distinct associations named 'APA.' The American Psychiatric Association, which is composed of Medical Doctors who practice Psychiatry, maintains the DSM. The American Psychological Association, which is composed of academics (PhDs) who study the mind in a variety of ways, does not.

In this game, I have conflated the two, which is significant transgression on both sides of the divide.

If you are interested in studying these events in closer detail, all our characters correspond to a real person or persons. Those with MDs are members of the American Psychiatric Association, while characters with PhDs are members of the American Psychological Association.

For the most part, the historical events with which a character interacts occurred under the umbrella of their respective organization.

1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Timeline of events relevant to game play

The study of the mind can be traced back to the very foundations of Western civilization in Ancient Greece. For the purposes of this game, we're going to confine ourselves to the era of 'scientific' study of the mind, both in a medical and research context. All historical events up until 1974 that are described in this game book are listed here in a round time line, for ease of reference.

Timeline	
Year	Event
1792	Philippe Pinel appointed physician at the Bicêtre hospital in Paris
1794	Pinel appointed chief physician of the Hospice de la Salpêtrière
1801	Pinel publishes *A Treatise on Insanity*, with his 4-fold classification of mental illness (translated in English in 1806)
1805	Esquirol published *Mental Maladies*, with a 5-fold classification of mental illness
1812	George Boole published *The Laws of Thought*
1825	Popular wave of 'homocidal monomania', inspiring (among others) Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*
1847	Helmholtz, Ludwig, Bois-Reymond and Brücke vow to develop an account of human and animal behavior that was entirely in physical-chemical terms.
1850	Fechner first posits that the intensity of a psychological experience had a mathematical relation to the intensity of the physical stimulus (Now known as 'Fechner's Law')
1878	William James contracts to write *The Principles of Psychology*
1879	Wilhelm Wundt's lab at the University of Leipzig opens
1880	Josef Breuer takes 'Anna O' as a patient in Vienna
1881	George Beard publishes *American Nervousness*, introducing the idea of a 'nervous breakdown'
1881	Breuer attempts hypnosis on Anna O.
1882	Charcot founds the first clinic on "Incurable" mental illness (what we now call "neurological conditions") at the Salpêtrière in Paris.
1883	Christine Ladd-Franklin completes and publishes her dissertation titled "On the Algebra of Logic" under C.S. Peirce. Johns Hopkins refuses to grant her the doctorate because of her gender.
1885	Hermann Ebbinghaus' memory experiments call into question the reliability of introspection-based research in psychology, and establishes the paradigm for experimental psychology. (I.e. Wilhelm Wundt)
1885-1887	Charlotte Perkins-Gilman treated for Post-Partum Depression by George Beard's student Silas Wier-Mitchell.
1890	a young Sigmund Freud, blocked from a hospital appointment in Germany by anti-semitism, moves to Paris to work under Charcot.
1891	the 'neuron doctrine' first advanced.
1891	Christine Ladd-Franklin leaves Johns Hopkins, where she was denied a PhD because of her gender, to study in Germany with Müller and Helmholtz.

1891-1900	Ivan Pavlov conducts research on dog salivation in response to physical stimulus. We now call his method 'classical conditioning'. Krafft-Ebing publishes <i>Psychopathia Sexualis</i>
1892	G. Stanley Hall appointed 1st President of the American Psychological Association
1892	Charlotte Perkins Gilman publishes "The Yellow Wallpaper", based on her experiences with psychological treatment
1894	Christine Ladd-Franklin, along with Margaret Washburn, are the first Women to be elected to the American Psychological Association.
1895	Freud and Bruer publish their report of Anna O titled "The Psychic Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena"
1896	William James' *The Principles of Psychology* published
1905	Mary Whiton Calkins elected first woman President of the American Psychological Association
1909	G. Stanley Hall invites Freud and Jung to give a series of lectures at Clark University. In the audience are William James, Franz Boas (anthropology), E.B. Tichner (psychology) and Emma Goldman (the anarchist, a character in the Suffragist game). After the lectures, Freud and Jung accept an invitation from James Jackson Putnam, a prominent neurologist in New York, to vacation at his home in the Adirondacks. During this vacation, Freud and Jung have a disagreement, which causes rift between them that never closed.
1911	Ramon y Cajal demonstrates neurons in the hippocampus, confirming the 'neuron doctrine'
1911	Putnam founds the American Psychiatric Association.
1912	Alan Turing born
1913	Ebbinhaus' work translated into English
1913	John B. Watson publishes "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it", launching Behaviorism.
1917	At the inaugural meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, the DSM-I is adopted. There are 21 mental disorders classified.
1933	A Standard Classified Nomenclature of Disease published by the NY Academic of Medicine, along with the Public Health Serve, the Army and Navy Medical Department and the American Hospital Association.
1936	Turing posits the idea of a machine that can compute any mathematical function
1939	B.F Skinner publishes *The Behavior of Organisms: An Experimental Analysis*, introducing the concept of 'reinforcement' and 'operant conditioning'
1939-1945	WWII: significant migration of German researchers to the US; most of the top researchers in the field recruited to the war effort. Large numbers of young intellectuals trained in basic psychiatry for the military. Individuals discharged from the US Military for homosexuality begin organic communities in the major ports of the West Coast: San Deigo, Long Beach (L.A.) and San Fransisco.
1943	bulletin "Medica 203", which defined mental illness for the US military was written by Brigadier General William C. Menninger
1948	Kinsey publishes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*

1949	*The International Statistical Classification of Diseases.* Was published. It had 27 major categories of mental illness and 60 sub-categories
1950	Alan Turing publishes "Computing Machinery and Intelligence", articulating the thesis that the mind can be modeled on a machine, as well as a test for the intelligence of such a machine.
1950	The Mattachine Society, in Philadelphia, and the Daughters of Bilitis, in San Francisco, are founded.
1952	Alan Turing arrested as a homosexual. Is sentenced to chemical castration through hormone therapy.
1952	The American Psychiatric Association published the DSM-II, which has 28 major categories of mental illness, and 44 sub categories.
June 7th, 1954	Alan Turing commits suicide.
1954	Evelyn Hooker begins her research on the Mental health of male homosexuals in Los Angeles.
September 10-12 1956	MIT hosts the second Symposium on Information Theory. In attendance are John von Neumann (the father of computer science), Norbert Weiner (founder of cybernetics), Claude Shannon (creator of Information theory), Warren McCulloch and Walter Pitts (Creators of a mathematical model of a neuron), Margaret Mead (Anthropology), Herbert Simon and Alan Newell (Computer Science), Noam Chomsky (linguistics) and George Miller (psychology). The cognitive revolution has begun.
1955	The Wallace Lab began marketing *Miltown*, the first anti-psychotic medicine.
1957	Skinner publishes *Verbal Behavior*, Chomsky publishes stunning critique.
1959	*Trofranil*, the first antidepressant, appears on the market.
1960	*Librium*, the first anti-anxiety, appears on the market.
1963	*Valium* is introduced.
1963	Barbara Gittings becomes editor of the newsletter of the Daughters of Bilitis.
1968	Members of the Mattachine society disrupt public lecture by Charles Socrades
1969	Oliver Sacks administers L-DOPA to patients comatose since the 1920's, and is amazed to find them awaken. His memoir 'Awakenings' is published in 1972, and widely read and discussed in the medical community.
June 28, 1969	July 3rd, 1969: Stonewall
1970	Gay rights protesters picket, and overwhelm, the annual meeting of the APA in San Francisco.
September 10th, 2009	the United Kingdom issues a formal apology to Alan Turing for his treatment after massive petition drive.
Dec 24th, 2013	Turing granted Royal Pardon by Queen Elizabeth II.

Table 1.1: Timeline of critical events

1.2 Narrative

Brief history of the concept of 'Psychology'

Pre-history of Psychology: Empiricism about the Mind

The scientific investigation into the human mind and/or human behavior begins almost simultaneously with science itself. Our inquiry into its history must then begin with the followers of Francis Bacon, who created the 'scientific method' and trace the idea that the can be studied scientifically through the rise of the empiricists into the present day.

Bacon, who we now credit with establishing 'The Scientific Method,' argued that the human mind tended to distort reality in regular, systematic ways, which he called 'idols.'¹ In order to understand reality, we must then give up on the idea that a single person can discover the truth on his or her own.²

In order to learn about the world, we need to work together, collaboratively creating a "natural and experimental history" (Bk 2, Ch X, p 109) of the phenomenon. As working collaboratively can lead to confusion and misunderstanding, we organize that natural and experimental history into a series of tables: including instances of the phenomenon's presence, closely related instances in which the phenomenon is absent, instances in which the phenomenon occurs in degrees or in comparison, and instances of exclusion of the phenomenon. Once these tables are built, we review them and create what Bacon called a 'first harvest' of the phenomenon. In short, this is a generalized axiom unifying the phenomenon yet held close to observation. Once that first axiom is established, we return to the tables, highlighting privileged instances which are further classified as solitary, transitory, revealing, etc.³ These, then can be used to further refine the first harvest into further, more careful axioms.

Bacon profoundly influenced Elizabethan England. His empirical method sparked inquiry in almost all areas of human knowledge, and formed the basis for what we now call the 'scientific revolution' or the 'enlightenment.' And his influence on psychology and psychiatry is actually far more direct than most would assume. Late in his life, Bacon became friends with the Philosopher Thomas Hobbes. In fact, Hobbes founded a Baconian reading group in Oxford, which is the forbearer of the Royal Society—the world's oldest scientific body.

¹The four idols distinguished by Bacon are the idols of the tribe, the cave, the marketplace and the theater. The idols of the tribe are those which we all share, as a function of our biology. They "have their origin either in the regularity of the substance of the human spirit; or in its prejudices; or in its limitations; or in its restless movement; or in the influence of the emotions; or in the limited powers of the senses; or in the mode of impression" (LII) The idols of the cave are those of an individual. They have their origin in "the individual nature of each man's mind and body; and also in his education, way of life and chance events." (LIII) The idols of the marketplace are those of miscommunication and misunderstanding. As Bacon says "For men believe that their reason controls words. But it is also true that words retort and turn their force back upon the understanding; and this has rendered philosophy and the science sophistic and unproductive." (LIX) The idols of the theater are those of intellectual 'showmanship.' They are "not innate or stealthily slipped into the understanding; they are openly introduced and accepted on the basis of fairytale theories and mistaken rules of proof." (LXI) All quotes from Bacon & Jardin (2000). Roman numerals indicate Aphorism number.

²For those of you who have read Rene Descartes *Meditations on First Philosophy* will no doubt recognize that Descartes predicated his entire philosophical system on the idea that working alone by pure reflection, he could discover immutable truths about the universe.

³Bacon lists 27 different types of these 'privileged instances' in Book 2 of his Novum Organon.

Thomas Hobbes, who is most widely known for his initiation of social-contract theory in defense of absolute monarchy, opens his master work Leviathan with this bold claim:

Nature (the art whereby God hath made and governs the world) is by the *art* of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal. For seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within, why may we not say that all *automata* (engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For what is the *heart*, but a *spring*; and the *nerves*, but so many *strings*; and the *joints*, but so many *wheels*, giving motion to the whole body such was was intended by the artificer? (Ch 1, S1)

Just as his famous social-political philosophy posited universal laws of human conduct, Hobbes believed that the human mind followed to universal laws which were deducible through reason. Always a Baconian, Hobbes begins by separating those who have minds (humans) from those who do not (non-human animals), and then query the difference between those two.

According to Hobbes, humans surpass animals insofar as they are “apt to inquire the consequences of it[Need to have the referent. Look up], and what effects he could do with it.” In addition, humans can “can by words reduce the consequences he finds to general rules, called theorems, or aphorisms; that is, he can reason, or reckon, not only in number, but in all other things whereof one may be added unto or subtracted from another.” (Ch V, S6).

Thus we have the beginning of psychology: human minds work by the process of deducing consequences and abstracting from particular experiences to general rules through basic logical functions.

Let’s take a moment to contrast this with an alternative approach. René Descartes, who many consider to be the founder of modern western Philosophy, argued that the mind was wholly distinct from the body, and therefore subject to an entirely different set of laws. His most famous argument for mind-body dualism asks us to doubt all that cannot be known with certainty, and then concludes that one cannot doubt that one is doubting; hence thinking; hence one cannot doubt that one is a thinking thing. This famous argument (called the “cogito” is contained the First Meditation.⁴ But Descartes offers a much more interesting and influential argument in a number of other writings. The argument appears twice in *The Discourse on Methods*, first in part 3:

...if there were such machines having the organs and the shape of a monkey or of some other animal that lacked reason, we would have no way of recognizing that they were not entirely of the same nature as these animals; where as, if there were any such machines that bore a resemblance to our bodies and imitated our actions as far as this is practically feasible, we would always have two very certain means of recognizing that they were not at all, for that reason, true men. The first is that they could never use words or other signs, or put them together as we do in order to declare our thoughts to others. For one can well conceive of a machine being so made that it utters words,

⁴If you aren’t familiar with the argument, you can read it, in Latin English and French, here: <http://www.wright.edu/cola/descartes/>

and even that it utters words appropriate to the bodily actions that will cause some change in its organs... But it could not arrange its words differently so as to respond to the sense of all that will be said in its presence, as even the dullest men can do. (*Discourse*, Ch 3, 1637)

And then again in part 5:

[in looking at the body] I found there precisely all those things that can be in us without our thinking about them, and hence, without our soul's contributing to them, that is to say, that part distinct from the body of which it has been said previously that its nature is only to think. And these are all the same features in which one can say that animals lacking reason resemble us. But I could not on that account find there any of those functions, which, being dependent on thought, are the only ones that belong to us as men, although I did find them all later on, once I had supposed God created a rational soul and joined it to this body in particular manner that I described. (*Discourse*, Ch 5, 1637)

The same point appears in his *Letter to Henry More*:

Nevertheless it has never been observed that any brute beast arrived at such perfection that it could use true speech, that is, that it indicated by words or signs something that can be ascribed to thought alone, and not to a natural impulse. For speech is the only certain sign of thought concealed in the body, and all men, even the stupidest and most insane, make use of it, but not any brute. Therefore, this can be taken to be the true differentia between man and brutes (*Reply to Henry More*, S5)

In these passages, Descartes ascribes to humans alone the ability to use language and conceive of abstract ideas. He then finds that these abilities cannot be the products of material, finite reality. As experience is limited to finite reality, ideas of things that are not finite must be 'ascribed to thought alone.' Thus, these ideas must be innate to the mind and not based on experience. It follows that these distinctly human abilities are the products of a non-material infinite reality. In short, the argument is this:

1. Humans alone use language and conceive of abstract entities (i.e. 'infinity').
2. No material mechanism could ever use language or conceive of an abstract entity.
3. Therefore, humans cannot just be material mechanism

Hobbes' asserted earlier that human beings could be imitated through material mechanisms, and that our minds are ruled by the law of inquiring of the consequences of an action. This runs directly counter to Descartes' argument, as Hobbes believes abstract entities are merely the result of inquiring consequences. But insofar Hobbes has only made an assertion—a hypothesis—it needs empirical demonstration. To establish Hobbes' contention and meet Descartes' challenge scientifically, Hobbes must show a physical machine could, through experience, develop both

the ability to speak rationally and conceive of abstract entities that are not clearly the product of experience (such as 'infinity').

It is easy to see how the process of 'addition and subtraction' could produce a concept of infinity. But it is hard to see how simple arithmetic could produce a machine that could "arrange its words differently so as to respond to the sense of all that will be said in its presence, as even the dullest men can do."

John Locke follows Hobbes in this, just as he does in the development of political liberalism. Locke's famous *Essay on Human Understanding* opens with a fifty-eight page argument against the idea of innate ideas. Locke picks up the project where Hobbes left off, adding 'reflection' (what we now call 'introspection') as an additional source of ideas. For Locke, like for Hobbes, the mind is populated with ideas that originate in experience. We come to understand our minds, and how our minds occasionally lead us astray, by understanding the mental mechanisms that produce ideas from sensation. Abstract ideas like 'infinity' are the products of a process of abstraction:

Finite then, and infinite, being by the mind looked on as modifications of expansion and duration, the next thing to be considered, is, -How the mind comes by them. As for the idea of the finite, there is no great difficulty...Every one that has an idea of any stated lengths of space, as a foot, finds that he can repeat that idea; and joining it to the former, make the idea of two feet; and by the addition of a third, three feet; and so on, without every coming to an end of his additions, whether of the same idea of a foot, or, if he pleases, of doubling it, or any idea he has of any length, as a mile, or diameter of the earth, or of the orbis magnus...This, I think, is the way whereby the mind gets the idea of infinite space. —Essay Book 2, Ch17

But like Hobbes, Locke fails to explain how language structure could be produced by a finite mechanism.

At the same time Locke was writing in England, Antoine Arnaud, a fervent supporter of Descartes' theory of mind, was developing a school of thought in France which we now call the 'Port-Royalist' movement. The Port-Royalists held that the structure of grammar was universal for humans and could be reduced to the laws of logic. Unlike the empiricists Hobbes and Locke, however, the Port-Royalists, who including the great logician and mathematician Pascal, were dualists and theists. For the Port-Royalists, thought was different from language, although we tend to think in language through force of habit. Pure thought, both in its content and its structure, becomes imperfect when 'translated' into an imperfect spoken language. A perfect language, and perfect grammar, would be possible if each word signified unequivocally a single simple idea, and the grammar of speech matched perfectly the 'grammar of thought.'

The empiricists Hobbes and Locke have adequately responded to Descartes' assertion that ideas about abstract objects could not have their origin in the physical, finite, world. But neither of them have managed to respond meaningfully to the assertion that the ability to put ideas together *in language* cannot be the product of the physical, finite world.

David Hume, the great Scottish Empiricist is really the first to answer this challenge. He took Locke's argument against innate ideas and married it to the idea of a universal structure of the mind. First, he extending the argument against innateness beyond the concept of the infinite:

The idea of God, as meaning an infinitely intelligent, wise, and good Being, arises from reflecting on the operations of our own mind, and augmenting, without limit, those qualities of goodness and wisdom. –Enquiry, S2 P14

And second, he advanced the thesis that principles of connection between ideas in the mind were regular and hence subject to empirical investigation. In fact, he posited three: RESEMBLANCE, CONTIGUITY in time or place and CAUSE and EFFECT. (Treatise, Part 1, S IV).

This thesis he believed explained the universality of human language structures:

It is evident that there is a principle of connexion between the different thoughts or ideas of the mind, and that, in the appearance to the memory or imagination, they introduce each other with a certain degree of method or regularity.... .Amoung different languages, even where we cannot suspect the least connexion or communication, it is found, that the words, expressive of ideas, the most compounded, do yet nearly correspond to each other: a certain proof that the simple ideas, comprehended in the compound ones, were bound together by some universal principle, which had an equal influence on all mankind.

Thus, with Hume, we can find the origin of the empirical study of the mind, although 'psychology' was not distinguished from 'natural philosophy' for at least another century.

It is important to point out here that for these thinkers, the objects of study are *ideas*. The central claims are that there are regular, law-like relationships between ideas themselves, whether they be causal or grammatical. That central claim unites them with early psychology⁵. But as we will see, is the challenged in the Behaviorist revolution in the US in the early 1930's and 1940's.

Birth of Psychology – German Physiological Psychology in the 1880s–1890s.

In about 1847, four friends, three of them students of Johannes Müller (1801–1858), gathered together in Berlin to swear an oath dedicating themselves to undermining vitalism: the theory that all living entities shared a special irreducible 'vital force.' They committed themselves to the view that:

No other forces than the common physical-chemical ones are active within the organism. In those cases which cannot at the time be explained by these forces one has either to find the specific way or form of their action by means of the physical –mathematical method or assume new forces equal in dignity to the chemical-physical forces inherent in matter, reducible to the force of attraction and repulsion. (Ernst Jones, p. 40)

⁵There are many instances of this claim in the history of psychology: see, e.g. Wundt, 1876 (p. 175)

These four friends were Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), Carl Ludwig (1816–1895), Emil du Bois-Reymond (1818–1896) and Ernst Wilhelm von Brücke (1819–1892). They were joined shortly thereafter by Hermann Lotze (1817–1891) and his student Gustav Fechner (1801–1887) and came to dominate the training of the next generation of psychologist and psychiatrists: Helmholtz hired Christine Ladd-Franklin as his assistant, who went on to be one of the first woman members of the APA, and the first woman to hold a professorship at the University of Chicago. Sigmund Freud studied under Brücke; Ivan Pavlov under Ludwig and Wilhem Wundt under du Bois-Reymond. Wundt went on to work in Helmholtz's lab after Ladd-Franklin returned to America.⁶

While all four of these thinkers had a profound influence on the founding and development of psychology as a discipline, we'll focus attention for the moment on Helmholtz⁷.

Helmholtz was one of the great scientific minds of his era. Not only is he now recognized as a godfather of experimental psychology, he is widely respected in the history of Optics, and is, in many ways, the father of ophthalmology, having invented the ophthalmoscope.

His professor, Müller, held that nerves had 'specific sense energies' naturally: our sensory system had certain *a priori* assumptions⁸ about time and space literally built into them, making sensory experience like binocular vision possible. Students familiar with the history of philosophy may recognize this as a position influenced by Kantian psychology.

Helmholtz, however, posited that our mental system as a whole adjusted itself through a process of 'unconscious inference' to represent the external world. The contents of our experiences—the redness of a red apple, for example—are merely 'signs' or 'indicators' of the objects in the world that our experiences represent. Our sensory systems automatically and unconsciously recover the world through the complex information to which it has access.

Unconscious inferences that produce stable representations (i.e. experience of a red apple) are not accessible to us through mere reflection, but neither are they 'built in' or 'innate.' They are, in short, trained through experience with the regularities of the world itself. The process of sensation is learned, not biologically determined. While contemporary psychophysics has advanced greatly since 1850, the basic model of how perception works in psychology today is Helmholtz's.

Major areas of research during the infancy of psychology

⁶I can illustrate some of the differences in theoretical approach here with the example of color perception: Helmholtz posited that there were three basic primary colors: red, green and purple. Ladd-Franklin argued that purple perceptually appeared to be (i.e. 'looked like') a mixture of red and blue, whereas yellow appeared to be primary. Thus, she theorized, there are in fact four psychologically primary colors: red, green, blue and yellow. Helmholtz responded (quoted in Hering) that one could not draw conclusions about facts of physiology from direct psychological experience (i.e. introspection), therefore Ladd-Franklin's observation had no bearing on the science of psychology. While Ladd-Franklin's point seems obvious and definitive against Helmholtz's theory, it was widely rejected, on the basis of the unreliability of introspective reports and observations, in favor of the physiological reductionism of Helmholtz. In fact, it wasn't until a plausible mathematical model based on Ladd-Franklin's observation was proposed by Jameson and Hurvich in 1957 that the psychological community rejected Helmholtz's theory in favor of Ladd-Franklin's.

⁷Experienced Reactors may recognize Helmholtz' name from the Darwin Game.

⁸*a priori* is a philosophical term meaning 'prior to experience.' It is frequently used to describe philosophical positions like Descartes' that believe knowledge can be gained by reflection alone. In this case, it means that the nerves have assumptions about the world 'built in' before experience. If you wanted to use a computer analogy, Müller believes that knowledge about time and space is encoded in our hardware, where the empiricists like Hobbes, Locke and Hume believe it is in software that is built through experience.

Sensation and Perception: Fechner On the morning of 22nd of October, 1850, a young physiologist named Gustav Theodor Fechner lay in bed, puzzled by the relationship between the intensity of a psychological experience (i.e. hearing a sound, measured by introspection) and the intensity of the physical stimulus (i.e. the amplitude of the air vibrations). On that morning, it occurred to him that the relative increase in the physical stimulus might correspond to the relative increase in the psychological experience. It took him a decade to prepare the idea for publication, which he presented as 'Weber's law':

$$dp = k(dS/S)$$

where dp is the change in the psychological experience, k is a constant to be determined experimentally, dS is the change in the stimulus and S is the stimulus. He added to this the idea that the physical stimulus must break a certain threshold to be perceivable at all to derive what is now known as 'Fechner's law':

$$p = k \ln(S/S_0)$$

Where S_0 is the threshold under which the stimulus is not perceived.

Fechner's law is the first mathematical law (some might say 'model') in psychology. It posits a specific relationship between a psychological entity (sensation) and a physical entity (the stimulus). Unlike his predecessors who had contented themselves with discovering the relationships between ideas in a rather imprecise way, Fechner had both bridged the divide between the psychological and the physical, and given that bridge the precision of Calculus.

Fechner's book, *Elements of Psychophysics*, published in 1860, had a profound effect in both Germany and England. Physiologists now had a model of precision for which they could strive. And psychologists had a model of understanding the relationships between the physical and the psychological. Most importantly, however, the book inspired Hermann Ebbinghaus to begin studying memory. But that story will have to be left to another time.

Introspection: Wundt Today, we generally consider Wilhem Wundt's lab at Leipzig to be the first true psychological laboratory. Helmholtz's lab, it is argued, was a lab of physiology, not psychology. But that distinction can be argued over. Wundt, unlike Helmholtz, believed that the causal relations governing ideas and experience were of a different kind than those governing the physical world. And it was the challenge of psychology to discover those laws and observe those regularities.

Wundt was, however, a student of Helmholtz. He didn't run off and join Descartes in reflection. Rather, he believed that the proper explanation of the laws of psychology would make use of the properties of the central nervous system. In Wundt's own words:

Physiology and psychology cover, between them, the field of vital phenomena; they deal with the facts of life at large, and in particular with the facts of human life. Physiology is concerned with all those phenomena of life that present themselves to us in sense perception as bodily processes, and accordingly form part of that total environment which we name the external world. **Psychology, on the other hand, seeks to**

give account of the interconnection of processes which are evinced by our own consciousness, or which we infer from such manifestations of the bodily life in other creatures as indicate the presence of a consciousness similar to our own. (1902, p. 1)

Shortly thereafter, he asserts that Psychology is "**the investigation of conscious process in the modes of connection peculiar to them.**" (1902, p. 2) As consciousness is a unique phenomenon in this world, it can only, then, be approached with the investigative tools unique to consciousness: direct experience of consciousness by ourselves or inferred in others on the basis of direct observation and analogy. This does not mean, however, that a science of psychology is purely introspective. On the contrary, Wundt proposed a 'physiological psychology': a theory of conscious experience informed by our physiological understanding of the brain, what Wundt calls the 'bodily substrate of mental life.'

The nervous system was thought to be made up of a 'central substance' that maintained an equilibrium and 'nerve-fibres' that connected cells together. This 'central stuff' was understood not to just transmit information, but to modify it in one of two ways: first, if it were exposed to repeated stimulus, the amount of energy needed to produce a response would decrease, and second, in some cases, it could invert the signal into its opposite (i.e. from 'x more than equilibrium' to 'x less than equilibrium'). Wundt sought to reduce Hume's four standard 'Laws of Association' of ideas—similarity, contrast, spatial and temporal contiguity—to simple 'internal connection', as 'contrast' is a completion of an idea in the same way 'similarity' is; and contiguity in space and time are external, not internal, relationships. Ideas tend to produce their contrasting idea, rather than ideas which are similar, when they are accompanied by strong feelings, as all feelings have a kind of 'elasticity' to them, always presenting with its opposite feeling implicitly.

'Internal connection,' is then explained by what Wundt called 'central innervation,' or the properties of the nervous system. It is a fundamental law of neuroscience, even then, that 'neurons that wire together fire together.' For Wundt and his followers, the similarity and contrast of ideas was explainable by the excitation and inhibition properties of these nerves.

Behavior: Pavlov Ivan Pavlov was, like the others in this section, a physiologist first. His interest in psychology was, for the most part, tangential to his work in physiology. Between 1891 and 1900, Pavlov conducted a series of experiments on salivation in dogs. His primary interest at this time was to explain why dogs salivated when presented with food at a distance. The common-sense psychological explanation, of course, is that the dog wants the food. Or even that the dog *imagines* or *anticipates* having the food. More technically, early psychologists would have said the dog *associates* food and saliva. But these are not physiological explanations, and they would not satisfy Pavlov.

Using a recently invented apparatus, Pavlov was able to measure the amount of saliva dogs produced in response to a food stimulus. After a number of experiments, Pavlov noticed that the dogs were salivating without any food present. It occurred to him that in these cases, the dogs' salivation response might be responding to the lab techs, rather than food itself. To test this hypothesis, he presented food to a dog and simultaneously rang a bell. After repeated exposures to this combination of stimuli, Pavlov removed the food, leaving just the bell. He found that the dogs still salivated.

Thus, Pavlov discovered what came to be called 'classical conditioning': to train a behavior, one presents a new stimulus (the conditioned stimulus) concurrently with the stimulus that 'naturally' produces the desired behavior (the unconditioned stimulus). After repeated training, the desired behavior (conditional response) will occur with the new (conditioned) stimulus, without the presence of the original, 'natural,' unconditioned stimulus.

Pavlov's primary application of his findings were to the nervous system as a whole as well as "heart, digestive tract and other organs in the higher animals" (lecture 23), he didn't shy away from suggesting that it could be used to explain the seemingly involuntary habitual actions of those deemed 'psychotic' or 'neurotic.' Conditional responses were, however, breakable, or in behaviorists terms 'extinguishable,' if one conditioned a new stimulus in place of the existing stimulus-response association.

Pavlov placed particular emphasis on the idea that his experiments were purely objective and not open to observer influence, such as the experiments of the Wundt and his 'introspectivists.' In fact, he closes his 1927 lectures with the bold claim that:

all the experiments, those of other workers as well as our own, which have set as their object a purely physiological interpretation of the activity of the higher nervous system, I regard as being in the nature only of a preliminary inquiry, which has however, I fully believe, entirely justified its inception. We have indisputably the right to claim that our investigation of this extraordinarily complex field has followed the right direction, and that, although not a near, nevertheless a complete, success awaits it.

The importance of Pavlov's theorizing should be obvious at this point: classical conditioning provided a physiological law-like relationship that could take the place of (provide the bodily substrate for) the association of ideas. And it provides a mechanisms for creating, intervening in, or destroying those associations—which no previous theory had managed to do thus far.⁹

American Psychology: William James and the function of consciousness

During this period of profound growth and advancement of psychology in Germany, American Universities were not institutions of research, but institutions of education. Starting in about 1876, that started to change. Johns Hopkins University was founded in Baltimore in 1876 with the explicit mission of "The encouragement of research; the encouragement of young men; the advancement of individual scholars, who by their excellence will advance the sciences they pursue, and the society where they dwell" (Daniel Coit Gilman, the first President of Johns Hopkins who greatly admired the German university.¹⁰)

Of the 53 men appointed to the faculty of Hopkins by 1884, nearly all had been educated at German Universities, and 13 held what was then a German degree, the "PhD." The few exceptions to this rule were the eminent American pragmatists John Dewey and C.S. Peirce.

⁹I am skipping, for the sake of space, the fascinating history of British psychology during this period, as it adapted associationism to the new physiology. See Daston, L.J. (1978). "British Response to Psycho-Physiology 1860–1900." The History of Science Society 69 (2) p. 192–208

¹⁰And the 'German Mind' apparently: "The thoroughness of the German mind, its desire for perfection in every detail, and its philosophical aptitudes are well illustrated by the controversies now in vogue in the land of universities."(http://webapps.jhu.edu/jhuniverse/information_about_hopkins/about_jhu/daniel_coit_gilman/)

What followed can only be described as an explosion in research universities in America. Clark University was founded in 1887 and the University of Chicago in 1892. In 1860, no PhDs were awarded in America. By 1890, 164 PhDs had been given. The first of these in 'Psychology' was given to G. Stanley Hall by Harvard in 1878.

I mention all of this because the German understanding of the science of the mind—specifically that of Helmholtz and his anti-vitalists—became synonymous with the understanding of research in Psychology during this period. In short, if one approached the mind in some fashion other than this experimental tradition, it simply was viewed as not contributing to research, and hence, was not considered suitable for graduate instruction. More often than not, advocates for views not in accordance with physiological-psychology were restricted to departments of philosophy or anthropology. A particularly good example of this kind of reasoning is G. Stanley Hall's 1879 paper 'Philosophy in the United States,' in which he laments American Philosophy as little more than mental discipline and moral training in the Christian tradition.

In the middle of this storm sits William James. James, in many ways, bridges the divide between the older approach to liberal education and the new approach to research as a function of the university. James himself accredits his interest in Psychology to his time spent in Germany, yet his entire career was spent teaching at the traditional college: Harvard. He advocated for experimentalists, but appeared to perform no psychological experiences himself. His students are the major figures in this first generation of research institutions and Psychology departments, including G. Stanley Hall; yet his position was always in the department of Philosophy, something he appeared to have insisted upon.¹¹ James had a life-long friendship with the two Hopkins pragmatists, C.S. Peirce and John Dewey, who went on to supervise Christine Ladd-Franklin at Hopkins.¹² Moreover, James was in frequent contact with the early British philosophers of mind including Alexander Bain, Herbert Spencer and John Sully.

In 1878 James contracted with Henry Holt and company to write a textbook for this nascent field of psychology. The resultant book *The Principles of Psychology* is a classic in the field. In it, James defines psychology as "the science of mental life, both of its phenomena and of their conditions" (1890, p. 1) and identified introspection as its chief method.

James held that consciousness (which was the central phenomenon to be studied by psychology) was like stream, encompassing much more than mere 'associations' of ideas. The associationists who followed Hume isolated experiences from their context, and provided a overly simplistic account. The object of study of psychology—the relations, tendencies and emotions that make up the stream of consciousness—are experienced directly in introspection, and form the basis of genuine scientific inquiry into the mind.

James' fellow pragmatists Peirce and Dewey went on to construct a theory of psychology focused on the functions of mental states, what was called ultimately called "The Chicago School." Dewey argued that explanations of human activity that focused merely on the 'stimulus' and 'response' or the British thinker W.K. Clifford's 'reflex arcs' were inadequate characterizations of conscious states. In order to truly characterize, and then study, conscious states, science must take into account the function or end of those states. In his words:

¹¹See Ch. V of Miller (1962)

¹²(Miller, 1962, p. 66) argues that "If Watson had not been so inept as a philosopher, he might have offered behaviorism as a pragmatic theory of mind, comparable to Peirce's pragmatic theory of meaning, James' pragmatic theory of truth, and Dewey's pragmatic theory of value."

the distinction of sensation and movement as stimulus and response respectively is not a distinction which can be regarded as descriptive of anything which holds of psychical events or existences as such. The only events to which the terms stimulus and response can be descriptively applied are to minor acts serving by their respective positions to the maintenance of some organized coöordination. The conscious stimulus or sensation, and the conscious response or motion, have a special genesis or motivation, and a special end or function. The reflex arc theory, by neglecting, by abstracting from, this genesis and this function gives us one disjointed part of a process as if it were the whole. (1896, p. 370)

Functional psychology thus emphasizes the role mental entities play in an organisms behavior, not what those ideas represent, or the 'content' of those ideas. (Dewey, 1903, p. 114)

Experimentalism: Ebbinghaus and the unreliability of introspection

In or about 1878, inspired by Fechner's stunning results investigating sensation, Hermann Ebbinghaus started experimenting with memory. Ebbinghaus sought, like all of his contemporaries, to understand the association of ideas. But he was worried, rightfully so, that using existing words or concepts in an experimental design would allow for the individual subject's previous experience with those words or concepts to influence the result of the experience. Thus, to isolate the association of ideas from any prior influence, he created long lists of nonsense syllables (VAM, ZOK, etc.) and set about memorizing them. He then precisely measured the number of repetitions or amount of time it took to repeat list perfectly, something he called trials to criterion. As it turns out, the longer the list, the more time, or trials, it takes to memorize it. But that wasn't all: he further tested the process of forgetting.

After some arbitrary period, Ebbinghaus would return to the same list and restart the entire process. If it took him the same number of repetitions to memorize the list to perfection, his forgetting would have been complete. What Ebbinghaus found was that even if he could not introspectively recall items on the list after some time, it took fewer repetitions for him to learn the list to the criterion or perfection. Thus, a decade before Freud made it fashionable to believe in the unconscious, Ebbinghaus had demonstrated empirically that the mind could retain information that it could not bring to subjective, introspective awareness.

This discovery was a bombshell to the introspective protocols of Wundt and James. Pavlov had shown that 'unconscious' behaviors like salivation could be trained to a stimulus without the intervention of introspection, but Ebbinghaus showed that a paradigmatic psychological phenomenon—memory—was subject to the same training. While Ebbinghaus' work was originally published in 1885 in German, it was not published in English until 1913—which 'just happens' to be the same year James Watson declared the beginning of the Behaviorist revolution.

Psychology's First Revolution: Behaviorism

John B. Watson (1878–1958) opens his 1913 manifesto "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it." with the bold claim that **Psychology**

"is a purely objective branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior. Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, nor is

the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness. The behaviorist, in his efforts to get a unitary scheme of animal response, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. The behavior of man, with all of its refinement and complexity, forms only a part of the behaviorist's total scheme of investigation." (1913, p. 158)

In a 1929 debate with the Harvard professor and physiological-psychologist William MacDougall (1871–1938), Watson anticipated a common criticism of behaviorism: that it cannot explain our rich interior mental life—what William James called the "stream of consciousness." Watson responded that if we were to take the inner mental life as the object of study, rather than observable behaviors, there would be "as many analyses as there are individual psychologists. There is no element of control. There is no way of experimentally attaching and solving psychological problems and standardizing methods." Thus, psychologists must limit themselves to "things that can be observed, and formulate laws concerning only the observed things." (1929)

According to Watson, 'observable things' includes only "what the organism says or does," which must then be described "in terms of 'stimulus and response.'" By 'stimulus,' Watson means "any object in the general environment or any change in the physiological condition of the animal, such as the change we get when we keep an animal from sex activity, when we keep it from feeding, when we keep it from building a nest. By response we mean that system of organized activity that we see emphasized anywhere in any kind of animal, as building a skyscraper, drawing plans, having babies, writing books, and the like."

Watson's behaviorism explains the behavior of all organisms (not just humans) by producing laws of correlation between stimuli and responses. This was a massive extension of the field of psychology, as animals and babies were not able to give introspective reports. Following Pavlov, Watson contends that an organism initially engages in some random behavior (say, a baby squirming) in response to a stimulus. This 'unconditioned response' may be biologically determined, but it is not yet a law of psychology. To 'condition' a response, one presents the unconditioned stimulus along with a new stimulus repeatedly. Over time, the organism responds to the new, conditioned stimulus with the original unconditioned response. Thus, to explain any given behavior, one must find the conditioned stimulus that is now correlated with the conditioned response.

MacDougall, among others, challenged Watson to explain "thinking" or "thought" in terms of stimulus and response. Watson does not shy away from this challenge:

"The increasing dominance of language habits in the behavior of the developing child leads naturally over into the behaviorist's conception of thinking. The behaviorist makes no mystery of thinking. He holds that thinking is behavior, is motor organization, just like tennis playing or golf or any other form of muscular activity. But what kind of muscular activity? The muscular activity that he uses in talking. Thinking is merely talking, but talking with concealed musculature."

According to Watson, a child initiates verbal behavior by talking aloud to and about his surroundings. As that behavior is negatively reinforced, it changes to mumbling to oneself, and ultimately to keeping one's lips closed. It follows that thinking is not an activity of the mind/brain alone,

but a kinesthetic experience of the entire organism—in short, a behavior. Words are, in Watson's view "the conditioned substitutes for our world of objects and acts. Thinking is a device for manipulating the world of objects when those objects are not present to the senses."

S-S v. S-R Behaviorism: Tolman and Hull During the middle of the 20th century, behaviorism in America divided roughly into two camps: Tolman and Hull. Edward Chace Tolman (1886 – 1959) initiated the 'war' in 1922 by criticizing Watson. Tolman argued that Watson's belief that all human behavior could be explained in terms of "muscle contraction and gland secretion, as such, would not be behaviorism at all but a mere physiology."¹³ (1922, p. 45)

For Tolman[Use the SA /SR language here], a behavioristic science must answer three major problems: "(1), given the stimulating agency, determining the behavior-cues (2), given the behavior-cues, determining the behavior-object and (3), given the behavior-object, determining the behavior-act." (p. 51). (1) is the problem of psychophysics, which is adequately solved by Fechner. (2) is accessible, with rewording, by classical conditioning. (3) is the "important problem of motive." A proper science of behavior must answer all three of these problems. Doing so, Tolman contends, would allow the behaviorist to understand and better elucidate introspection.

Opposing Tolman, Clark Hull (1884 – 1952) contended that in order for a postulate or theorem to be "truly scientific," it must "take the form of specific statements of the outcome of concrete experimentations or observations."¹⁴ Simple classification of behavior are not, themselves, scientific. But neither is talk of such things as motives. Scientific explanations must make use of clear, unambiguous terms that refer to observable behavior. Everything else is simply not considered to be 'science.' Hull contends that psychology should produce mathematical equations that would specify precisely all the relationships between variables that account for an organism's behavior. The specific behavior of a given organism would be an instance of these universal mathematical generalizations.

Hull's primary contribution to behaviorism is the thesis that when a given stimulus has the effect of reducing a biological need, the connection between the stimulus and the response is strengthened automatically. While that statement may seem like a commonsense position today (food given as a reward, e.g.), the important part of it in 1935 was the word of 'automatically.' Contrary to the introspectivists or even commonsense, one need not be aware of the satiation of one's physical desires in order to strengthen the association between the conditioned stimulus and the conditional response. In fact, most conditioned associations are not accessible to introspective awareness.

¹³In the interests of conciseness, I am skipping over the fascinating and under-rated history of Gestalt psychology. I do this with a heavy heart, as it is one of my favorite topics in the history of psychology. Characters who wish to engage with the tradition of behaviorism, however, should pay careful attention to Wolfgang Köhler's presidential address, included in the appendix, for the Gestalt concerns about this period in American Psychology.

¹⁴This is only one of Hull's four criteria. The other are: (1) The definitions and postulates of a scientific system should be stated in a clear and unambiguous manner, they should be consistent with one another, and they should be of such a nature that they permit rigorous deductions. (2) The labor of deducing the potential implications of the postulates of a system should be performed with meticulous care and exhibited, preferably step by step and in full detail. It is these deductions which constitute the substance of a system. (4) The theorems so deduced which concern phenomena not already known must be submitted to carefully controlled experiments. The outcome of these critical experiments, as well as all previous ones, must agree with the corresponding theorems making up the system.

Methodologically, Hull's insistence on the mathematical-deductive structure of theory led to a cadre of young psychologists who were able to represent complex relationships between variables mathematically. Many members of that generation ended up at Stanford, ultimately providing much of the theory of information processing that allowed the cognitivists to advance sophisticated mathematical and computer models of cognitive states.

In response to Hull, Tolman argued that simple stimulus-response connections were insufficient to explain behavior: specifically rats running a maze for a food reward. In his famous 1948 paper "Cognitive Maps in Rats and Men," Tolman presented evidence that showed rats that were allowed to wander around a maze randomly before the beginning of training period learned the maze more quickly than rats that began training without prior exposure to the maze. Tolman argued that the best explanation for this phenomenon—and our general intuition about why rats appear to pause before beginning down a specific course—is that the rats have built up a 'cognitive map' of the maze through their random explorations. He goes so far as to suggest that the rats had the ability to learn through 'Vicarious Trial and Error,' or 'imagining' what would happen if they responded to a particular stimulus. For Tolman, this was:

evidence that in the critical stages—whether in the first picking up of the instructions or in the later making sure of which stimulus is which—the animal's activity is not just one of responding passively to discrete stimuli, but rather one of the active selecting and comparing of stimuli. (1948, p. 200)

One of Tolman's students, Ritchie, constructed further experiments to test the capacity of the rats' cognitive maps. By starting rats on the far side of the laboratory, Ritchie found that the rats tended to navigate not by the direct path to the reward, but to the walls of the room itself. Thus, Tolman contends, the rats' cognitive maps were 'strip-like' and 'narrow.'

It is this concept—the breadth or narrowness of cognitive maps—that allows Tolman to extrapolate to the human mind, going so far to suggest that we may interpret the various psychological mechanisms posited by psychoanalysts as "narrowings of our cognitive maps due to too strong motivations or too intense frustration." Thus, racists, sexists, pathological patriots, etc. are individuals with too narrow a 'cognitive map.' A healthy mind—and a well educated person—is one who can use reason, i.e. "broad cognitive maps" to

"look before and after, learning to see that there are often round-about and safer paths to their quite proper goals—learn, that is, to realize that the well-beings of White and of Negro, of Catholic and Protestant, of Christian and of Jew, of American and Russian (and even of males and females) are mutually interdependent." (208)

Operant Conditioning & Radical Behaviorism: Skinner Starting in 1938, Behaviorism underwent a radical transformation. In that year, Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904 – 1990) published *The Behavior of Organisms: An Experimental Analysis*, in which he introduced the idea of operant conditioning.¹⁵ Skinner's insight was not entirely without precedent, but rather built upon the concept of 'instrumental conditioning' originally introduced by Edward Thorndike (1874–1949).

¹⁵See the section on behaviorism in the 'Public Character info' section for more on the difference between operant and classical conditioning.

According to what is now called 'Thorndike's law of effect', if a response is followed closely by a pleasurable experience, it is more likely to be associated with the stimulus than if it is followed by a unpleasurable or neutral experience. Skinner turned this idea into the central explanatory mechanism of behaviorism: rather than the conditioned stimulus occurring simultaneously with the unconditioned stimulus, the conditioning stimulus occurs immediately after the desired behavior as a consequence of the desired behavior. In his own words:

Operant behavior usually affects the environment and generates stimuli which is "feedback" to the organism. Some feedback may have the effects identified by the layman as reward or punishment. Any consequence of behavior which is rewarding or, more technically, reinforcing increases the probability of further responding. (1957 /1972, p. 129)

By introducing the idea of reinforcement of a behavior as whatever makes it more likely that that behavior will occur, Skinner was able to undercut Tolman's (and MacDougall's before him) insistence that a purpose or goal was required to explain the behavior of animals.

As a boy, Skinner was fascinated with mechanisms. Legend has it that he even built a steam cannon out of a discarded water boiler. Extraordinarily intelligent, Skinner found Francis Bacon's works at about fourteen, and became enamored with the idea that Bacon may have written Shakespeare's plays. He majored in English and literature at Hamilton College, where he became famous for elaborate practical jokes. During his time at Hamilton, he expressed significant interest in the authors Joyce and Proust – but also physiological psychologists Pavlov and Jacques Loeb. Legend has it that he met Robert Frost, who encouraged him to become a writer. After that did not pan out, he returned to behaviorism through the work of Bertrand Russell—specifically Russell's comparison between 'reflex' and 'force' in physics.¹⁶

Inspired by Pavlov's maxim "control the environment and you will see order in behavior," as well as his passion for inventing mechanisms, Skinner began to create machines that would control behavior of an organism by automatically rewarding the desired behavior and punishing behavior that was not desired.

These successes led Skinner to hypothesize that all animal behavior—including human behavior—resulted from such forces. He delineated four types of operant conditioning: positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, punishment and extinction, which he studied with mathematical precision. Skinner shifted behaviorism's emphasis from reflexes to regularities of the whole organism, moving from the causal link between stimulus and response to the relationship between the response and its reinforcement.

According to Skinner, this form of behaviorism was the inevitable development of psychology into a full-fledged science. Often pulling on an analogy to the history of physics, chemistry and

¹⁶"Gradually it was found that all the equations could be written down without bringing in forces. What was observable was a certain relation between acceleration and configuration; to say that this relation was drought about by the intermediacy of 'force' was to add nothing to our knowledge. Observation shows that planets have at all times an acceleration towards the sun, which varies inversely as the square of their distance from it. To say that this is due to the 'force' of gravitation is merely verbal, like saying that opium makes people sleep because it has a dormitive virtue. The modern physicist, therefore, merely states formulae which determine accelerations, and avoids the word 'force' altogether. 'Force' was the faint ghost of the vitalist view as to the causes of motions, and gradually the ghost has been exorcized." (Russell, 1946, p 495)

biology, he argued that 'consciousness' and 'inner causes' were the remnants of superstition, and human psychology and society could be perfected through the principles of operant conditioning.

Skinner adamantly insisted that scientific inquiry could not countenance hypothetical unobservable entities. Following Russell, Skinner argued that explaining a given behavior, such as 'eating,' in terms of a mental state, such as 'being hungry,' was ad hoc, equivalent to the pre-scientific explanation of physical events in terms of vitalistic 'forces.' For example, if I explain why a glass breaks by referring to its fragility, I've really explained nothing at all—I've only explained breaking in terms of being likely to break. A genuine explanation of a glass's breaking is in terms of the environmental conditions and events immediately prior to the breaking of the glass. Likewise, explaining eating in terms of 'hunger' is hollow, repeating only the likelihood of eating behavior.

Throughout his career, Skinner argued that radical behaviorism alone was the scientific approach to psychology. Theories—including Hull's—cannot refer to underlying entities. When one objects that paradigmatic sciences like physics postulate unobservable underlying entities such as electrons, Skinner retorts that these are not believed by physics to really exist, but are merely convenient placeholders for the mathematical relationships that hold between observable entities.¹⁷ A scientist must restrict his or her work to observation, not theorizing. In retrospective appraisal of his own work, Skinner would claim of his work in Behavior of Organisms:

The notes, data, and publications which I have examined do not show that I ever behaved in the manner of Man Thinking as described by John Stuart Mill or John Dewey or in reconstructions of scientific behavior by other philosophers of science. I never faced a Problem which was more than the eternal problem of finding order. I never attacked a problem by constructing a Hypothesis. I never deduced Theorems or submitted them to Experimental Check. So far as I can see, I had no preconceived Mode of behavior—certainly not a physiological or mentalistic one and, I believe, not a conceptual one." (1972, p. 112)

In the years following, Behaviorism came to utterly dominate American Psychology. By 1960, for example, the standard textbook for experimental psychology, Burton G. Andreas' *Experimental Psychology* could confidently assert:

Psychology seeks to express the laws of behavior. It makes the assumption that all aspects of behavior, like other natural phenomena, are dependent on the conditions under which the behavior occurs... Psychology seeks to describe the dependence of the activities of people or animals on their environments and states of being. Psychology's place is delineated by this particular goal and the specific techniques devised for striving toward it. (1960, p. 4)

Concurrent developments: Logic and Computing

In 1854, George Boole (1815–1864) published *The Laws of Thought*, which is now regularly classified as a classic work in Logic. The opening paragraph, however, suggests a different discipline:

The design of the following treatise is to investigate the fundamental laws of those operations of the mind by which reasoning is performed; to give expression to them

¹⁷See, e.g. interview with Skinner, p. 39 pf Baars.

in the symbolic language of a Calculus, and upon this foundation to establish the science of Logic and construct its method; to make that method itself the basis of a general method for the application of the mathematical doctrine of Probabilities; and, finally, to collect from the various elements of truth brought to view in the course of these inquiries some probable intimations concerning the nature and constitution of the human mind. — Laws of Thought (1854) Ch1 Para1

Boole, like his predecessor David Hume, believed that the rules that regulate the human mind were simple, and complex ideas were structured out of simple ones in the same way complex theorems are constructed out of simple axioms via logical transformations.

The history of Logic is of great importance here because in 1950, a brilliant young logician named Alan Turing¹⁸ proposed a theoretical physical machine that would be capable of carrying out logical functions. That theoretical machine ultimately became the digital computer we know today.

He further proposed that such a machine could be taught to understand human language, and one could test the sophistication of that teaching by a simple empirical test, now known as the 'Turing test.' An interviewer would have a conversation with two individuals, one human and one computer, for a period of time. If, after five minutes or so, the interviewer could not tell the difference between the two, we would be in a position of calling the machine a 'thinking' machine. Writing in 1950, Turing claims:

"I believe that in about fifty years' time it will be possible, to programme computers, with a storage capacity of about 10⁹, to make them play the imitation game so well that an average interrogator will not have more than 70 per cent chance of making the right identification after five minutes of questioning."

In short, Turing's ideal machine would 'respond to the sense of all that will be said in its presence, as even the dullest men can do.' The challenge set by Descartes and dreamt about by Hobbes, Locke and Hume to create a physical device capable of using language in a productive and systematic way was to be met, at least, theoretically, by a machine, the digital computer.

The question that remains for you, in the course of this game, is whether or not Turing's discovery of the logical functions that meet Descartes' challenge in fact lead to, in Boole's words "probable intimations concerning the nature and constitution of the human mind," and whether or not those 'probable intimations' are scientific in nature.

The Second Revolution: Cognitive Science

In 1957, two books were published on the topic of language use by humans. As we have discussed, philosophers of mind have long considered language-use the defining characteristic of humanity—the behavior that distinguishes humans from animals and thinking from instinct. The empirical study of language-use therefore, has the potential to quantify, analyze and observe, with scientific reliability, what we are as thinking beings.

¹⁸You can read more about the life of Alan Turing, who is one of the greatest, yet least well known, scientists of the 20th century, in the section Brief History of Homosexuality.

In the first, *Verbal Behavior*, B.F. Skinner explained humans' language use in terms of operant conditioning. Verbal behavior is particularly interesting for the behaviorist because it isn't directly reinforced by the world, but rather mediated by another person via his or her own verbal behavior. In fact, this unique feature comes to form Skinner's definition of verbal behaviors: those behaviors that are 'reinforced through the mediation of other persons' (1957, p. 2). He later refines and restricts that definition thus: "If we make the further provision that the 'listener' must be responding in ways which have been conditioned precisely in order to reinforce the behavior of the speaker, we narrow our subject to what is traditionally recognized as the verbal field." (p. 225) This definition, you'll no doubt notice, makes no reference to vocalization, words, sentences, thoughts, phonems, meanings, semantics, grammar, or anything else typically associated with language-behavior.

The second was Noam Chomsky's first book, *Syntactic Structures*. Chomsky opens by noting that the set of all grammatical sentences in any given language, while infinite, is not random. There are sentences like 'Colorless green ideas sleep furiously' which may have never occurred in English before 1957, but nonetheless are grammatical sentences; while at the same time, there are sentences like 'Furiously sleep ideas green colorless' that are not grammatical. He then proposes that an adequate theory of language ought to describe a device that generates all and only the sentences that are grammatical in that language. Any theory that can't generate the set of grammatical sentences simply is not an adequate explanation of human language-behavior.

Central to Chomsky's theory is the thesis that humans differ from animals in their ability to use language. You'll remember from the beginning of this history that that view was shared by Rene Descartes and the Port-Royalists, who used it to argue for the distinction between the soul (mind) and the body. For Chomsky, however, the ability to use language does not entail a non-physical soul. Turing's machines showed that a physical entity generates new and novel sentences that follow the grammatical structures. Verbal behavior, the defining feature of human psychology, is the ability to structure sentences in new and novel ways via the process of recursion, but that does not mean that human minds are non-physical entities.

Not only do the cognitivists reject the behaviorists conjecture that one can explain human behavior without reference to internal states, they reject the behaviorists rejection of the thesis that there is a dividing line between "man and brutes."

In 1959, Chomsky published a vitriolic review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*, in which he claimed that not only were Skinner's definitions of reinforcement and conditioning either confused or circular, he argues that empirically, children learn grammar at a higher rate than can be explained by operant conditioning. It is included in the appendix.

In the decade before these tumultuous years, the Macy foundation had sponsored series of conferences that introduced some of great early mathematicians and computer scientists including John von Neumann (father of most computer languages), Norbert Wiener (founder of cybernetics), Warren McCulloch and Walter Pitts (who together created a mathematical model of a neuron, which is the basis for all neural network architecture), Julian Bigelow and Arutuo Rosenblueth (also pioneering cyberneticists) to the great social scientists and psychologists of the day, including the anthropologist Margaret Mead, the Gestalt psychologist Wolfgang Köhler. The goal of these workshops was to investigate the similarities between computational machines and human minds and social structures. Behaviorists almost never attended. While the results from

these conferences were minimal, they set the stage for MIT's Second Symposium on Information theory, September 10–12 1956, that forever changed forever the face of psychology.

At that conference, Alan Newell and Herbert Simon, computer scientists from Carnegie-Melon, presented a simple machine that could do logic proofs and Noam Chomsky presented his idea of a transformative-generative grammar as the basis of language. George Miller writes, in an unpublished paper presented at MIT and repeatedly cited by historians of cognitive science, that he came away from the conference with a sense "more intuitive than rational, that human experimental psychology, theoretical linguistics, and the computer simulation of the cognitive process were all the pieces from a larger whole, and that the future would see a progressive elaboration and coordination of their shared concerns." Miller recalls Newell telling him "Chomsky was developing exactly the same kind of ideas for language that he and Herb Simon were developing for theorem-proving."

And so began 'the Cognitive Revolution'.

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Brief History of the Study of Homosexuality in America

While homosexual behavior has appeared throughout human history, the notion of homosexuality as an "orientation" or "personality" is relatively recent. The etymology of the word 'homosexual' itself shows the intimate connection between the idea of sexual orientation and the history of psychiatry. According to the OED, the term first appears in print in English in C. G. Chaddock translation of R. von Krafft-Ebing 1892 *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Relevant sections are reproduced in Appendix 5.

The idea of homosexuality as a lifestyle connected to personality is, in the English speaking world at least, indelibly linked to the public persona of the author Oscar Wilde. While he was studying classics at Oxford, he began advocating aestheticism, the view that aesthetic values trump moral or social values in the understanding of art and literature. Wilde parlayed his success as a playwright into fame, cultivating a flamboyant public persona, known for dressing immaculately and flamboyantly, entertaining wealthy society women and having a sharp wit and his talent at dinner conversation. His masterwork 'The Portrait of Dorian Gray' plays with this persona in the characters of XX and Gray himself.

In 1895, he and his companion Alfred Taylor were convicted of acts of 'gross indecency'¹⁹ and sentenced to two years hard labor. Their trial was 'the trial of the century' in the English upper-class, and to this day, many of Wilde's personal characteristics inform the common stereotypes of homosexual men, for example, fastidiousness with respect to personal appearance, extraordinary wittiness and social adeptness, esp. with upper-class women, are all traceable to Wilde himself.

¹⁹In Victorian England, 'gross indecency' was defined as sexual acts between men that did not rise to the level of 'buggery'.

The next fifty years were not kind to gay folks. "Treatments" for homosexuals included surgical interventions such as castration, vasectomies, lobotomies, sterilization, clitoridectomies, hysterectomies; chemical interventions such as sexual stimulants, depressants, hormonal injections, and pharmacological shock; psychological interventions included adjustment therapy, psychoanalysis, hypnosis, aversion therapy that included electric shock and desensitization;²⁰ and social psychological interventions patterned on Alcoholics Anonymous like 'Homosexuals Anonymous' and others.

One of the saddest stories of this era is that of Alan Turing, who was mentioned in the section above on 1.2 on page 25. Turing was one of the greatest mathematicians and logicians of his era, if not the greatest. During WWII, he worked at Bletchley park as one of Churchill's famed code-breakers. His efforts in breaking the German codes lead directly to the development of modern logic and the invention of the electronic computer. He is generally considered to be the founder of both modern cryptography and computer science. While working at Princeton, he became friends with Claude Shannon, who is now recognized as the father of information theory. Quite literally, Turing is to the contemporary information age what Newton was to the age of mechanics, or Einstein the nuclear age.

But Turing was also gay. In 1952, he was prosecuted and convicted for being a homosexual. Sentenced to hormone therapy and stripped of his military clearance (remember, during WWII, he was directly responsible for breaking the German code, created the encryption for the Washington-DC phone line, and was privy to the highest secrets of the war), he committed suicide on June 7th, 1954. In 2009, the British Government started a program of accepting online petitions from citizens of the UK. One of the first to be submitted, and promoted by Richard Dawkins, was a call for an official apology to Alan Turing for unjust prosecution. On 10 September 2009, Prime Minister Gordon Brown issued a formal apology to Alan Turing, stating:

It is thanks to men and women who were totally committed to fighting fascism, people like Alan Turing, that the horrors of the Holocaust and of total war are part of Europe's history and not Europe's present. So on behalf of the British government, and all those who live freely thanks to Alan's work I am very proud to say: we're sorry, you deserved so much better.²¹

During this dark period of persecution, advocates for homosexuals (at this time called 'homophile' organizations) focused primarily on changing the stereotypes of the homosexual as a step to

²⁰There is a superb website in the UK that is collecting stories of patients, doctors and nurses from this era. All are deeply disturbing, some downright terrifying. See <http://treatmenthomosexuality.co.uk/>. I'll quote just one example here, as it so perfectly illustrates classical conditioning: "We need to remember that the discussions that went on at Maudsley in the early 50s were constantly searching for ways in which we could understand the relationship between events, so again referring to the ideas put forward by Pavlov, Skinner and Wolpe, if a situation produces anxiety and at the same time there is another even occurring then by the process of conditioning it's quite likely that the reaction of anxiety will become associated with the unconditioned stimulus. By thinking along those lines it seemed to me that if the process of sexual arousal and gratification is linked with something, it may well become the preferred method of seeking gratification. It seemed to me that if a person wanted to stop being involved in and interested in make figures—so long as he had bisexual potential or interests—we might be able to utilize the other half of the spectrum of potential arousal signals. And, if we did that often enough, he then might be gratified by femininity." Form 'A Psychological Career', anonymous testimonial from <http://www.treatmenthomosexuality.co.uk/>.

²¹For the full statement, see <http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page20571>

wards ending the criminalization of homosexual acts as well as the psychological and medical 'treatments.' There was little activity within the scientific and academic communities on the issue.

That all started to change when a young social psychologist named Evelyn Hooker started teaching at UCLA.

During WWII, young men and women who were accused of homosexuality in Pacific theater of operations tended to be discharged from the military in California ports, including San Diego, Long Beach and San Francisco. Many, if not most, of these young people could not return to their hometowns because of their dishonorable discharge from the military. As a result, a organic community of homosexuals began taking shape in many of these cities.

While teaching at UCLA, Hooker became friends with one of her graduate students, Sam Fromm. Sam was gay. In 1943, he challenged her to study 'people like him' to determine if they were mentally ill (specifically 'neurotic') independently of the biases against homosexuality inherent in the psychiatric tradition.²² In a 1998 interview, Hooker explained the significance of this phrase:

"This bright young man, somewhere in his early thirties, had obviously been thinking about this for a long time. And by 'people like us' he meant, 'We're homosexual, but we don't need psychiatrists. We don't need psychologists. We're not insane. We're not any of those things they say we are.' (Eric Marcus, Windy City Times, October 31, 2007 • vol 23 no 07)

During the 1940's, Evelyn Hooker became a trusted 'outsider' of the gay community in L.A., but didn't want to conduct research on people she saw as her friends.

The Kinsey Report

In 1948, Alfred C. Kinsey (b. 1894 – d. August 25, 1956) published Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. It was revolutionary.

Kinsey and his assistants had interviewed 5,300 white males from all walks of American life. The interviews required up to 521 questions, depending on the interviewee's experiences. Kinsey reported that a large number of men—up to 45%—reported having at least one homosexual encounter during his adolescence. These encounters are most frequent at young age, dropping to a stable 10% of the population by age 20–25. These numbers, Kinsey fears, may not tell the whole story because:

The social significance of the homosexual is considerably emphasized by the fact that both Jewish and Christian churches have considered this aspect of human sexuality to be abnormal and immoral. ... Social custom and our Anglo-American law are sometimes very severe in penalizing one who is discovered to have had homosexual relations. In consequence, many persons who have had such experiences are psychically disturbed, and not a few of them have been in open conflict with the social organization. (p. 610)

²²You'll recall that Freud and the psychoanalytic tradition that followed him believed homosexuality was a regression fixation caused by an underlying, probably narcissistic, neurosis. See Introductory Lectures p. 376–384 and 529–531)

The Kinsey report found that homosexual activity as a common part of male sexual development. Self-identifying as a homosexual, or engaging exclusively in homosexual activity, was found to be more rare. But at 10%, it was almost twice as high as any previous scientific estimate²³. Almost as importantly, Kinsey identified the source of psychic disturbance not to be the homosexual activity itself, but the social structures that penalize such behavior.

Early 'Homophile' movements



Figure 1.1: from <http://bilerico.lgbtqnation.com/>

Two years after the publication of the Kinsey report, a group of 'homophile' activists founded the Mattachine society, which is now generally recognized as the first national gay-rights organization.²⁴

The Mattachine society, named for a European tradition of theater masks, sought to change the prevailing view of homosexuality by presenting the membership as no different than the mainstream heterosexual society. Its members dressed in suits and skirts, and showed no 'outward signs' of homosexuality. These 'outward signs' are, of course, those stereotypes we identified earlier as originating with Oscar Wilde. Mattachine society demonstrations—held annually in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4th—were sober affairs of men in gray suits and women in dresses walking up and down in straight lines, conspicuously *not* holding hands or being affectionate to one another. When couples held hands, one of the leaders of the Mattachine society, Frank Kameny, famously scolded "None of that!" See the "Rules for Picketting" published by the Mattachine Society in Figure 1.2

At the same time, a secret social club for Lesbians called The Daughters of Bilitis was founded in San Francisco by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. To stay in touch with its members they created a magazine called 'The Ladder', which came under the editorship of Barbara Gittings in 1963. The magazine flourished under Gittings' direction, growing from a simple hand-stapled newsletter to a true 40-page magazine. Gittings became a leader, along with Frank Kameny, of the Mattachine society.

²³The often repeated statistic that 10% of any given population is gay or lesbian originates with Kinsey's study.

²⁴The 'Society for Human Rights' was founded in 1924, but never gained national prominence.

<http://web-static.nypl.org/exhibitions/1969/daughters.html> (flyer distributed by the daughters of bilitis regarding the penalties for homosexuality in all of the states).

Connecting these threads: Evelyn Hooker

After the publication of the Kinsey report, Hooker finally decided to meet Fromm's challenge. She designed an experiment to determine if homosexuals were mentally disturbed. In 1954, she received a grant from the National Institute on Mental Health to run her study. She recruited 30 homosexuals from the Mattachine society as well as the gay community generally. An equal number of heterosexual men were recruited from civil organizations around the L.A.. Individuals in the groups were matched with respect to age, IQ and education level. All people currently in therapy for mental health were excluded from the study.

This alone was a major step forward in the study of male homosexuality, as all previous psychological studies had found their subjects in psychiatric wards, army barracks or clinical settings. By studying only those already in psychiatric treatment, one cannot separate traits that may signify an underlying condition from traits that result from the psychiatric treatment itself.

Hooker tested the resulting 60 men using standard psychological tests: the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and the Make-A-Picture-Story Test (MAPS). The data was blinded and mixed, and then sent to psychologists with expertise on these the tests who were instructed to score them normally and return the scores. Hooker found no significant difference between the 30 homosexual and 30 heterosexual males with respect to standard tests for mental disturbances, indicating that homosexual men were no more likely to be neurotic than equivalent heterosexual men.

Hooker presented her findings at the 1956 APA in Chicago. Her paper was published in 1957,²⁵ shortly after Sam Fromm's death in a car accident.

Stonewall: The street activists

By the 1960s, tensions were growing in the gay community. Another group of younger gay²⁶ activists were growing irritated with both the slow progress of the Mattachine society and its restrictions on behavior. In 1968, a group of young 'street-activists' disrupted a meeting of the American Medical Association in New York by shouting down Charles Socarides, a Psychiatrist known for his psychoanalytic treatment of homosexuals.

But everything changed forever on Saturday, June 28, 1969 at 1:20 AM, when the police raided the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village. These raids were common—the police would arrest everyone, roughing people up, and generally intimidating the population. But this time, the gay and lesbian patrons of the Stonewall resisted. Events escalated. The riots that followed lasted until Wednesday night, July 3rd.

²⁵Hooker, Evelyn. "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual." *Journal of Projective Techniques* 21(1957): 18-31.

²⁶The use of the word 'gay' as a replacement for 'homosexual' dates from precisely this time with precisely these people. The Mattachine society and the older organizations used 'homosexual' and 'homophile' to refer to themselves. Ironically, the use of 'Gay' to mean 'homosexual' is no attributed to Frank Kameny himself, who started a "Gay is good" campaign in 1968, to parallel the "Black is beautiful" campaign.

On July 4th, the gay community's attention turned to Independence Hall in Philadelphia and the Mattachine society's annual march. As usual, Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings, long time leaders of that gay and lesbian advocacy group, required the women to wear skirts and men suits. But the tide had turned. The young protestors from Stonewall would not conform. Kameny's approach of assimilation to "straight" behavior had been surpassed by the direct action begun at Stonewall. Militant groups such as the Gay Liberation Front and the Gay Activist Alliance sprouted up overnight (both started in New York). Plans were made to confront those who continued to classify homosexuality as a mental disorder, and directly challenge those who continued to treat homosexuals using barbaric methods.

Those plans included San Francisco, site of the 1970 American Psychiatric Association's annual convention. And you already know what happened there. (See <-\\ref{Prologue} if you need a refresher).

Further Resources

The story of Hooker and Fromm is retold in a number of places, including in "Hooker, Evelyn" in Aldrich, R., & Wotherspoon, G. (2001). Who's who in contemporary gay and lesbian history. Routledge. Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1998). Sexual behavior in the human male. Indiana University Press.

Brief History of Linguistics

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Pre-History Cartesian problem Port Royal Grammar Empiricists

Structuralism

Bloomfield structuralism in American, originated with Saussuer's 'Course in General Linguistics' from 1916. Bloomfield was sympathetic to Watson's behaviorism. Structuralism in Europe became identified with sympathetic movements in Anthropology (), Psychoanalysis and Marxism, but is largely known through the critiques by the 'Post-Structuralists' who rejected that movement.

Bloomfieldian structuralism was different.

Chomsky 1957: 3.1: argues for 'levels of representation' as necessary for adequate explanation. This is a theme throughout cognitive science, articulated most clearly in the work of David Marr.

2.1 Explicit analogy to mathematical, formal languages, and the rejection of the Markov machine as adequate. This argument is simple and easy enough to repeat. Big point: pg 32. Linguistic processing requires 'phrasing' – which is analogous to Millers' 'chunking' in memory, and potentially analogous to the Gestalt's categorization.

History of classifications of mental illness

What makes a certain condition a ‘mental’ condition or a ‘medical’ or ‘neurological’ condition? Suppose you are a family doctor, and a patient presents with an unwelcome and unwanted problem—a twitch, perhaps. Do you call a psychiatrist or a neurologist? How do you know?

While behaviors associated with mental illness—hallucinations, catatonic states, mania, etc.—have been known since ancient times, psychiatry dates its regularization as a scientific discipline to the work of the French physician Phillipe Pinel. His *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale; ou la manie* stands as the first attempt at a scientific classification of mental illness. The book, translated as *Treatise on Insanity* in 1806 by D.D. Davis, is excerpted in Appendix 5 on page 112.

Pinel was an intellectual disciple of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, who in turn, was a disciple of John Locke.²⁷ Locke is most well known as the intellectual progenitor of the American Constitution, but his views on the nature of mind and the empirical basis of knowledge held sway over much of the Western intellectual world in the first half of the 19th century. Locke’s influence on Condillac and hence Pinel was two-fold: first, he held that all our ideas originate in sensation and reflection. Second, and as importantly, Locke followed Francis Bacon in teaching that all knowledge must be based on careful, systematic observation.

For the empiricists, it follows that insanity, which is a severe form of our ideas ‘leading us astray’, is explained by a incorrect connection and association of ideas. The mechanism is simple: some of our ideas have a natural affinity or connection with one another. Others are held together by mere custom or habit. Cases of insanity are cases where habitual associations become so disorganized they begin to effect the ‘natural’ associations. This misassociation can become so extreme that it can “set us awry in our actions, as well moral as natural, passions, reasonings, and notions themselves” (Locke, Bk 2, Ch 33, p9. p 317[Double check reference]). To this day, we use metaphors like ‘lost his senses’ to describe someone with mental illness; and we describe poorly chosen actions as ‘not very sensible.’

This is simply the theoretical basis for understanding insanity in the broadest possible terms. To truly understand how mental disorder is defined and classified, we must consider how the mentally ill have been treated.

Foundations

Foundation in Empiricism: Phillipe Pinel Phillipe Pinel (1745–1826) revolutionized the treatment of the insane. When, in 1792, he was appointed a physician at the main asylum in Paris—the Bicêtre hospital—the situation was dire. According to a biographer in 1846:

The buildings were unfit for habitation. In them were congregated men crouching together in the mud, in stone cells, narrow, cold, damp, destitute of air and light, and merely furnished with a straw bed, seldom renewed, and soon becoming foul and offensive; wretched dens, in which one would hesitate to place the meanest animal. The insane, who were immured in these filthy holes, were at the mercy of their attendants, and these persons were malefactors released from prison. The wretched

²⁷See, e.g. *Treatise on Insanity*, p. 46

patients were loaded with chains and manacled like convicts. Thus given up defenseless to the wickedness of their guardians, they were the sports of an insulting mockery, or of a brutality all the more blind that it was gratuitous. (Marx, 1846, p. 194–195)

Upon his arrival, Pinel immediately began advocating pity, respect, and compassion for the patients,²⁸ not only for humanitarian reasons, but also in order to allow the Baconian method of careful observation. Given the terrible conditions at the Bicêtre, Pinel argued, one would never be able to determine if the behavior of the patients was the result of some underlying condition, or the condition of the Hospital itself. Bicêtre's chief physician, Pussin, was sympathetic to Pinel's techniques, and began a pilot study of unchaining the patients.

Two years later, Pinel was appointed chief physician of the Hospice de la Salpêtrière—Paris' parallel institution for women. There, the women were kept chained, often naked, in subterranean cells; subjected to the terrors of abusive guards and hungry rats. Pinel immediate banned the use of metal chains as restraints, allowed the women clothing, and established something resembling human civility.²⁹ This act was mythologized during the French Revolution as part of the overthrow of the aristocratic order, and has been duly commemorated in Art.³⁰

Pinel's revolutionary kindness is not just a story of a sympathetic humanitarian. Pinel's goal was to systematical classify mental illness in the Baconian manner. The conditions of confinement found in the Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière compounded the patients' mental illness, and confounded his attempts at observation. In these conditions, one could not determine if the regularity of symptoms found in the population resulted from the illness or the 'treatment.' By providing the patients respect and dignity, he believed he could observe their mental illness in a more untainted form.

In general, Pinel followed Locke and Condillac in holding that insanity was 'derangement of the understanding'³¹, yet extended the view to cover cases where memory, understanding and judgment were perfectly sound, and still the patient was maniacal. Pinel thus abandoned any formal

²⁸The story of how Pinel became interested in insanity is frequently retold. Like Newton's apple, it is probably something of a myth, although there may be some core of truth. Here it is, as told by himself in *A Treatise on Insanity: The loss of a friend, who became insane through excessive love of glory, in 1783, and the ineptitude of pharmaceutic preparations to the mind elated, as his was, with a high sense of its independence, enhanced my admiration of the judicious precepts of the ancients, and made me regret that I had it not then in my power to put them in practice.* (p 52) From a letter by Marx 1846: ...in 1785, he had the misfortune to lose a young man to whom he was much attached, and whose reason became affected through excessive study and abstinence. This unfortunate person, after his return to his family, became maniacal, one evening he escaped from his father's house into the neighboring forest and was devoured by wolves; a few torn rags were found the following day, and near them a copy of the *Phaedra* covered with blood. And by Lisa Appignanesi in 2009: A shy provincial like himself, the friend had fallen into despair and then 'mania' when his legal aspirations failed to materialize. Unable to help the younger man once he had all but ceased to eat, Pinel had brought him to the Hôtel-Dieu where a treatment of baths and food seemed to restore him. But his worried family intervened and took him home before he was quite well. The youth escaped their hold, fled to the woods and was found dead only after the wolves had got him. (p58)

²⁹From a letter of honor, included in Marx 1846: "He who walks in an odoriferous flower-garden, which had formerly been a pestilential swamp, will best be able to appreciate what you effected in madhouses. Formerly an atmosphere almost stifling, damp rooms, the clank of chains, the cries of those under the lash, the hoarse growl of the rough attendants, the desperate frenzy of the ill-used patients; these succeeded by clean apartments, the greatest humanity in personal attentions, and an atmosphere of peace and confidence throughout the whole establishment. (p.210)

³⁰See Robert Fleurys 'Dr. Phillippe Pinel at the Salpêtrière' (1795)

³¹See, e.g. p. 3, Section 4, p 134. Also, from the Marx (1846): Every delusion is the result of confused modes of thinking; wrong and crime originate in ignorance." (p. 212)

all-encompassing theoretical explanation of insanity *per se*, and preferred to work with its variants, which he classified as mania, melancholy, dementia and idiocy.

Pinel spent a great amount of time showing that the conditions he was treating did not have a physiological basis. Much of his argumentation in Treatise on Insanity turns on the dissections performed on patients who had died while at the Bicêtre. The reason for this was two-fold: first, the ancient Aristotelean understanding of the mind held that mental illness resulted from too much or too little of one of the four main ‘humours’: black bile, yellow bile, blood and phlegm.³² By showing that the mentally ill had no significant lesions in the brain, or imbalances in their ‘fluids’, Pinel was able to establish the independence of psychiatry from other forms of medicine.

Secondly, there is a long tradition of defining the ‘mental’ as that which is opposed to the ‘physical’. For example, René Descartes famously argues that the actions of our bodies can be explained entirely in physical, mechanistic terms, except that which can be attributed to, in his terms, our ‘souls.’ It follows then, that if an illness is to be truly mental, it must not have a physical explanation. And most importantly, physical causes are treated with physical interventions. As insanity was now deemed non-physical, the treatment cannot be physical. Hence, psychiatry is a discipline independent from physical medicine.

While Pinel had no strong theoretical commitment or agenda, by following Locke’s notion of mental illness as a confusion of ideas, he made two significant contributions to both psychiatry as a medical discipline and our understanding of the mind more broadly: First, if insanity was just a misassociation of ideas, it was not a permanent, inherited incurable disease. Second, if insanity is a misassociation of ideas, it does not depend on or result from physiological changes. Explanations for mental illness thus did not require autopsy; and treatment did not require surgery.³³ Psychiatry was, as a result, independent of medicine.

It is likewise important to recognize that Pinel was, in many ways, precisely following Bacon’s system of investigation. He was not attempting to form an overarching explanation. He was setting down tables upon tables of observed facts, classifying and arranging phenomena, highlighting privileged instances, and was open to any and all techniques that might shed light on these cases. After initial observation, he split “insanity” into four varieties, distinguishing between the incurable dementia and idiocy from the often transient and curable mania and melancholy.

Therapeutically, Pinel called his humane treatment of the insane the ‘moral treatment.’ In his words,

I then discovered, that insanity was curable in many instances, by mildness of treatment and attention to the state of the mind exclusively, and when coercion was indispensable, that it might be very effectually applied without corporal indignity. (p. 108).

³²Each humour had an associated personality type. Imbalance in a given humour was thought to be the cause of imbalances in mood or personality: people with too much black bile were melancholic, yellow bile choleric (full of energy), blood sanguine (impulsive), and phlegm phlegmatic (emotional). See Aristotle’s Problems Bk 3, Section 1 Galen’s *De temperamentis*, and Avicenna’s *The Canon of Medicine* for more detail.

³³The modern reader of A Treatise on Insanity is impressed by the number of times that Pinel stresses these two features of mental illness. We take both of these for granted to such an extent that the work can seem highly repetitive and redundant. But they were radical theses in the late 18th century, and Pinel’s thoroughness in covering the topics no doubt reflects the importance of these thesis in his own mind. (Cite Data – number of pages, examples, etc.).

His therapeutic program meant paying attention to the environment in which the insane were confined. He changed the architecture, the diet, the way the nurses and orderlies treated the patients, everything. He even went so far as to allow the higher-functioning patients to work as nurses for the lower-functioning. Patients were listened to. Careful, detailed personal histories were taken. Baths, walking and gardening were encouraged.

A lack of theoretical commitment meant that Pinel could borrow techniques from the many snake-oil salesmen and charlatans who populated Western Europe at the time. One of these fads happened to be mesmerism, now known as hypnosis. We'll come back to the importance of mesmerism in the rise of psychoanalysis below.

As a follower of Bacon, Pinel was only interested tabulating observations of results, and comparing them against the observations of the condition without intervention. He insisted that we cannot cure a disease until we know of the progression of the disease *without* intervention. In his own words, "We cannot cure diseases by the resources of art, if not previously acquainted with their terminations, when left to the unassisted efforts of nature." (p. 109). For him, extreme treatments could only be used in extreme cases. The curable would be cured by simple humane treatment.

It is worth pointing out that the word 'asylum' means, of course, a sanctuary or refuge. It *first* appears in English in the 1808 translation of Pinel's Treatise on Insanity, to reference the Bicêtre! It appears in English newspapers starting in the 1860's, to describe leper colonies—long after Pinel's 'moral treatment' had come to dominate the English treatment of the mentally ill.

Mental Alienation - Esquirol While Pinel tended to think of transient mental illness as a confusion of ideas, he occasionally spoke of the role of passions in mental illness. In the early pages of the Treatise, he hypothesizes three different causes of insanity:

I now proceed to describe the general progress of periodical insanity. Among its various causes; exclusive of changes in the state of the atmosphere, my experience leads me to enumerate as the most frequent; undue indulgence of the angry passions; any circumstances calculated to suggest the recollection of the original exciting cause of the disease, intemperance in drinking, inanition, &c. (p. 12)

Pinel's greatest student, Esquirol built on this hypothesis of 'undue indulgence of the angry passions' and redefined the notion of transient insanity as 'mental alienation.' It was Esquirol who grew the empirical understanding of the mind into a full-fledged psychiatric system. But like Pinel, the set of conditions he sought to explain were those with symptoms that were not obviously explained by physical, bodily conditions.

To Pinel's four-fold classification[Where's the list?], Esquirol added monomania, or obsession with a single idea, as distinct kind of mental illness. 'Melancholy,' he renamed 'lypemania.' because the former implied the medieval theory of 'humors' and 'black bile.'

Monomania, lypemania and mania were distinguished by the nature of the passions that are out of order: "The passions of the insane are impetuous, especially in mania and monomania. They are of a depressing character in lypemania. In dementia and imbecility, those only exist, which spring from the first wants of man,—love, anger, jealousy." (p 26).

As the curable, transient forms of insanity were diseases of malformed passions, their treatment required reforming or redirecting the passions. His five varieties of insanity are defined thus:

1. Lypemania (melancholy of the ancients) delirium with respect to one, or a small number of objects.
2. Monomania, in which the delirium is limited to one or a small number of objects, with excitement.
3. Mania, in which the delirium extends to all kinds of objects, and is accompanied by excitement.
4. Dementia, in which the insensate utter folly, because the organs of thought have lost their power.
5. Imbecility, or idiocy, in which the conformation of the organs has never been such, that they do not perform their functions.

It is important to note here that the passions accompany delirium with respect to collections of objects. One cannot be passionate without being passionate about something. The 'something' that is the object of passion is supplied by the senses—and hence, we're still within a Lockean framework of understanding the mind.

According to the Lockean framework, all ideas originate in sense experience or internal reflection. When the passions directed at one of these ideas becomes excessive and out of control, lypemania or monomania results, depending on the nature of the particular passion that becomes excessive. When the passions are exaggerated without a specific object, and hence apply themselves to every object, or what ever object is before the senses at a particular moment, we call that mania.

Mental illness's causes "are as numerous as its forms are varied." Case studies presented in his Mental Maladies include climate, seasons, age, sex, temperament, trauma (especially during the first menstrual cycle for young women), excessive study, ambition, etc. Again, as in Pinel, the difference between the mentally ill and the mentally stable is one of scale, not of kind. Everyone has passions—they are why we grieve, fall in love, work for that 'A', make personal sacrifices for our friends and families, etc.—the question of insanity is whether these passions are appropriate or excessive and whether they are directed at an appropriate or inappropriate object.

According to Esquirol:

"The first wants of man, limiting themselves to those connected with his preservation and reproduction, provoke the determinations of instinct; an internal impulse leads us to gratify them.

The secondary wants, attach themselves to the first, and the desires which they excite, acquire as much more energy, as we have means of satisfying them. They produce the primitive passions; in fine, they are the wants which are connected with our preservation; and are the fruit of our increasing intelligence and civilization. They engender the factitious passions,—those passions which cause the greatest injury to man, especially in the higher walks of life.

Infancy, except from the influence of the passions, is almost a stranger to insanity; but at the epoch of puberty, the sentiments, unknown until this period, cause new wants to arise. Insanity then appears, to trouble the first moments of the moral existence of man. At mature age, the relations become extended, social wants multiple and the passions take a new character. In proportion as the amorous passions become enfeebled, those of a factitious nature grow strong. Personal interest, ambition, love of distinction and avarice, replace the charms of love and delights of paternity.

At this period of life also, mental alienation appears; insanity is more obstinate, and more concentrated. It passes more readily into a chronic state; and is more dependent upon abdominal lesions.

A sense of his weakness, renders the old man more clam; and while meditating upon the errors to which the passions lead, he isolates himself, and becomes an egotist.

Insanity from a moral cause, rarely exists with him, and when he loses his reason, it is because his organs are fatigued and exhausted. Hence, it is neither mania nor monomania which is developed, at this period, but senile dementia.

Of all moral causes, those which most frequently produce insanity, are pride, fear, fright, ambition, reverses of fortune, and domestic trouble. This last should have been placed, relative to its great influence, at the head of the moral causes, if it be limited to a simple ideas; but by domesticate troubles, I express all the pains, all the griefs, all oppositions, misfortunes and dissensions that grow out of the family state. (Mental Maladies: A Treatise on Insanity, p 45–46)

Esquirol began to gather around himself a 'circle' of students who are sometimes referred to as the 'mental alienists.' Two of the most famous of his students were Charles Lasègue, who is now credited with working out the first definition of hysteria and first documenting *anorexia nervosa*; and Étienne-Jean Georget who delineated four sub-types of 'monomania': theomania (religious obsession), ertomania (sexual obsession), demonomania (obsession with evil) and homicidal monomania.

Esquirol's concept of monomania sparked what is probably the first recorded wave of copy-cat psychosis. In November 1825, a young single mother of two named Henriette Cornier, decapitated the 19 month-old child of her neighbors. She had prepared her room for the act, even placing a bucket to catch the blood. She had known the family of the infant for only ten days, and had, up until this event, been nothing but loving and gentle towards the little girl who would be her victim. When the police arrived, she offered no resistance to the police, and did not flee. She confessed, saying that the idea had taken hold of her, and she simply had to act upon it.

The case became a sensation across Europe. Georget diagnosed her as a 'homicidal monomaniac.' At her trial, the jury decided that the act had not been premeditated and as a result, she was sentenced to life in prison with hard labor instead of death. This ruling makes little sense: Cornier admitted that the idea had occurred to her before the event, and she had carefully prepared her room for the murder. Thus, many commentators—include Lisa Appengasi (p 75)—have attributed the jury's leniency to Georget's diagnosis of mental alienation. After all, if Cornier was mentally ill, does pre-planning count as 'premediation'?

The idea of the murderous monomaniac took off across Europe, informing or appearing in some of the greatest literature of era, including (according to various literary critics) Poe's "The Tell-Tale Heart," the character of Roskovikov in Dostovesky's Crime and Punishment, and even Heathcliff in Bonte's Wutherheights. The Marquis de Sade is also said to have been a monomaniac.

Early Neurology

American Nervousness — George Beard George Beard (1839–1883) was an American physician who started out advocating for the use of electricity as a medical intervention. His first book

Electricity as a Tonic (1866) suggested that electricity could be used to cure 'general nervous debility,' including dyspepsia, chorea, neuralgia, anaemia, or amenorrhoea. (1867, p. 73) Beard was a charismatic popular author, who went on to write a series of popular home-healthcare books starting with *Our Home Physician: Handy Book of Family Medicine* in 1869.³⁴

Starting in the 1870s, Beard became increasingly interested in psychological disorders. In 1881, he published *American Nervousness*, a book that came to define psychological treatment for a generation. 'Nervousness' did not mean then what it means today: jitteriness or tension. Then, it denoted a kind of fundamental exhaustion—what we still call a 'nervous breakdown'. Technically, Beard defined it as:

"deficiency of lack of nerve-force. This condition, together with all the symptoms of diseases that are evolved from it, has developed mainly within the nineteenth century, and is especially frequent and severe in the Northern and Eastern portions of the United States. Nervousness, in the sense here used, is to be distinguished rigidly and systematically from simple excess of emotion and from organic disease." (1881, p. vi)

It was caused by "modern civilization, which is distinguished from the ancient by these five characteristics: steam-power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women." (p. vi)

Beard was building on both folk theory of innate energy as well as recent discoveries in neurology (compare, for example, the concurrent theory of 'specific sense energies' proposed by Müller – see the ?? on page ??.). But he extended his view to cover diseases such as "neurasthenia (nervous exhaustion... hysteria, hay-fever, sick-headache, inebriety... some and phases of insanity." (p. vii) whose 'signs' could include:

The nervous diathesis; susceptibility to stimulants and narcotics and various drugs, and consequent necessity of temperance; increase of the nervous diseases inebriety and neurasthenia (nervous exhaustion), hay-fever neuralgia, nervous dyspepsia, asthenia and allied diseases and symptoms; early and rapid decay of teeth; premature baldness; sensitiveness to cold and heat; increase of diseases not exclusively nervous, as diabetes and certain forms of Bright's disease of the kidneys and chronic catarrhs; unprecedented beauty of American women; frequency of trance and muscle-reading; the strain of dentition, puberty and change of life; American oratory, humor speech and language; change in type of disease during the past half century, and the great intensity of animal life on this continent. (p. vii-ix)

Beard died shortly after the publication of *American Nervousness*, but his cause was taken up by Silas Wier Mitchell (1829–1914), who popularized a standard treatment for American Nervousness: the rest cure. As you can probably imagine, if the cause of American Nervousness was modern civilization, including women having a mental life, the cure was removal from modern civilization, including banning women from having a mental life.

³⁴For more, see Edward M. Brown, "An American Treatment for the 'American Nervousness': George Miller Beard and General Electrization, available at <http://bms.brown.edu/HistoryofPsychiatry/Beard.html>

In 1885, at the age of 25, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a member of a prominent family of American progressives that included the abolitionist author Harriet Beecher Stowe, the suffragist Isabella Beecher Hooker, and the charismatic clergyman Henry Ward Beecher, gave birth to her only child Katharine Beecher Stetson. After the birth, Charlotte Perkins-Gilman experienced what we now recognize as a severe case of post-partum depression.

She was taken to see Silas Wier Mitchell. She described her experience of the treatment she received thus:

"During about the third year of this trouble I went, in devout faith and some faint stir of hope, to a noted specialist in nervous diseases, the best known in the country. This wise man put me to bed and applied the rest-cure, to which all still-good physique responded so promptly that he concluded there was nothing much the matter with me, and sent me home with solemn advice to 'live as domestic a life as far as possible,' to 'have but two hours' intellectual life a day' and 'never touch a pen, brush or pencil again' as long as I lived. This was in 1887." ("Why I wrote The Yellow Wallpaper, 1913)

Her experiences you may know from the American Standard short story *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1892). Gilman acknowledged that she never suffered from the hallucinations her character does, but that she "came so near the borderline of mental ruin that I could see over." (1913)

While Beard and Wier Mitchell are today often ridiculed as snake-oil salesmen playing on political concerns over rapid modernization and the suffragist movement, they made a number of notable contributions to our commonsense understanding of psychological disorder. First, they indelibly linked mental disorders to neurology. As mentioned above, we still use phrases like 'nervous breakdown' in common parlance to explain psychological disorder. Second, by proscribing puberty, birth, menopause and the 'unprecedented beauty of American women' as prime causes of mental illness, they further established a link between the onset and frustration of sexuality with mental illness, a point upon which Freud would build psychoanalysis.

It would be a mistake, however, to accept the simplistic narrative that the doctors of this era were manipulating and abusing their female patients without their consent. Historians of Psychology Laura C. Ball and Jennifer L. Bazar have recently demonstrated that in some cases, some women aggressive sought out procedures, such as clitorectomies, in this period. In one remarkable case, a patient even 'tormented the doctors to operate again.'³⁵

One way to chart the rise of psychiatric diagnosis is to consider how people with mental illness are counted. Starting in 1830, the US census included categories for the disabled, including 'blind' and 'deaf.' From 1840–1870, the census included the category 'idiocy/insanity.' Starting in 1880, however, the federal government began using categories of mental illness. In 1880, those categories were:

21	Mental Disease, Insanity	
00	Melancholy	
01	Mania	
02	Hysteria	

³⁵Ball and Bazar (2010)

	03	Nerves
	04	Dementia
	05	Insane (not elsewhere classified)
22	Mental Retardation, Idiocy	
	00	Idiotic

Table 1.2: Classifications of 1880

Readers of these sections will no doubt recognize this taxonomy as owing an intellectual debt to both Esquirol (Melancholy, Mania, Hysteria and Dementia) and Beard (Nerves).

Early Neurology — Charcot Charcot began his career at the Salpêtrière tending to the ‘incurables’—the patients whose conditions had been classified as ‘idiocy’ or ‘dementia.’ Charcot saw himself primarily as a nosologist: a classifier or taxonomizer of disease, rather than a healer. His appointment was, in many ways, ideal. This was a patient population for which there was no hope of cure, and moreover, had not been studied in a careful way.

Charcot is, today, often classified as a neurologist. That is a bit of historicism, as there was no such field when he began work. In fact, the ‘neuron doctrine’, or the idea that the nervous system is composed of individual cells called ‘neurons,’ is not formally advanced until 1891. And it isn’t until 1911 that Ramon y Cajal uses the Golgi stain to highlight neurons in the hippocampus, confirming the neuron doctrine.

None of that stopped Charcot from classifying a huge number conditions and diseases we still recognize today: multiple sclerosis, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS or “Lou Gerig’s disease,” it was once called “Charcot’s disease”), lenticulostriate artery (“Charcot’s artery”), joint arthropathy (“Charcot’s joint”), peroneal muscular atrophy (“Charcot-Marie-Tooth disease”), Charcot Wilbrand syndrome, Charcot’s intermittent hepatic fever and even Parkinson’s disease were all first named or described by Charcot.

Methodologically, Charcot advocated what he called the ‘anatomo-clinical’ method, which meant careful anatomical analysis performed largely post-mortum combined with case studies of vivisection in both animals and human subjects. Once a behavioral deficiency has been identified, careful anatomical studies are carried out to determine any corresponding anatomical ‘deficiency,’ or lesion. In his own words:

Allow me to recall to your minds the opinion which that most illustrious physiologist, Claude Bernard, thus expressed:—“Pathology,” said he, “should not be subordinated to physiology. Quite the reverse. Set up first the medical problem which arises from the observation of a malady, and afterwards seek for a physiological explanation. To act otherwise would be to risk overlooking the patient, and distorting the malady.” These are excellent words, which I have ventured to quote verbatim, because they are absolutely significant. They enable us to clearly understand that the whole domain of pathology appertains strictly to the physician, who alone can cultivate it and make it fruitful, and that it necessarily remains closed to the physiologist who, systematically

confined within the precincts of his laboratory, disdains the teaching of the hospital ward. (p. 8)

In 1878, he began extensive work on hypnosis. Hypnosis had been practiced at the Salpêtrière for over 50 years—since the days of Pinel, in fact. Charcot became increasingly interested in the therapeutic use of hypnosis to cure what he called ‘hysteria’, a vaguely-defined collection of usually transient symptoms that included paralysis, anesthesias, visual or auditory agnosias, temporary blindness or deafness, amnesia and seizures. While ‘hysteria’ came to be identified closely with women, Charcot himself believed that it could effect men, and treated many men that he diagnosed with hysteria.

This does not mean, however, that Charcot gave up his commitment to neurological explanations of behavior. He simply allowed functional and/or physiological explanations in addition to the anatomical. In his words:

There is another important fact in the history of neuroses in general, and of hysteria in particular, which clearly shows that these diseases do not form, in pathology, a class apart, governed by other physiological laws than the common ones. (13)

I've quoted this passage because it is the first use of the word ‘neuroses’ in print. Its root in neurological terminology is obvious, but here Charcot uses it to demarcate transient, psychological, functional or dynamic neurological conditions from the incurable, intransient, anatomical neurological conditions. The former we classify as ‘mental’, the latter ‘neurological’—even today. ‘Neurosis’ thus supplants ‘mental alienation’ and ‘nervousness’ as the descriptor of the set of psychological conditions that cannot be explained physically, even though its root is connected to the idea of a physical manifestation in ‘neurons.’

In 1890, blocked by antisemitism in Germany from further education, a young Sigmund Freud came to study with M. Charcot. There, he learned the techniques of hypnosis and studied many cases of hysteria. Later in life, Freud frequently referred to Charcot as his ‘mentor,’ and even attributed the idea that all neuroses originate ‘in the genitals’ to Charcot.³⁶

In his eulogy for Charcot, Sigmund Freud said:

He was not a reflective man, not a thinker: He had the nature of an artist—he was, as he himself said, a ‘visuel’, a man who sees... He used to look again and again at the

³⁶In his ‘History of the Psychiatric Movement’, Freud writes: “...It was the case of the young married couple from the far East. The wife was a great sufferer and the husband was impotent, or exceedingly awkward. I heard Charcot repeat: “Tâchez donc, je vous assure vous y arriverez.” Brouardel, who spoke less distinctly, must have expressed his astonishment that such symptoms as those of the young wife should have appeared as a result of such circumstances, for Charcot said suddenly and with great vivacity: “Mais, dans de cas pareils, c'est toujours la chose génital, toujours—toujours-toujours.” And while saying that, he crossed his hands in his lap and jumped up and down several times, with the vivacity peculiar to him.” (Freud, 1938, p. 937–938)

We know that George Beard and Silas Wier Mitchell had the same view at this point, and that Freud was familiar with their work on ‘hysteria.’ What is unknown, given that Freud’s retelling of this anecdote is based on his memory alone, is the accuracy of this story. It might be the case, and it might just be Freud misattributing a theory he picked up from Beard and Wier Mitchell to his mentor years after the fact.

things he did not understand, to deepen his impression of them day by day, till suddenly an understanding of them dawned on him. In his mind's eye the apparent chaos presented by the continual repetition of the same symptoms then ave way to order: the new nosological picture emerged, characterized by the constant combination of certain groups of symptoms... He might be heard to say that the greatest satisfaction a man could have was to see something new— that is, to recognize it as new; and he remarked against and again n the difficulty and value of this kind of 'seeing'. (Quoted in Mad, Bad and Sad, p. 128)

It should be fairly obvious that Freud here is dismissing, essentially, Charcot's Baconian approach to scientific classification: careful, close observation with only careful, conservative theoretical suppositions. Unlike Charcot, who is remembered only in the names of the diseases he classified, Freud became globally famous for his theoretical suppositions. Whereas Charcot was content with describing neuroses and localizing them in the nervous system, Freud sought to explain the origins of neuroses in non-physical terms.

Rise of Psychoanalysis

Hysteria and Hypnosis: Freud & Breuer on Anna O. By the end of the 19th century, we are beginning to find general agreement that mental illnesses are characterized by symptoms with no bodily, physical (or in Beard's terms 'organic') explanation.³⁷ That understanding defined the limits of psychiatry. When a condition could be explained in anatomical terms, it was no longer considered psychiatric and reverted to medical or neurological. When it could not be understood physically—when it had to be explained in terms of 'psychic energy—it was given to the psychiatrists.

This thesis was not challenged largely because psychiatrists practiced in hospitals that contained psychiatric patients. That sounds circular, but it isn't: Pinel, Esquirol and Charcot were attempting to create a theory of mental illness that could explain the patients they saw before them. The patients they saw before them were not brought there because they fit the theory, or because they had chosen to be there. They were brought to the Bicêtre and Salpêtrière when the rest of the medical community had given up attempting to explain their symptoms.

The same can be said for Beard and Wier Mitchell: Perkins Gilman was taken to see Wier Mitchell only after all physical interventions had failed.

These founders of psychiatry theorized about a population that had been deemed mentally ill because the medical community had given up explaining their symptoms. Not the other way around. The Psychiatric hospital was a kind of catch-all for those individuals whose symptoms could not be alleviated by physical medicine, and hence it is unsurprising that the definitions of insanity we find in this era require the absence of a physical explanation.

Without a control population, there was no way these classifications could tease apart underlying conditions from any effects that may have resulted from being classified this way in the first place.

In 1880, Josef Breuer, a student of the great psycho-physiologist Ewald Hering, was studying the ear as a part of his research at Vienna General Hospital. It was there that he first met 'Anna O.'

³⁷See, for example, Drelich, Marvin G. "Classical Psychoanalytic School" in Arieti, S. (1974). American handbook of psychiatry (2d ed.). New York,: Basic Books.

a young woman with an extremely acute cough. Finding **no physical reason** for the cough, her family physician diagnosed her with "typical *tussis nervosa* [nervous cough]" (p 27)

Shortly thereafter a number of other symptoms arose. Freud & Breuer describe her case thusly:

Before this time she too had always enjoyed good health, showing no sign of nervous indisposition during her development. Of considerable intelligence, remarkably acute powers of reasoning, and a clear-sighted intuitive sense, her powerful mind could have digested, needed even, more substantial intellectual nourishment, but failed to receive it once she had left school. Her rich poetic and imaginative gifts were controlled by a very sharp and critical common sense. The latter also made her quite closed to suggestion. Only arguments had any influence on her, assertions were without effect. Her will was energetic, tenacious and persistent, sometimes heightened to such obstinacy that it would give way only out of kindness and consideration for others.

One of her principle traits was a sympathetic kindness. Even during her illness, she benefited greatly from the care and support she gave to some sick and poor people, for it allowed her to satisfy a strong drive. Her spirits always tended slightly to exaggeration, whether of joyfulness or grief, and as a consequence she was also somewhat moody. The element of sexuality was remarkably undeveloped: the patient, whose life became transparent to me in a way that seldom happens between people, had never been in love, and not once in the mass of hallucinations that occurred during her illness did this element of the inner life emerge...

...The course of the illness falls into several distinct phases. They are as follows:

A) Latent incubation. From mid-July 1880 to approximately 10 December. This case was exceptional because it afforded so complete an insight into a phase that in most cases escapes us, and for this reason alone its pathological interest could not be overestimated. I will expound on this part of the history later.

B) Manifest illness: a peculiar kind of psychosis, paraphasia, *stabismus convergens* [convergent squint], sever visual disturbance, paralyzing contractures, complete paralysis in the upper right and both lower extremities, partial paralysis in the upper left extremity, paresis of the neck muscles. A gradual reduction in the contracture of the right extremities. Some improvement, interrupted by a sever psychical trauma (death of the father) in April, after which

C) A period of continual somnambulism ensues, which then alternates with more normal states; continuation of a series of chronic symptoms until December 1881.

D) Gradual winding down of mental states and symptoms until June 1882. (p25–26)

Breuer took over her care during the period of 'manifest illness,' during which, Anna O. slept for great periods of time ('somnambulism'), but when she awoke in the evening, she would complain of 'torment.' Her speech lost all grammatical structure ('paraphasia') and she would piece together words and phrases from the five distinct languages she spoke, producing an incomprehensible jargon. This same jargon appeared in writing, so Breuer knew that it was not a disfunction of the physical mechanism of speech.

In the early spring of 1881, Anna O fell mute for a period of two weeks. At this point, Breuer claims that he

"knew she had taken great offense at something and had resolved to say nothing about it. When I guessed as much and forced her to talk about it, the inhibition, which had until then made it impossible for her to speak about anything else either, disappeared." (p 29)

After her father's death, her illness became much more severe. Breuer noticed, however, that her periods of sleep in the later afternoon, during which she was 'tormented' by hallucinations, resembled hypnotic states. He decided to preemptively hypnotize her and prompt her to 'talk through' these tormenting phantasies. The symptoms subsided quickly. The day after a session, she would become 'quite calm' and 'agreeable, obedient, industrious and even in good spirits'. The second day after a session she would be 'increasingly moody, contrary and disagreeable, and this worsened on the third.' Anna O. named these sessions (in English) the 'talking cure' and 'chimney-sweeping.' Breuer preferred the more sophisticated 'cathartic procedure.'

Breuer communicated this to his friend Sigmund Freud, who offered to co-author a paper laying out the findings. That paper, titled 'The Psychic Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena,' first appeared in 1893, but was republished as the first chapter of Freud and Breuer's *Studies on Hysteria* (1895). In it, Freud and Breuer propose a new form of hysteria, called 'traumatic hysteria', which they conjecture is always connected to some traumatic event that evokes the syndrome. They further hypothesize that the traumatic event can be unavailable to the conscious, reflective mind of patient—i.e. be unconscious—yet still be causally responsible for the hysterical symptoms. Moreover, they hypothesize that making the patient aware of the trauma, via Breuer's 'cathartic procedure' using hypnosis if necessary, alleviates the hysteria.

Freud: The foundation of psychoanalysis The seeds of psychoanalysis were planted by Charcot and Breuer, but they did not develop into a full-fledged system of Psychiatry until Freud worked independently. Building on his theory of unconscious trauma to explain hysteria, Freud hypothesizes that traumatic events may manifest themselves in the mind indirectly in the form of symbols. He then went on to realize that the fantasy lives of the psychotic are full of such symbols, and recovering the original trauma requires investigation of the mechanisms of symbolization.

It was this realization that gives us the basis for psychoanalysis, for it is this realization that allows Freud to argue that the hallucinations and fantasies experiences by the psychotic are not significantly different from the dreams of the sane. Whereas prior to Freud, dreams and hallucinations were thought to be without meaning, after Freud they were seen as full of symbolic representations, the meanings of which were available empirically through systematic investigation of the mechanisms of psychological representation. Freud's proposed mechanisms are introduced in the 3.2 section on page 82 of the game book.

The barrier between the mentally ill and the mentally healthy had been permanently broken.³⁸ No longer does the theory of psychiatry apply only to those who cannot be helped by medicine. Now the theory applies to everyone: a healthy person could become ill through unhealthy habits of mental representation, and ill people could become healthy through the process of discovering their habits of mental representation and recognizing their unconscious traumas.

This conflation of psychiatric conditions and normal life left Freud in the precarious position of having to define 'mental illness.' He did so thus:

Symptoms—and of course we are dealing now with psychical (or psychogenic) symptoms and psychical illness—are acts detrimental, or at least useless, to the subject's life as a whole, often complained by him as unwelcome and bringing unpleasure or suffering to him. [Label somehow and include in a table.] (*Introductory Lectures*, p. 445)

Neurosis v. Psychosis One of the hallmarks of Freud's theory is his thesis that there is no hard and fast distinction to be made between the mentally ill and the mentally healthy. His *Introductory Lectures* are structured to introduce the reader to psychopathology in everyday life before extending the analysis of common activities to psychotics and neurotic patients. As such, there are no hard and fast definitions of psychosis and neurosis³⁹.

During the course of normal development of mentally healthy adults, the ego must become 'reasonable': it must no longer let "itself be governed by the pleasure principle, but obeys the reality principle, which also at bottom seeks to obtain pleasure, but pleasure which is assured through taking account of reality, even though it is pleasure postponed and diminished." (p. 444) A neurotic's ego fails to make this transition, and gets stuck at one point in development. Thus, the neurotic's libido and ego are still struggling in a child-like way, but the contents of the struggle have been transformed into objects of adulthood. Neurotic symptoms are the "outcome of a conflict which arises over a new method of satisfying the libido" (p. 446) and a person is ill from neurosis only if "his ego has lost the capacity to allocate his libido in some way" (p. 480). A psychotic patient, however, has lost the battle for the reality principle, and the libido has created its own reality.

The object of a neurosis, then, is relevant to the diagnosis only insofar as it is a stand-in for the actual conflict by the mechanisms of repression, reaction formation, isolation, etc. According to Freud: "clinical psychiatry takes little notice of the outward form or content of individual symptoms, but psychoanalysis takes matters up at precisely that point and has established in the first place the fact that symptoms have a sense and are related to the patient's experience." (p. 318)

See Lectures 22 and 23 of the *Introductory Lectures* for a full discussion of neurosis and its origins.

³⁸I am simplifying here a bit. While Freud is commonly believed to originate the idea that dreams and psychotic hallucinations were best understood on a continuum, the idea appears in the work of the British associationist Alexander Bain (see, e.g. Bain, A. (1903) *Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics*, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York and Bombay, p. 45)

³⁹The distinction between neurosis and psychosis has always been controversial. Consider Pavlov's comment in his 1927 lectures: "Contemporary medicine distinguishes "nervous" and "psychic" disturbances-neuroses and psychoses, but this distinction is, of course, only arbitrary. No real line of demarcation can be drawn between these two groups: it is impossible to imagine a deviation of higher activities from normal without a functional or structural disturbance of the cortex." (Pavlov, 1927, Lecture 23)

The Clark Lectures In 1909, G. Stanley Hall, first president of the American Psychological Association, invited Freud and Jung to give a series of lectures at Clark University. The conference itself was a major moment in the intellectual history of America, as such luminaries as William James, Franz Boas, Adolf Meyer and E.B. Tichner were in attendance, as well as the famed Anarchist Emma Goldman.⁴⁰

After the lectures, James Jackson Putnam, a neurologist in New York City, invited Freud and Jung to retire to his family's Adirondack 'great camp' for the weekend. Putnam became an important advocate for psychoanalysis in the United States, establishing its legitimacy as a treatment for hysteria. While there are articles prior to 1909 on psychoanalysis (notably one by Putnam himself in 1906), we don't find significant discussion of psychoanalysis in the mainstream journals of Psychology until after the Clark lectures.⁴¹ An effort to convince the American public of the scientific nature of psychoanalysis was mounted by Putnam camp attendees A.A. Brill, founder of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, and Ernest Jones, student of Freud. By 1916, Jones had published 20 articles, notes and reviews in the Journal of Abnormal Psychology offering or advocating for psychoanalysis.⁴²

Putnam and Freud went on to become close friends, and Putnam spent much of the rest of his career attempting to professionalize and regularize the practice of psychiatry. He founded the American Psychoanalytic Association (APsaA) in 1911, which is still active today. His posthumously published Addresses on Psychoanalysis, which contains a preface by Freud himself, not only seeks to introduce Freudian theory to his scientific community, but also to dispel misunderstanding gained "through the gossip of prejudice and misconception" (Putnam & Jones, 1921, p. 3).

Putnam's influence here cannot be understated. Putnam introduced psychoanalytic ideas to the budding field of medical neurology. His position as a medical doctor at Harvard gave psychoanalysis legitimacy as a medical practice in America, and his stature in the neurological community helped to assuage any doubts about the lack of a physical basis for the hypothetical entities posited by Freud's structural hypothesis.

The story is not all smooth sailing. In 1916, the Princeton philosopher and psychologist Warren Fite reviewed of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* for *The Nation*, writing that it "presents some five hundred-odd pages of incoherence and obscenity in the form of a psycho-analytic interpretation of the experiences of a sentimental young American woman." (Fite, 1916) The fact that the United States was at war with Germany didn't help the psychoanalytic cause: Christine Ladd-Franklin, a student of C.S. Peirce and protege of no less than Hermann Helmholtz as well as one of the first women in the APA, called Freud's theory the product of an "undeveloped... German mind."

What followed is a history of tension between those in the psychological and psychoanalytic communities. Helped by the military's preference for psychoanalysts in the treatment of 'shell-

⁴⁰See, for example Clark University's archive: http://www.clarku.edu/research/archives/freud_jung.cfm and the Chronicle of Higher Education's "When Freud Came to Clark U.": <http://chronicle.com/article/Freuds-Visit-to-Clark-U/48424/>
Experienced Reactors may recognize Emma Goldman from Mary Jane Tracey's Suffrageist game

⁴¹For a discussion, see Hornstein, G. A. (2002). *The Return of the Repressed: Psychology's Problematic Relations with Psychoanalysis, 1909–1960. Evolving Perspectives on the History of Psychology*. W. E. Pickren and D. A. Dewsbury. Washington, DC, The American Psychological Association.

⁴²Hornstein, p. 474.

'shock' during WWI and 'combat fatigue' in WWII, psychoanalysis gained credibility in the eyes of the American public.⁴³

The DSMs

In 1917 during its annual meeting in New York, the American Medico-Psychological Association (now the American Psychiatric Association) in cooperation with the National Commission on Mental Hygiene formed a committee on statistics and charged it with creating a guide for classifying mental illness. The resulting document, Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for the Insane, was published in 1918 and adopted around the nation. It is available freely on google books. The manual outlined 21 medical-psychological categories:

Major Category	Minor Category
1. Traumatic psychoses	(a) Traumatic delirium (b) Traumatic constitutional (c) Post-traumatic mental enfeeblement (dementia)
2. Senile psychoses	(a) simple deterioration (b) Presbyophrenic type (c) Delirious and confused types (d) Depressed and agitated states in addition to deterioration (e) Paranoid types (f) Pre-senile types
3. Psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis	
4. General paralysis	
5. Psychoses with cerebral syphilis	
6. Psychoses with Huntington's chorea	
7. Psychoses with brain tumor	
8. Psychoses with other brain or nervous diseases	The following are the more frequent affections and should be specified in the diagnosis Cerebral embolism Paralysis agitans Meningitis, tubercular or other forms (to be specified) Multiple sclerosis Tabes Acute chorea Other conditions (to be specified)
9. Alcoholic psychoses	

⁴³See Chapter 1 of Menninger and Nemiah (2000) for an interesting discussion of this history.

	(a) Pathological intoxication (b) Delirium tremens (c) Korsakow's psychosis (d) Acute hallucinosis (e) Chronic hallucinosis (f) Acute paranoid type (g) Chronic paranoid type (h) Alcoholic deterioration (i) Other types, acute or chronic
10. Psychoses due to drugs or other exogenous toxins	
	(a) Opium (and derivatives), cocaine, bromides, chloral, etc. alone or combined (to be specified) (b) Metals, as lead, arsenic, etc. (to be specified) (c) Gases (to be specified) (d) Other exogenous toxins (to be specified)
11. Psychoses with pellagra	
12. Psychoses with other somatic diseases	
	(a) Delirium with infectious diseases (b) Post-infectious psychosis (c) Exhaustion-delirium (d) Delirium of unknown origin (e) Cardio-renal diseases (f) Disease of the ductless glands (g) Other diseases or conditions (to be specified)
13. Manic-depressive psychoses	
	(a) Manic type (b) Depressive type (c) Stupor (d) Mixed type (e) Circular type
14. Involution melancholia	
15. Dementia praecox	
	(a) Paranoid type (b) Catatonic type (c) Hebephrenic type (d) Simple type
16. Paranoia or paranoic conditions	
17. Epileptic psychoses	
	(a) Deterioration (b) Clouded states (c) Other conditions (to be specified)
18. Psychoneuroses and neuroses	

	(a) Hysterical type (b) Psychasthenic type (c) Neurasthenic type (d) Anxiety neuroses
19. Psychoses with constitutional psychopathic inferiority	
20. Psychoses with mental deficiency	
21. Undiagnosed psychoses	
22. Not insane	(a) Epilepsy without psychosis (b) Alcoholism with psychosis (c) Drug addition without psychosis (d) Constitutional psychopathic inferiority without psychosis (e) Mental deficiency without psychosis (f) Others (to be specified)

Table 1.3: Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for the Insane classification of insanity, 1918

In 1928, the New York Academy of Medicine invited the Public Health Service, the Army and Navy Medical Departments and the American Hospital Association to collaborate on a standard nomenclature of disease. That standard was first published in 1933 as A Standard Classified Nomenclature of Disease, generally referred to as The Standard, and was widely used until at least the 1960s. In its original form, it used the following ten categories: •

0 Diseases due to prenatal influences
1 Diseases due to lower plant and animal parasites
2 Diseases due to higher plant and animal parasites
3 Diseases due to intoxication
4 Diseases due to trauma or physical agents
5.0 Diseases due to circulatory disturbances
5.5 Diseases due to disturbances of innervation or of psychic control
6 Diseases due to or consisting of static mechanical abnormality (obstruction; calculus; displacement and gross changes in form etc., due to unknown cause).
7 Diseases due to disorders of metabolism, growth or nutrition
8 New growths
9 Diseases due to unknown or uncertain causes, the structural reaction (generative, infiltrative, inflammatory, proliferate, sclerotic, or reparative) to which is manifest; and hereditary and familial diseases of this nature.
X Diseases due to unknown or uncertain causes, the functional reaction to which is alone manifest; and hereditary and familial diseases of this nature.

Table 1.4: Standard Classified Nomenclature classification of disease, 1933

You'll notice that the medical classification is entirely based on the origin or cause of a condition ('Diseases due to...'), not the symptoms. In the ??, classification system, mental diseases are classified by the Freudian terms 'psychosis' and 'neurosis', except for melancholy and dementia.

During the WWII, psychiatrists classified patients according to the standards of the branch of the armed forces for which they worked. In 1943, Brigadier General William C. Menninger issued a bulletin called "Medical 203" that laid the foundations for medical classification of mental illness. The Navy, Army and Veterans affairs branches all used slightly different diagnostic criteria and classifications.

In 1949, the International Statistical Classification of Diseases (ICD) included, for the first time, a taxonomy of mental disorders. Its classification system was: •

(300-309)		Psychoses
300		Schizophrenic disorders (dementia praecox)
300.0		Simple type
300.1		Hebephrenic type
300.2		Catatonic type
300.3		Paranoid type
300.4		Acute schizophrenic reaction
300.5		Latent schizophrenia
300.6		Schizo-affective psychosis
300.7		Other and unspecified
301		Manic-depressive reaction
301.0		Manic and circular
301.1		Depressive
301.2		Other
302		Involitional melancholia
303		Paranoia and paranoid states
304		Senile psychosis
305		Presenile psychosis
306		Psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis
307		Alcoholic psychosis
308		Psychosis of other demonstrable aetiology
308.0		Resulting from brain tumour
308.1		Resulting from epilepsy and other convulsive disorders
308.2		Other
309		Other and unspecified psychoses
(310-318)		Psychoneurotic disorders
310		Anxiety reaction without mention of somatic symptoms
311		Hysterical reaction without mention of anxiety reaction
312		Phobic reaction
313		Obsessive-compulsive reaction
314		Neurotic-depressive reaction
315		Psychoneurosis with somatic symptoms (somatisation reaction) affecting circulatory system
315.0		Neurocirculatory asthenia

	315.1 315.2 316 316.0 316.1 316.2 316.3 317 317.0 317.1 317.2 317.3 317.4 317.5 318 318.0 318.1 318.2 318.3 318.4 318.5	Other heart manifestations specified as of psychogenic origin Other circulatory manifestations of psychogenic origin Psychoneurosis with somatic symptoms (somatisation reaction) affecting digestive system Mucous colitis specified as of psychogenic origin Irritability of colon specified as of psychogenic origin Gastric neuroses Other digestive manifestations specified as of psychogenic origin Psychoneurosis with somatic symptoms (somatisation reaction) affecting other systems Psychogenic reactions affecting respiratory system Psychogenic reactions affecting genito-urinary system Pruritus of psychogenic origin Other cutaneous neuroses Psychogenic reactions affecting musculoskeletal system Psychogenic reactions affecting other systems Psychoneurotic disorders, other, mixed and unspecified types Hypochondriacal reaction Depersonalisation Occupational neurosis Asthenic reaction Mixed Of other and unspecified types
(320-326)	Disorders of character, behaviour, and intelligence	
320	Pathological personality	
320.0	Schizoid personality	
320.1	Paranoid personality	
320.2	Cyclothymic personality	
320.3	Inadequate personality	
320.4	Antisocial personality	
320.5	Asocial personality	
320.6	Sexual deviation	
320.7	Other and unspecified	
321	Immature personality	
321.0	Emotional instability	
321.1	Passive dependency	
321.2	Aggressiveness	
321.3	Enuresis characterising immature personality	
321.4	Other symptomatic habits except speech impediments	
321.5	Other and unspecified	
322	Alcoholism	
322.0	Acute	
322.1	Chronic	
322.2	Unspecified	
323	Other drug addiction	
324	Primary childhood behaviour disorders	

325	Mental deficiency
325.0	Idiocy
325.1	Imbecility
325.2	Moron
325.3	Borderline intelligence
325.4	Mongolism
325.5	Other and unspecified types
326	Other and unspecified character, behaviour and intelligence disorders
326.0	Specific learning defects
326.1	Stammering and stuttering of non-organic origin
326.2	Other speech impediments of non-organic origin
326.3	Acute situational maladjustment
326.4	Other and unspecified

Table 1.5: ICD-6 classification of mental diseases, 1949

In the interest of unifying these different classification schema, the American Psychiatric Association voted to create the first Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM). The nomenclature committee adapted the Medical 203 bulletin into the DSM and circulated it to a randomly selected sample of the membership (10%). When it was overwhelmingly approved by those who replied, the APA adopted it as the standard for diagnosis in medical treatment of psychological disorders. It was published in 1952, and is available online at <http://www.psychiatryonline.com/DSMPDF/dsm-i.pdf>

The first DSM distinguished between "Disorders caused by or associated with impairment of brain tissue function," "Mental Deficiency," "Disorders of psychogenic origin or without clearly defined physical cause or structural change in the brain" and "Nondiagnostic Terms for Hospital Record." This fourth category included "Alcoholic intoxication (simple drunkenness)," and "Dead on admission." It is the third category, those without a physical cause, that is of the most interest to us (the corresponding category of the ICD-6 is included in the right most column): •

Psychotic Disorders		ICD-6 Ref
-7	Disorders due to disturbance of metabolism, growth, nutrition or endocrine function	
000-796	Involuntary psychotic reaction	(302)
-x	Disorders of psychogenic origin or without clearly defined tangible cause or structural change	
000-x10	Affective reactions	(301.2)
000-x11	Manic depressive reaction, manic type	(301.0)
000-x12	Manic depressive reaction, depressive type	(301.1)
000-x13	Manic depressive reaction, other	(301.2)
000-x14	Psychotic depressive reaction	(309.0)*
000-x20	Schizophrenic reactions	(300.7)*
000-x21	Schizophrenic reaction, simple type	(300.0)
000-x22	Schizophrenic reaction, hebephrenic type	(300.1)
000-x23	Schizophrenic reaction, catatonic type	(300.2)
000-x24	Schizophrenic reaction, paranoid type	(300.3)

000-x25	Schizophrenic reaction, acute undifferentiated type	(300.4)
000-x26	Schizophrenic reaction, chronic undifferentiated type	(300.7)
000-x27	Schizophrenic reaction, schizo-affective type	(300.6)
000-x28	Schizophrenic reaction, childhood type	(300.8)
000-x29	Schizophrenic reaction, residual type	(300.5)
000-x30	Paranoid reactions	(303)
000-x31	Paranoia	(303)
000-x32	Paranoid state	(303)
000-xy0	Psychotic reaction without clearly defined structural change, other than above	(309.1)*
Psychophysiologic autonomic and visceral disorders		
-55	Disorders due to disturbance of innervation or of psychic control	
001-580	Psychophysiologic skin reaction	(317.3)
002-580	Psychophysiologic musculoskeletal reaction	(317.4)
003-580	Psychophysiologic respiratory reaction	(317.0)
004-580	Psychophysiologic cardiovascular reaction	(315.2)
005-580	Psychophysiologic hemic and sympathetic reaction	(317.5)
006-580	Psychophysiologic gastrointestinal reaction	(316.3)
007-580	Psychophysiologic genito-urinary reaction	(317.1)
008-580	Psychophysiologic endocrine reaction	(317.5)
009-580	Psychophysiologic nervous system reaction	(318.3)
00x-580	Psychophysiologic reaction of organs of special sense	(317.5)
Psychoneurotic Disorders		
-x	Disorders of psychogenic origin or without clearly defined tangible cause of structural change	
000-x00	Psychoneurotic reactions	(318.5)*
000-x01	Anxiety reaction	(310)
000-x02	Dissociative reaction	(311)
000-x03	Conversion reaction	(311)
000-x04	Phobic reaction	(312)
000-x05	Obsessive compulsive reaction	(313)
000-x06	Depressive reaction	(314)
000-x0y	Psychoneurotic reaction, other	(318.5*)
Personality Disorders		
-x	Disorders of psychogenic origin or without clearly defined tangible cause of structural change	
000-x40	Personality pattern disturbance	(320.7)
000-x41	Inadequate personality	(320.3)
000-x42	Schizoid personality	(320.0)
000-x43	Cyclothymic personality	(320.2)
000-x44	Paranoid personality	(320.1)
000-x50	Personality trait disturbance	(321.5)
000-x51	Emotionally unstable personality	(321.0)
000-x52	Passive-aggressive personality	(321.1)
000-x53	Compulsive personality	(321.5)
000-x54	Personality trait disturbance, other	(321.5)*

000-x60	Sociopathic personality disturbance	(320.7)*
000-x61	Antisocial reaction	(320.4)
000-x62	Dyssocial reaction	(320.5)
000-x63	Sexual deviation. Specify supplementary term	(320.6)
000-x64	Addiction	
000-x641	Alcoholism	(322.1)
000-x642	Drug addiction	(323)
000-x70	Special symptom reactions	(321.4)*
000-x71	Learning disturbance	(326.0)*
000-x72	Speech disturbance	(326.2)*
000-x73	Enuresis	(321.3)
000-x74	Somnambulism	(321.4)
000-x7y	Other	(321.4)*
Transient Situational Personality Disorders		
000-x80	Transient situational personality disturbance	(326.4)*
000-x81	Gross stress reaction	(326.3)*
000-x82	Adult situational reaction	(326.6)*
000-x83	Adjustment reaction of infancy	(324.0)*
000-x84	Adjustment reaction of childhood	(324.1)*
000-x841	Habit disturbance	(324.1)*
000-x842	Conduct disturbance	(324.1)*
000-x843	Neurotic disturbance	(324.1)*
000-x85	Adjustment reaction of adolescence	(324.2)*
000-x86	Adjustment reaction of late life	(326.5)*

Table 1.6: DSM-I Classification of mental disorders, 1952

Notice that while the major classification here is ‘Psychotic Disorders’, the word “reaction” appears in 41 of the 48 diagnoses. See the overview of Classical Psychoanalysis in section 3.2 on page 82.

The APA published the revised DSM-II in 1968. Its classification is included as an appendix.

The Rise of Psychopharmacology

Because psychoanalysis tended to be confined to clinical, military settings in the US, a kind of stable truce—the more cynical might even say a ‘cold war’—settled over the conflict between behaviorism and psychoanalysis. By and large, psychoanalysis confined itself to the medical setting; while behaviorism confined itself to pure research. There were, no doubt, volleys across the bow of one or the other from time to time. But until Skinner’s wide-ranging proposals for behaviorism as social reformation, there were few open hostilities.

Much of the scientific credibility for psychoanalysis turned on its success in treating psychotic patients. Medical Doctors tend not to worry so much about the putative mechanism of a therapy, so long as that therapy works for the individual patient in question. It isn’t uncommon for a drug to help some small portion of the population and fail with another. Generalizations to universal laws are uncommon in the practice of medicine, and much the of time the cause of a certain medical condition remains unknown, even if we understand how to cure it (consider cancers like

lymphoma, for example). Thus, when psychologists objected that psychoanalysis did not generalize, its mechanisms were untestable, and as a treatment it was highly individualistic, medical practitioners were not overly impressed.

All of that changed starting in 1955 when Wallace Labs began marketing the world's first popular psychotropic for the treatment of anxiety: *Miltown*. The Wallace Lab claimed that *Miltown* controlled anxiety without reducing mental function, allowing patients to return to their normal lives. It was quickly followed by *Trofranil*, an antidepressant, in 1959; *Librium*, an anti-anxiety medication, in 1960; and *Valium* in 1963. In 1969, the neurologist Oliver Sacks administered a new drug L-DOPA to patients who had been comatose for almost 40 years. They woke up. His experiences were immortalized in the book and subsequent movie, *Awakenings*.

These drugs did—in short order—what years of psychoanalysis, hypnosis, electro-shock therapy (the decedent of Beard's treatments) and confinement could not: they allowed patients with crippling anxiety to return to normal or close-to-normal functioning.

Setting the stage for 1971

In 1961, Thomas Langer and Stanley Michael conducted 2-hour interviews with 1,660 individuals chose at random from the streets of New York. This was, in many ways, the first wide-scale study of the psychology of people *not already* seeking treatment for psychological trouble. Their findings are quite simple: socio-economic status and age explain most of an individual's mental health.

The study was revolutionary. As S. H. Kranes of the University of Chicago said “[this study] is a pioneer in obtaining ‘objective’ information. Psychiatry is too promote to the philosophical other than the factual.” (<http://jama.jamanetwork.com/article.aspx?articleid=1161943>)

Since the origin of psychiatry, there has been a distinction made between those disorders that can be directly attributable to a biological dysfunction of the brain and those that cannot. The former were classified as ‘neurological,’ and the latter ‘psychiatric.’ It is this inability to find a biological etiology of the disorder defines the domain of psychiatry.

Two major trends are appearing in psychology and psychiatry:

1. The current psychoanalytic taxonomy of mental states is based on conjectures and assumptions based on a few case studies, and they have not been tested against evidence and observation.
2. Psychiatric disorders must have a physical component, and hence, the line between psychiatry and neurology may be breaking down.

In light of these trends, what will happen to the field of psychiatry?

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THE MATTACHINE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON

COMMITTEE ON PICKETING AND OTHER LAWFUL DEMONSTRATIONS

* * * * *
REGULATIONS FOR PICKETING

* * * * *

PRECEPTS

Picketing is not an occasion for an assertion of personality, individuality, ego, rebellion, generalized non-conformity or anti-conformity. It is an occasion for an organized effort, by a group or a movement, as such, working in a calculated, coordinated fashion, to make its existence, message, and grievances known where they need to be known. Therefore the individual picketer serves, merely, to carry a sign or to increase the size of the demonstration; not he, but his sign should attract notice and attention.

People are much more likely to listen to, to examine, and hopefully, to accept new, controversial, unconventional, unorthodox, or unusual ideas and positions, if these are presented to them from sources bearing the symbols of acceptability, conventionality, and respectability, as arbitrary as those symbols may be. Good order, good appearance, and dignity of bearing are essential.

In order for a demonstration to be most effective, it must be well organized, and well disciplined. Signs must be well planned and carefully coordinated with each other and with the rationale for the demonstration.

The demonstration must have a well-defined purpose. The location of the demonstration must be clearly relevant to the purpose of the demonstration.

RULES

- A. Dress and appearance will be conservative and conventional.
 1. Men will wear suits, white shirts, ties; women will wear dresses.
 2. When outer clothing is required, overcoats, topcoats, raincoats will be worn, not jackets or other more casual, less formal outer wear.
 3. Picketers will be well-groomed; men will have recent haircuts and fresh shaves; the wearing of beards will be discouraged.

B. Signs

1. Legends on all signs must be approved in advance, through whatever coordinating machinery is set up for the purpose.
2. Signs will be neatly and clearly lettered.
3. Marchers will carry the signs assigned to them.

C. Marching

1. The order of the marchers and the signs will be established by those in charge of the demonstration. Signs will always be carried in the designated order.
2. All inquiries will be referred to a previously designated spokesman or spokesman.
3. There will be no exchanges of remarks between picketers and passersby. Conversation and comments among the picketers will be kept to a minimum.
4. Picketers will neither smoke nor take refreshment on the lines.

2 THE GAME

2.1 Major Issues in the Game

All psychological theories hold that human action can be predicted based on previous actions of that human. The way to make those predictions—and the underlying mechanisms posited that explain those actions—separates psychological theories from each other.

When I say ‘mechanism’, I am using a very specific notion in the Philosophy of science. A mechanism is an organization of underlying entities which interact with each other to create the phenomenon of interest. Biologists talk of cell mechanisms, Doctors and Pharmacists of drug actions and mechanisms, Chemists speak of the mechanisms of reactions, etc.

When one looks at the history of psychological theories, it is not hard to see the metaphorical connections between the psychological mechanisms posited at a certain time, and the most complicated machines available to that society. Psychoanalysis, which was dominant in American Psychiatry from 1890 until 1974, posits an underlying unconscious, which ‘boils’ away, providing energy for all observable behavior. When that behavior is correctly directed with the right set of pressures, it moves the organism forward. When it is not, either the pressure goes out sideways, creating negative behaviors, or it builds towards ultimate ‘explosion’ in psychosis. It is, in short, a steam engine.

Behaviorism - mechanism of stimulus and response, metaphor to training animal behavior.

Cognitivism – metaphor of the computer. informational input, behavioral output, executive function, expert systems, algorithmic thinking

The main issue of debate in this game is whether or not psychoanalysis is a viable theory of human action. If it is, mental illnesses out to be classified according to the competing psychoactive mechanisms. If it is not, we need to figure out how mental illness should be classified.

The issue of the demedicalization of homosexuality is merely the tip of the iceberg—it forced psychiatry to address the viability of psychoanalysis and the need for psychological observation of individuals not in already in treatment.

Issue	Partisans	Ses-sion
Homosexuality is / is not a mental disorder		
The ‘medical model’ is / is not a suitable approach to understanding the human mind		
Psychoanalysis is / is not scientific.		
Mental disorders should be classified according to observable symptoms / underlying mechanisms.		
Mental illness / mental disorder are / are not genuine medical conditions. If so, how do we define a mental illness / disorder?		
The mentally ill must / should be treated exclusively by psychiatrists / psychologists / exclusively psychologists		

What ethical limitations are there on psychological / psychiatric research?		
What is the proper role of an intellectual—specifically a social scientist—in a democratic society?		

Table 2.1: Major Issues

2.2 Rules and Procedures

Each week (two or three sessions, depending on your schedule) of game play reenacts one annual conference of the APA in the early 1970s. The five weeks of game play cover the years 1971–1975. In reality, these conferences are huge events. There are presentations on current research, symposia on issues facing the discipline, administrative meetings for various committees, public discussions and votes on proclamations, and publishers promoting their products. In game play, players will present papers, propose research projects, vote on resolutions and grants, and hold committee meetings.

Each conference opens with a presidential address. The position of President is both an honorific and administrative position. The President is often elected based on his or her reputation as a researcher, but he or she also must have keen leadership skills and knowledge of the policies and procedures of the organization's committee structure. Since these two areas of expertise do not always appear in the same person, an individual is not elected directly to the presidency by the membership. Rather, the membership holds an annual election for the vice-president, who is then promoted to president after a year of sitting on the Board of Directors and observing the inner workings of the political system.

The Board of Directors is composed of the President, the Vice president, the former president and two members elected at large each of whom serving three year terms. For classes smaller than 16, the Board of Directors will be limited to the current President, the Vice President and the Former President. The executive secretary, who serves without vote, is responsible for maintaining the minutes of the Board of Directors and taking whatever actions the committee approves during its meetings.

At each year's conference, the following events occur:

1. Presidential Address
2. Board of Directors circulates proposals to be considered by the membership.
3. Symposia on topics proposed by membership, as scheduled by the program committee
4. Open sessions for presenting current research (papers or plenary addresses), as scheduled by the program committee.
5. Board of Directors meets in open session.
 - a) All committees and task forces report
 - b) Old Business (tabled from previous meeting)
 - c) New Business
6. Discussion of any proposals circulated in step (2)
7. Create and administer ballots for proposals.
8. Election for vice president, who assumes that position at the close of that conference
9. Election for member-at-large on the executive committee (if necessary)
10. Executive committee meet in closed session, if necessary.

Game play may take many forms in the classroom. You may be questioning the President about his or her vision for future directions in psychological or psychiatric research, engaging with or participating in a symposium with two or three of your colleagues on a contentious issue of the day, participating in research, evaluating research results, discussing proposals in committee, or even arguing about reports from task forces. The schedule of events will be left to the Program Committee, and it is very important that they distribute the schedule early and widely. See '??' on page ?? for more on the potential forms of conference activities.

Basic Principles

Academic associations like the APA not only provide their members with a forum through which they can socialize, share ideas and test or their most recent work; they also represent their discipline to the public. An association's president is often called upon to act as a spokesperson during times of controversy. The associations often define—sometimes very carefully—the qualifications someone must have to become a member.

During 1970's, the APA is being called upon to represent their membership in both of these ways. It is important, therefore, to ensure that actions of the APA—whether it be the election of a new president or the publication of a statement—represent the will of the membership. The association exists for the membership, not the other way around.

Reputation & Replication

In academic culture, reputation is capital. But unlike other reputation-based cultures, your reputation depends entirely on the quality of data you produce, your creativity and insight in designing research, and your ability to explain the ideas in clear, simple terms.

Disagreements are almost always professional: you can disagree vociferously with an opponent, yet respect his or her abilities as a scientist. On the flipside, those who cross the line between professional and personal disagreements run the risk of ruining both their professional and personal reputations.

At some point in your life—probably 7th grade—you were told that 'The Scientific Method' consists of creating hypotheses, designing experiments to test those hypotheses and then formulating a new hypothesis that can be tested. But most importantly, you were probably told that scientific inquiry is distinguished from non-scientific inquiry insofar as scientific inquiry can be replicated by a stranger.

That may be true, but notice that these claims are almost always made with the modal verb 'can.' The sad truth is that few, if any, attempts at replicating scientific studies ever occur. The academy is not set up to encourage studies that reproduce known results. At educational institutions, tenure requirements force scientists to concentrate on producing novel results. Industries employ scientists to create new drugs, new techniques and new treatments, not to check the results of old ones. And practitioners are usually so swamped with the demands of their clientele that they may not be able to engage in research at all, let alone focus on replicating someone else's research.

All of that means that the academic culture relies heavily on reputation. It is generally assumed that academics are honest and that their results could be replicated, but will not be. Many people just assume that the prestigiousness of one's academic post reflects the reliability of their results—it really is easier to publish a paper if you are from Harvard than if you are from a middle-tier public institution.

Conferences, such as the APA, rely on a system of peer review to ensure that the papers presented represent the best research available. But peer reviewers are often selected in virtue of their reputation for rigorous research and high standards. Members are elected to positions of leadership because of their reputation as psychologists or psychiatrists, not because of their knowledge of the rules of order for a public meeting. As you propose new research and present your findings

at the conferences, remember that what counts is not entertainment value or charming banter, but quality of insight and rigor in data collection.

Credibility Points

At the beginning of each conference (i.e. Week), each member of the APA is given one 'credibility point.' At the end of that conference, they must give it to the speaker who presented the best paper. No player may keep these points for himself or herself. Credibility points, once awarded, can be stockpiled by faction or bartered with other players. In the final vote (see 'Victory Objectives' below), the credibility points can be turned into votes—although the specifics are left to the game master to decide[Need to flesh out.].

The Responsibilities of the President

While the presidency of the APA is largely an honorific position, it does come with some serious responsibilities. It is awarded by election of the membership, according to standards known only to them. Traditionally, it has been given to significant figures in the field at the end of their careers as a kind of 'lifetime achievement' award (for example, Koffka in 1958) and advocates for new and promising avenues of research early in their careers. The first president in this game, George Miller, best exemplifies of the latter.

The President's main responsibilities include presiding over the meetings of the Board of Directors, and opening each conference with a plenary address. These addresses provide the president a huge forum to reflect on recent trends in the discipline and potential future directions.

In reality, all presidential addresses of the American Psychological Association are published in the American Psychologist, which is available at Jstor.org. Potential presidents should consult the journal for examples.

Victory Objectives

The game normally 'ends' with a decisive vote on the definition of 'Mental Illness,' probably in 1975. There are three basic definitions that ought to be advanced:

Advocates	Definition
APA Task Force	A Medical disorder is a relatively distinct condition resulting from an organic dysfunction which in its fully developed or extreme form is directly and intrinsically associated with distress, disability, or certain other types of disadvantage. The disadvantage may be of a physical, perceptual, sexual, or interpersonal nature. Implicitly there is a call for action on the part of the person who has the condition, the medical or its allied professions, and society. A mental disorder is a medical disorder whose manifestations are primarily signs or symptoms of a psychological (behavioral) nature, or if physical, can be understood only using psychological concepts.
Behaviorists	A person can be called 'mentally ill' when he or she exhibits emotional or behavioral functioning which is so impaired as to interfere substantially with his or her capacity to function in society.

Psychoanalytic	A person is mentally ill when he or she suffers from internal conflicts that may be subconscious or unconscious, manifesting behavior that is unwanted or disturbing to the individual or the society.
Szasz	There is no 'thing' called 'mental illness,' only sets of behaviors that may be destructive to an individual and his or her society.

Table 2.2: Major Issues

Factional affiliation and objectives vary from individual to individual.

Credibility Points and Voting[Flesh out]

At the end of each 'conference', each member of the APA must give his or her 'influence point' to the speaker he or she believes presented the best paper. When it comes time for the final Victory Objective vote—on the final definition of mental illness—those influence points can be turned into votes.

Special Rules

If possible, each player must serve on at least one committee at some point during the game.

Writing Tasks

Every player will write and present at least once during the course of the game. Your role sheet should specify the specific tasks you need to complete.

A special note for data-driven writing tasks: don't say 'studies have shown that' or (in the 1st person) 'I have shown that...', show it. That will probably mean that you will have to go to the library, find the original research reports of your character, and familiarize yourself with the basic research design, as well as the relationship between the evidence presented and the thesis that evidence is reported to support. If that sounds like a great deal of effort, it should. Above all, remember that you're not writing a report on this person or position, you are playing the person and defending the position. So don't write about what you (as the character) believe, write as if you believe it.

Proposals

Proposals should be formal. They should be distributed to the membership at least 24 hours before a vote is called. It is usually sufficient to distribute proposals during the first session of a conference year, and hold a vote during the second (or third). Ample time for discussion should be allotted for each proposal.

Formal proposals begin by laying out the reasons for the proposal with a series of 'WHEREAS...' clauses. It should then state the resolution. For example, in 1969, the APA resolved:

WHEREAS in many state legislature, bills have recently been introduced for the purpose of repealing or drastically modifying the existing criminal codes with respect to the termination of unwanted pregnancies;

and *WHEREAS* termination of unwanted pregnancies is clearly a mental health and child welfare issue, and a legitimate concern of APA;

BE IT RESOLVED that termination of pregnancy be considered a civil right of the pregnant woman, to be handled as other medical and surgical procedures in consultation with her physician, and to be considered legal if performed by a licensed physician in a licensed medical facility.

You should follow this format when drafting your proposals. Proposals in the incorrect format cannot be distributed.

Papers and Symposia

Academic conferences are opportunities to disseminate information you have gathered for your views. The method of presenting those ideas or that data, however, can vary a great deal. The APA currently supports two kinds of presentations: Individual Reports and Symposia. The Program Committee (see below) is encouraged to experiment with new kinds of presentations, including posters, round tables, workshops, and even exhibits, if they choose. Individual Reports are talks given by a single researcher or group of researchers. Symposia are ‘panel’ presentations, where a group of presentations are offered on a theme or a specific problem.

The Program Committee reviews all proposals for both individual reports and symposia. The guidelines for proposing a report are included in the official ‘Call for Papers and Symposia’, which follows on page 12.

Research Grants

Research grants are 1–2 page proposals specifying a research project you’d like to carry out. These are submitted to the Research committee (see p. 7) and follow the form specified in the ‘Call for Research Grants’, which follows on page 17. If you win a research grant, you will be expected to present your findings at the next annual conference.

Reading aloud

Presentations at academic conferences are evaluated by peers primarily on the basis of the content presented, not the style of presentation. While it is important to practice good public speaking skills—making eye contact with the audience, modulating one’s voice, etc.—getting the data right is more important than being entertaining. For that reason, this game will allow ‘reading’ of some experimental reports. Experimental reports highlight the data presented, and carefully articulate the structure of the experiment performed. It is also advisable to bring handouts for the membership when presenting data.

Presidential addresses, however, should be carefully crafted general lectures. These should appeal to the membership of the APA, which includes many individuals from a variety of backgrounds. They should also be understandable by the general public, as the President is often seen as a spokesperson and advocate for the discipline.

Symposia and presentations to the committees, however, must be delivered without a transcript. Cue cards or notes are allowed, but in these cases, the speaker must strive to make a personal connection with the audience, and hence, must not simply read a prepared speech.

Definitions used by the APA

The following are quoted from current websites of the American Psychological Association and the American Psychiatric Association.

Definition of "psychologist"

APA policy on the use of the title "psychologist" is contained in the General Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services, which define the term "Professional Psychologist" as follows:

Psychologists have a doctoral degree in psychology from an organized, sequential program in a regionally accredited university or professional school.

The APA is not responsible for the specific title or wording of any particular position opening, but it is general pattern to refer to master's-level positions as counselors, specialists, clinicians, and so forth (rather than as "psychologists"). In addition, it is general practice to refer to APA accredited programs as "APA-accredited" rather than "APA approved." The position as described must be in conformity with the statute regulating the use of the title psychologist and the practice of psychology in the state in which the job is available.

Definition of "psychology"

Psychology is the study of the mind and behavior. The discipline embraces all aspects of the human experience — from the functions of the brain to the actions of nations, from child development to care for the aged. In every conceivable setting from scientific research centers to mental health care services, "the understanding of behavior" is the enterprise of psychologists.

Definition of "psychiatrist"

A psychiatrist is a physician who specializes in the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of mental illnesses and substance use disorders. It takes many years of education and training to become a psychiatrist: He or she must graduate from college and then medical school, and go on to complete four years of residency training in the field of psychiatry. (Many psychiatrists undergo additional training so that they can further specialize in such areas as child and adolescent psychiatry, geriatric psychiatry, forensic psychiatry, psychopharmacology, and/or psychoanalysis.) This extensive medical training enables the psychiatrist to understand the body's functions and the complex relationship between emotional illness and other medical illnesses. The psychiatrist is thus the mental health professional and physician best qualified to distinguish between physical and psychological causes of both mental and physical distress.

Call for Papers and Symposia

Introduction

I. The Program committee herein announces a Call of Papers and Symposia for the annual convention of the APA. Please read the relevant rules carefully if you plan to take part in the program. Note especially the deadlines, the form for abstracts of contributed papers, the forms for symposium proposals, and the proper persons to receive your correspondence. The pertinent references have been collected into the box on this page for your convenience.¹

This year will begin with a plenary address by the President. Current plans allow for 2 individual reports and 1 symposium. The Board of Directors will meet in open session to hear proposals from the membership.

Kinds of Programs and Sessions

The meetings regularly contain many kinds of programs and sessions, including research papers, symposia, group discussions, addresses, business meetings, and film sessions, as well as other events, such as reunions, dinners, social hours and the like. In general, requests for information should be submitted to the Program Committee.

The APA Program Committee has full responsibility for the conference program. Persons planning to submit proposals that fall outside the lines outlined herein should consult with the chairman of the APA Program Committee for special instructions.

The chairman of the APA Program Committee should also receive all requests for scheduling of nonsubstantive program activities such as reunions, dinners, social hours, headquarters space, luncheons, and the like. To insure publication in the program all requests must be received by the close of business on the Friday before a conference.

Who may participate

Volunteered Papers Any member of the APA may read a paper, provided that it has been accepted by the program committee.

A nonmember of the APA may read a paper provided that he is sponsored by a member of the APA and provided that his qualifications and the quality of his paper are acceptable to the program committee. The APA member who agrees to sponsor a nonmember must submit the abstract of the nonmember's paper to the chairman of the program committee with an accompanying description of the nonmember's scientific qualifications plus the names of recognized scientific societies in which the nonmember holds membership.

Symposia and invited addresses The program committee may invite distinguished nonmembers to contribute to the program as special speakers or as participants in symposia. Because symposia often involve topics extending beyond the competence of APA members, it is frequently desirable to include nonmembers as participants. Acceptance of a distinguished speaker or of a symposium proposal by the Program Committee constitutes the require sponsorship of nonmember participants.

¹This entire section is adapted from the "Call for Papers and Symposia" from the 1957 American Psychologist.

Limits of Individual Participation

Over the past several years the APA's Board of Directors working with the program committee has developed several ground rules for the limits of individual participation in the annual convention program. These rules were designed to ensure the widest possible participation by APA members and also to prevent troublesome conflicts in the time schedule. Briefly, the rules have been that each member may present no more than one volunteered paper and that each member may, in addition, participate in no more than one additional session such as a symposium, discussion group, and the like. It is still strongly recommended that maximum participation be limited to one symposium or discussion group plus one paper.

Individual Reports

Unless otherwise indicated, four ten-minute papers will be scheduled for each 50-minute session. In instances of multiple authorship the person whose name is listed first will be expected to present the paper.

A paper previously read at the Annual APA Convention may not be read again, unless it is a substantial elaboration (additional findings, etc.). Two papers which report highly similar findings from a cooperative project may not be read at the convention.

The APA Board of Directors have voted that, for reasons of economy, this rule should be followed: Abstracts printed in the American Psychologist are limited to 100 words. However, it is recognized that more detailed information will be needed by the Program Committee for use in the selection of papers. The procedures for research reports and other individual reports are described below.

Research Reports *Each author of a research report must submit a 100-word abstract (1 copy) for publication if the paper is accepted, and also a 300-word summary (4 copies) for committee publication.* If the author desires, tables presenting results may be submitted with the 300-word summary. Not more than one page of tables should be submitted. This means that all the data should have been obtained and the analysis completed at the time the abstract and summary are submitted to the Program Committee.

Other individual reports Theoretical papers, case studies, and the like are perfectly acceptable for the program. *The 100-word abstract of a non-experimental paper must, however, be accompanied by a manuscript of the complete paper in draft form.* The complete manuscript is required in order that the Program Committee may be in a better position to judge the contribution to the program.

Form of abstracts and summaries All abstracts and summaries must be typed on one side of the paper only, double-spaced throughout and on 8 1/2" X 11" paper.²

The 100-word abstract The purpose of the published abstract is to provide information concerning the psychological relevance of the paper. .. primarily to justify its scientific validity. Hence abstracts should be concerned with content ... rather than with method and technique unless the

²The game master may elect to allow submissions via email.

purpose of the paper is essentially methodological). Examples of good short abstracts from many different fields may be found in *Psychological Abstracts*.

Abstracts must be limited in length to 100 words (not counting title, author and institution). Longer abstracts will not be printed but will be listed by title only. Abstracts should not contain tables, drawings, footnotes, or bibliographic entries, as such material will not be printed.

The following outline should be followed in preparing the abstract:

Title of Paper: Author(s): Sponsor (if any): Institution(s): *Text of abstract* (not to exceed 100 words)

Because the 100-word abstract will be sent to the printer, do not underline or type anything with all capital letters. The type written abstract should be checked and proofread carefully, since it will be printed in the form in which it is submitted. Authors are urged to give careful thought to the visual aides that will best facilitate presentations of their data. If slides are used, members are urged to consider presenting graphic and tabular material on paper. As a new procedure, authors of accepted papers will be asked to indicate their preference for audio-visual support.

The 300-word summary The text of the summary will normally include a statement of the problem, subjects used, procedure, results and conclusions.

Summaries must be limited in length to 300 words (not counting title, author, and institution). The 300-word summary may be accompanied by not more than one page of supplementary tables, drawings, footnotes, etc.

The form for submitting the 300-word summary should be exactly the same as for the 100-word abstract except, of course, for the longer text.

Four copies of the 300-word summary and the supplementary tables, etc. are required. *Author, sponsor, and institution should appear on the first copy only.* The first copy is the one that will be used by the Program Committee Chair in the creation of the Conference Proceedings. The other three copies without identifying data will be used by the Program Committee for judging the acceptability of the paper.

Where to send abstracts and summaries Copies of the abstract and summary of a volunteered paper should be sent to the chair of the Program Committee.

Symposia

A symposium provides for several prepared papers on a single theme or problem. It is an excellent form of meeting if the aim is to bring to an audience several diverse or even contradictory views, presented by a number of "experts." The expectation would be that all papers would first be read; then there would be a substantial period for interchanging of views among the speakers (and invited discussants, if desired); finally, a brief period for questions or points raised from the floor. It is important to plan the time so that there is real interaction among participants after the papers. In order to realize the unique value of the symposium the chairman should select speakers at an early date, arrange for the participants to exchange papers all in advance of the session, and ensure that ample time is allotted for discussion among the participants and contributors from the audience.

Initiation of symposia Any member of the APA may suggest a symposium topic to the chairman of the Program Committee. Such proposals must be made at an early date as a successful symposium requires much planning and correspondence. A member may also submit a fully organized symposium for the Program Committee's consideration.

Form of symposium proposals

Suggestions to the Program Committee When a member only suggests but does not organize a symposium, he should indicate the title of the topic for discussion, comment on the significance of the topic, and list the names and addresses of the proposed chairman and other participants. Such suggestions should be sent to the appropriate divisional program chairman well in advance of the deadline to allow for ample time for planning.

Member-Organized symposia A member may organize a proposed symposium in complete detail and present it for approval to the Program Committee. Each such proposal should indicate the title of the symposium and list the names of the chairman and participants, together with the titles of participants' contributions, if these titles are to be published. *Five copies of the completed symposium plans must be submitted to the Program Committee by the deadline.*

Symposia organized by the Program Committee Symposia may be organized independently by the Program Committee or in response to the requests of members.

Special Programs

The Program Committee should feel free to try new kinds of programs. Forums, discussion groups, panels, round tables, conferences, and workshops are often valuable alternatives to papers and symposia. Members are invited to send suggestions for new types of programs to the Program Committee. Special sessions should be suggested well in advance of the deadline to allow for ample time for planning. Procedures for initiating special programs should follow in general the procedures for initiating symposia.

Miscellaneous Meetings and Special Sessions

APA boards, committees, etc. desiring business meetings must send to the Chairman of the APA Program Committee by the deadline a statement of estimated attendance, time required, time and day preferred and whether arrangements for luncheon and dinner are desired.

Luncheons, dinners and social hours may be scheduled for non-APA organizations if they send their request to the chairman of the APA Program Committee by the deadline. Such scheduled events will be listed in the condensed program.

Audio-Visual Presentations

APA members, commercial film producers or distributors who wish to present new films, film strips, or other audio-visual aids (including sound recordings) should make the Program Committee aware of this fact at the deadline. The committee will review and select the audio-visual materials which are to be presented as part of the APA program.

Exhibits

APA members are encouraged to exhibit apparatus, teaching aids, and other materials of scientific and applied interest. Commercial agencies are invited to request arrangements for exhibits. All commercial exhibitors will be charged for space. Those wishing to arrange for exhibits must write to the chairman of the Program Committee.

Call for Research Grants

Introduction

The Research Committee of the APA herein solicits proposals for research that will forward the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry. Note especially the deadlines, the form for abstracts of contributed papers, the forms for symposium proposals, and the proper persons to receive your correspondence. The pertinent references have been collected into the box on this page for your convenience.

Winners will be granted the support of the other members of the class for a period of one class session. The primary investigator must specify in the research proposal how the other students will participate: as subjects, participants, observers or confederates.³

Winning grants will be determined by the Research Committee, in accordance with the criteria specified herein. All proposals must be in line with the APA's ethical guidelines which are in force at the time of submission.

Research Supported

The APA seeks to advance the creation, communication and application of knowledge of the mind and behavior to benefit society and improve people's lives. The APA embraces scientific inquiry into all aspects of the human experience — from the functions of the brain to the actions of nations, from child development to care for the aged. And in every conceivable setting from scientific research centers to mental health care services, "the understanding of behavior" is the enterprise of psychologists.

Additionally, the APA aspires to advance the understanding of psychology and psychiatry as scientific disciplines. To that end, it will support any research that follows the standards of scientific inquiry and contributes to the central goals of the association.

It is imperative that all research supported by the APA must be in accordance with the ethical guidelines published by the APA.

Who May Submit Proposals

Members of the APA Any member of the APA may submit a proposal for a research grant. APA membership is limited to those meeting the definition of 'Psychologist' or 'Psychiatrist' used by the APA (see p. 10 of the gamebook).

³This section adapts language from the mission statements of the contemporary APA (<http://www.apa.org/about/>)

Nonmembers of the APA As the APA Research committee seeks to further the disciplines of Psychology and Psychiatry wherever they are practiced, the primary investigator of a grant need not be a member of the APA. The primary investigator, however, must be a Psychologist or Psychiatrist as defined by the APA (see p. 10 of the gamebook).

Confederates, Observers and Assistants Individuals working in psychological research should be engaged in some significant way with the academic pursuit of knowledge. Confederates, observers and assistants in research must therefore be students of psychology or psychiatry, if not psychologists or psychiatrists in their own right.

Limitations of Participation

A primary investigator may submit one (1) proposal annually. An individual may serve as a consultant, confederate, observer or assistant on any number of grant proposals in addition to proposing himself as a primary investigator.

Form of the Proposal

Introduction Limited to 100 words, the introduction should specify the phenomenon you wish to examine and why. Briefly describe the phenomenon in general, and discuss how it relates to the study of the human mind and behavior.

Background /Review Briefly describe the history of research into this phenomenon, and why that history is insufficient. Summarize what is already known about the phenomenon, including the background information you gleaned during your literature review.

Rationale Describe the questions you are examining and explore any possible implications of your study. This includes listing the specific questions you are addressing, explaining how your research is related to the larger issues raised in the introduction. Specifically describe the claims, models or hypotheses you will evaluate with your research. Explain how your research will contribute to our understanding of the mind.

Method and Design Describe how you will go about collecting data and testing the questions you wish to examine. While novel methods are encouraged, the primary investigator must be able to specify the scientific validity of any methods proposed.

Method: How will you collect the data?

Describe the general methodology you choose for your study, i.e. observational, experimental, etc. * Explain why this method is the best method for this question. * Specify who will participate in your study, and why. * Describe the sample you would test and explain why you have chosen this sample. Include age, and language background and socio-economic information, if relevant to the design. *Are there any participants you would exclude? Why, why not?

Design * Describe what kinds of manipulations/variations you would make or test for in order to test your hypothesis(es). * Describe the factors you would vary if you were presenting a person with stimulus sentences. * Explain how varying these factors would allow you to confirm or disconfirm your hypotheses. * Explain what significant differences you would need to find to confirm

or disconfirm your hypothesis(es). In particular, how could your hypothesis(es) be disconfirmed by your data? * Controls: What kinds of factors would you need to control for in your study? * Describe what types of effects would be likely to occur which would make your results appear to confirm, or to disconfirm your hypothesis(es). * Describe how you can by your design rule out or control for apparent effects.

Procedure * How are you going to present the stimuli? * What is the participant in the experiment going to do?

Analysis * How will you analyze the results? * What kind of results would confirm your hypothesis? * What kind of results would disconfirm your hypothesis

Significance and Contribution

References

Where to send your proposal Three copies of the proposal should be sent to the chairman of the Research committee.

Reports

Research findings should be submitted to the conference committee for the annual national conference following the awarding of the grant. The primary investigator should follow the guidelines found under ' Research Reports' (see item 13 in the 'Error! Reference source not found.Error! Reference source not found.') in drafting his research report. Winning a grant in no way guarantees inclusion in the following year's conference program.

Role of the gamemaster

The gamemaster's central responsibility will be to ensure that the conferences run smoothly. The gamemaster must therefore maintain a robust relationship with the program committee. In a small class, the gamemaster may prefer to the responsibilities of the program committee for himself or herself.

- Act as secretary to the Board of Directors if there is no preceptor available.
- Remind /cajole the program committee to prepare the schedule at least 48 hours in advance of each class.
- Maintain the election cycle (see the table in the instructor's manual)
- Distribute research reports were appropriate.

2.3 Basic outline of the game

Outline of Game Sessions

Year	Location	Class	Activities

1971	Washington DC	A	Presidential Address George Miller Symposium: "Psychiatry: Friend or Foe to Homosexuals: A Dialogue," (Dr H. Anonymous, E. Hooker) T. Szasz "The Myth of Mental Illness" Presentation of 'mental rotation' task: gamemaster Marmor "Limitations of Free Association"
		B	Proposal from J Marmor Proposal from C. Socarides. Petition from G. Albee. Research report from G. Miller on 'mental rotation' task
1972	Dallas	A	Presidential Address Albert Bandura Symposium on Medical Model (G. Albee, T. Szasz) Report from taskforces
		B	R. Spitzer 'The Fieger Criteria' P. Gebhard on the Kinsey reports H. Harlow 'Lust, latency and love' Research Report
1973	Honolulu	A	Presidential Address Paper(s)
		B	Reports from taskforces Symposium Proposal to create "Spitzer Taskforce" [other proposals]
1974	Philadelphia	A	Research Report Presidential Address Symposium Paper(s)
		B	Open hearings on proposed definition of 'mental illness' [other proposals] Research Report
1975	Chicago	A	Presidential Address Open vote of the membership on definition of mental illness. Paper(s)
		B	Symposium: [other proposals] Research Report

Table 2.3: Outline of game sessions

Committee structure

The APA is overseen by a Board of Directors, which is responsible for maintaining the organization, and approving all official public proclamations and publications of the organization. The president, who opens the conference with his or her presidential address, also serves as chair of the Board of Directors during that conference. The secretary of the Board of Directors is respon-

sible for maintaining the minutes for that meeting and implementing whatever policy decisions are required.

Responsibilities of the Board of Directors:

- Issue public proclamations.
- Maintain official publications, such as the DSM
- Create ad-hoc committees and task forces, as necessary.
- Oversee and receive reports from the standing committees.

The membership of the Board of Directors is:

Position	Term
President	Chair of the Board of Directors, serving a 1-year term
Vice-president – elected annually	Serves a 1-year term as Vice-president, automatically promoted to President for the next year at the close of that year's annual conference
Former President	Serves a 1-year term after their service as the chair of the Board of Directors.
Executive secretary (preceptor), without vote.	
Committee member elected at large	Serving 3-year term. ⁴
Committee member elected at large	Serving 3-year term. ⁵

Table 2.4: Board of Directors Membership

The membership of the Board of Directors for the course of gameplay is thus: (see Table 1: Outline of game sessions for when these elections take place).

Year	Former President	President	President-Elect	Member at large 1	Member at large 2
1971	Harlow	Miller	Bandura	Milgram	Albee
1972	Miller	Bandura	Elected 1971	Elected 1971	-
1973	Bandura	1971	Elected 1972	-	Elected 1972
1974	1971	1972	Elected 1973	-	-
1975	1972	1973	Elected 1974	Elected 1974	-

Table 2.5: Terms for Board of Directors members

⁴Only for classes larger than 16

⁵Only for classes larger than 16

The Board of Directors is one of a handful of standing committees of the APA. Standing committees are permanent institutions, whose membership is elected by the membership at large. Ad hoc (literally 'after the fact') committees or 'task forces' are created by simple majority vote of the Board of Directors and are tasked with generating a report on a specific problem or area of research. Usually, these are formed when the Board of Directors believes it has inadequate information on a specific subject. For the purposes of this game, ad hoc committees will conduct literature reviews on behalf of the Board of Directors and report to the membership. Ad hoc committees disband after the report is accepted by the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors has the power to create ad hoc committees or task forces as it sees fit. The membership of those committees may be specified directly by the Board of Directors at the time of creation, left to the chair of the newly created committee to decide, or even determined by popular vote of the membership. That decision is left to the Board of Directors.

Unlike the creation of ad hoc committees or task forces, the creation of new permanent standing committees require a majority vote of the APA membership, not just the Board of Directors. A full proposal for such a committee, specifying its membership structure, voting procedures, rights and responsibilities should be distributed to the membership at least 48 hours before the vote. Dissolving a standing committee requires a majority vote of the membership.

The Board of Directors represents the membership, it does not act in opposition. It is incredibly important, then, that the Board seeks approval from the membership as a whole at every turn. The Board is a capable of assigning duties to various subcommittees on its own, but all matters of policy should be turned over to the membership for an up or down vote.

Standing Committees

In addition to the Board of Directors, there are currently three standing committees of the APA. All standing committees report directly to the Board of Directors annually. All standing committees have the right to request an open session at the general conference for whatever they wish. If they want to initiate a vote by membership, however, they must file a request with the Board of Directors. If the Board of Directors approves the request, the standing committee can administer a vote.⁶

Research Committee The research committee is charged with distributing grants to fund research as well as enforcing the APA's Ethical Standards in the practice of Psychology and Psychiatry (see Appendix 7). The Research committee should solicit proposals in the form of a 'Call for Research Grants' that specifies both the deadline for submissions, as well as the time frame for reviewing submissions. The Research Committee should revise the enclosed 'Call for Research Grants' on p. 17 to suit their needs.

In the context of the game, winning a grant entitles the bearer to access the student body for a period of one class session, during which time he or she can perform his or her approved research project. After that period, the grantee will be expected to present his or her findings to the membership as a conference paper /report.

⁶The gamemaster may choose, depending on the size of the class, to combine these committees, or assign these responsibilities to the Board of Directors.

The Research committee should take great care in considering the scientific value of each proposal. The APA does not want to be seen supporting poor or biased research! As such, members of the Research committee are strongly advised to carefully consult the '3.4' on p. 101. as well as the '3.4., on p. 101. of the gamebook.

The Research committee is also charged with hearing and ultimately ruling on charges of ethical transgression. It alone has the power to censure a member of the APA. And because these powers apply equally to all members, including those sitting on the Board of Directors, this power can be exercised without approval by the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors should hold an election each year for a new member of the Research committee.

Members of the Research committee in 1971:

- L. Tyler (expiring 1972)
- K. Clark (expiring 1973)
- J. Marmor (expiring 1974)

Nomenclature Committee The Nomenclature committee is charged with maintaining the official terminology of psychology and psychiatry. This is embodied by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, which is the definitive source for definitions and classifications of mental disorders. It determines who can be diagnosed with what, what treatments are considered responsible and what disorders will be covered by medical insurance. If a condition does not appear in the DSM, psychiatrists cannot treat patients with that condition. Given the increasing importance of health insurance in the 1970s, it is vital to have a standardized diagnostic system to support billable treatments.

Members of the nomenclature committee serve for six years.

Members of the nomenclature committee are strongly advised to carefully consult the '1.2,' starting on p. 35. of the gamebook.

Members of the nomenclature committee in 1971:

- G. Albee (expiring 1972)
- J. Spiegel (expiring 1974)
- R. Spitzer (expiring 1976)

Program Committee The Program Committee is charged with scheduling the conferences. The committee must remember that each conference opens with a public address from the sitting president, and each standing committee has the right to a session at each conference. Not all the standing committees will make use of that time, but each should be approached before the schedule is drawn up.

Proposals for symposia and presentations should be solicited from the general population. The committee meets in closed session (i.e. after class) to determine the conference schedule after reviewing all of the materials submitted. It is vitally important that the symposia and papers accepted represent the highest standard for academic work. They should be judged by that standard alone, not with respect to theoretical commitment or viewpoint. The conference schedule should be made available to the membership at least 48 hours before the conference begins (i.e. by Friday evening before a new conference).

The Program Committee is composed of three members, each of which serve three year terms. Hence, the Board of Directors must hold an election for a new member every year.

The schedule for the conference is set by the 'Program Committee', but there are a number of business events that must take place each year. These are outlined in Table 4.

Program committee in 1971:

- E. Hooker (expiring 1972)
- A. Anastasi (expiring 1973)
- P. Gebhard (expiring 1974)

Generic Schedule This is a basic schedule for a meeting of the APA. You should change it or rearrange it depending on need.

1. Presidential Address
2. Board of Directors circulates proposals to be considered by the membership.
3. Symposia on topics proposed by membership, as scheduled by the program committee
4. Open sessions for presenting current research (papers or plenary addresses), as scheduled by the program committee.
5. Board of Directors meets in open session.
 - a) All committees and task forces report
 - b) Old Business (tabled from previous meeting)
 - c) New Business
 - i. Discussion of any proposals circulated in step (2)
 - ii. Create and administer ballots for proposals.
 - iii. Election for vice president, who assumes that position at the close of that conference
 - iv. Election for member-at-large on the executive committee (if necessary)
 - v. Executive committee meet in closed session, if necessary.

Table 4: Events that occur at every APA conference – in suggested order

Elections

The following shows elections that must be held each year, and the character vacating that position in parentheses. Characters serve through to the end of the conference in the year indicated. The VP immediately becomes the president: so while Bandura vacates the position of VP at the end of the conference in 1971, he becomes President at that moment. The election in 1971 is for the VP of 1972, who will be President in 1973.

Year	VP	Board at large	Research (replacing)	Nomen- clature (replacing)	Program (replacing)
1971	1972: (Ban- dura)	A (Milgram)			
1972	1973	B (Albee)	(Tyler) (Clark)	(Albee)	(Hooker)
1973	1974				(Anastasi)
1974	1975	A	(Marmor)	(Spiegel)	(Gebhard)
1975	1976	B	(elected 1972)		(elected 1972)

Table 2.6: Elections to be held each year

3 ROLES AND FACTIONS

3.1 Main Factions

3.2 Main Factions

Players represent three factions with different perspectives on not only the nature of scientific inquiry into the human mind, but the object of those studies themselves. A number of independents, representing a variety of academic disciplines, complement these three factions.

It should be noted that unlike some other reacting games, individuals in these factions are not bound to think or vote the same way on the central issues in the game. The factions represent high-level agreement on the nature of the science of the mind, there is almost complete disagreement on all other issues. In fact, when it comes to actual game play, you might find that your votes are more aligned with members of other factions than your own.

Psychoanalysts

Psychoanalysts are split in the classical (Freudian), Jungian and unspecified. The game contains a number of independent psychiatrists who, while they are familiar with psychoanalysis, are not professed members of the faction.

Classical

Classical psychoanalysis can be summarized by five basic hypotheses:

1. First, psychoanalysts hold that the mind is composed of entities in conflict, also known as the hypothesis of intrapsychic conflict or dynamic hypothesis. In classic Freudianism, the hypothesis followed "the discovery of the unconscious" by Breuer and Freud in 1895 (see Error! Reference source not found. on page Error! Bookmark not defined.). Traumatic event or fantasies can leave a subject with memories that are unacceptable to the conscious awareness. The conscious awareness defends itself by suppressing the traumatic event in the unconscious by means of repression (see, e.g. Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, p. 82, 94 also p. 438). This hypothesis is sometimes called the psychodynamic hypothesis.
2. Second, psychoanalysis posits that there is a finite amount of psychic energy available to any given individual. This forms the Economic hypothesis of classical psychoanalysis (See Freud, Introductory Lectures, p. 26 and 436–7 for the thesis that psychic energy is sexual; p. 340, 442–3 and 466 for an explicit statement. It also appears in On the Interpretation of Dreams, Ch7). The activities of the mind are "costly," and hence the mind will optimize its function for the most efficient option.
3. The topographical hypothesis is Freud's most well known: the mind composed of three basic kinds of thoughts: conscious thoughts, pre-conscious thoughts and unconscious thoughts. The term 'thoughts' here is used broadly, to include wishes, desires, fears, emotions, etc. Conscious thoughts are those of which we are aware. Pre-conscious thoughts, are not currently conscious, but are readily available to consciousness. The memory of your last

birthday, for example, is probably pre-conscious, not unconscious. Unconscious thoughts, which far outnumber the other two categories, are unavailable to consciousness. All these thoughts, however, originate in experience: there is nothing in the unconscious store that is not linked in some way to that individual's past experiences. (see, e.g. Introductory lectures, p. 25)

4. Fourth, the genetic hypothesis claims that human behavior is best explained in terms of the original conditions that cause it. In Freud's theory, the genetic hypothesis takes the form of his theory of infantile sexuality.

For Freud, all behavior ultimately originates in sexual desire. To summarize briefly: Freud hypothesized that sexual drive, the main source of psychic energy, is present from birth. He is explicit in using the term 'sexual' here, but it is sometimes easier to understand if we use a softer term like 'using one's body for pleasure.' Freud repeatedly argues for infantile sexuality by pointing out the noncontroversial pleasure children take in tickling or cuddling, but we wouldn't necessarily call these 'sexual' today. Freud, somewhat to his determinate, insisted on the term 'sexual' even despite these kind of objections.

This drive towards physical gratification takes various forms throughout our lives, moving through the oral phase to the anal phase to the phallic stage. If the internal drives are left unfulfilled, or the internal conflicts unresolved (which is really two ways of saying the same thing), neurotic behavior results.¹

1. Psychoanalysts differ with respect to the entities that comprise the mind, but most recognize Freud's basic structural hypothesis: the mind is functionally divided between the id, the ego and the superego (see Introductory Lectures, p. 365).² The id, which is totally unconscious, contains the representations of sexual and aggressive instinctual drives. The ego regulates and controls the desires of the id in relation to the demands of the external world, which are internalized as the superego. The ego follows the economic hypothesis, in seeking to maximize gratification of the instinctual desires while minimizing the amount of psychic energy spent in that process. It achieves this end through the use of various mechanisms of representation and repression (sometimes called 'defense mechanisms'):³
2. Repression: The first mechanism proposed by Freud (Breuer and Freud), the ego banishes or precludes an idea or feeling from conscious awareness.
3. Isolation: Ideas are split off from their associated feelings (affect) and presented as alien or foreign in origin.

¹'Neurotic' behavior results from continuing conflict between the libidinal desires and the ego's repression techniques. 'Psychotic' behaviors result when the libidinal desires assert their reality on the ego. See the discussion of 'neurosis' and 'psychosis' in the History of the Classification of Mental Illness section below.

²The Introductory Lectures were published before Freud solidified the structural hypothesis using this terminology. The beginnings of the idea, however, is present in the later chapters on neurosis: see, e.g. p. 437–438, where he describes the conflict between the 'libido' and the 'ego'.

³The Introductory Lectures mention only repression, subdivided into 'condensation' and 'displacement' as mechanisms of the ego, but promises further work on the topic (p. 364–366). He began to develop a taxonomy of ego mechanisms later in his life, but the full-fledged taxonomy we see here was developed by his daughter Anna Freud (1936). *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*. C. Baines (trans). Connecticut: International University Press.

4. Reaction formation: replacing the unacceptable desire with its symbolic opposite.
5. Displacement: unacceptable wishes are removed from their original objects and moved to an acceptable, or at least not-unacceptable one.
6. Projection: an unacceptable idea or desire is attributed to someone else.
7. Undoing: painful or unacceptable ideas are minimized by overdoing some opposite action in some opposite arena.
8. Turning against the self: the original object of an unpleasant desire (usually hate) is replaced with the self.
9. Denial: the individual remains unaware of certain aspects of reality that would be painful to recognize.
10. Rationalization: the individual convinces himself or herself that their behavior has a logical, reasonable, or at least neutral, explanation in order to avoid the unacceptable cause.
11. Identification: usually found during development, a child becomes like another person (usually a parent) in order to deal with separation or loss of a love-object.

These conflicts can be discovered by studying the mechanisms of representation that are used to obfuscate and repress traumatic experiences and latent desires. The mechanisms of representation take the object represented (the 'latent content') and replace it with a representation (the 'manifest content'). The relationship between these two can be one of:

- part to whole: the latent content is fragmented and represented in isolation. (Introductory Lectures, p. 147)
- allusion: the latent content is represented by, in Freud's words "a caption, as it were, or an abbreviation in telegraphic style." (Introductory Lectures, p. 148)
- plastic portrayal: the latent content is replaced with a plastic, concrete portrayal of it, taking its cue from the superficial aspects of the latent content. For example, the editor of a 'Survey' may be represented in a dream as a 'surveyor'. (Introductory Lectures, p.149)
- symbolism: symbols are stable translations of one object into another. The relation between the object symbolized (the latent content) and the object that does the symbolization (the manifest content) is stable in an individual, but may not be stable between individuals. But it is always true that the latent content and manifest content share something in common. It is the task of the psychoanalysts, through the techniques of free association and manipulating transference reactions, to discover the common factors between the latent and manifest content, and hence reveal the symbolic relationships.⁴ (Introductory Lectures, p. 185) (see Introductory lectures on psychoanalysis, Lecture VII-X)

⁴In many works, including *Psychopathology in Everyday Life*, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* and *On the Interpretation of Dream*, Freud provides the following outline of the kinds of commonality that underly symbolism: that of number (i.e. '3' and male genitalia), shape (i.e. long, straight objects such as sticks, umbrellas, posts, trees represent the male organ /hollowness or enclosing space such as vessels, bottles, boxes, trunks and ships symbolize female genitals; apples, peaches and fruit symbolize breasts), function (i.e. penetrating the body: knives, daggers, spears, sabers, firearms,

By revealing these relationships to the subject of psychoanalysis, the ego becomes aware of latent trauma and hence can deal with it in healthy ways, removing the conflict and obviating the neurosis.

Interpsychic conflict is a part of the normal maturation of a healthy adult mind. Neurosis and Psychosis occur, therefore, when this development goes wrong in some important way. Development can go awry through inhibition or regression (see Introductory Lectures, Ch 22–23). In ‘inhibition’, portions of function of the ego are held back from development, often because it becomes fixated on a particular libidinal instinct. In ‘regression’ an ego that has progressed further than a given developmental stage returns to that stage was a kind of defense mechanism.

The terms ‘neurosis’ and ‘psychoneurosis’:

“refer to a class of psychiatric illnesses characterized by prominent symptoms that have no significant somatic origin. The symptoms include disturbances of feelings (anxiety, depression, guilt), disturbances of thought (obsessions), and disturbances of behavior (compulsions and phobic inhibitions), all of which are experienced as alien to the comfort and well-being of the individual” (American Handbook of Psychiatry, p. 737–738)

Neurosis, then, is explained when the conflict between the desires of the id and the defense mechanisms of the ego go awry: (1) the ego’s defense mechanism leaves the drive unfulfilled, (2) the defense mechanism imposes a disguised or symbolic form onto the original drive in order to hide it from the consciousness, and (3) the superego imposes some suffering as punishment for the self-denial, such a guilt.

Psychosis occurs when the id constructs its own reality and imposes it on the ego. The subject can no longer function in normal life—he or she may be beset by hallucinations, persistent delusions, wild mood swings, visual and auditory agnosia, amnesia, etc. It is worth noting that unlike neuroses, psychoses may be the result of organic brain syndromes or other physical conditions.⁵ Psychoses not associated with physical conditions include schizophrenia, affective disorders and other reactions.⁶

As the id is the source of psychic energy, unacceptable drives using one of the mechanisms above will not remain repressed forever. As unacceptable drives gain in strength and threaten to reveal themselves, a number of reactions are possible (see Introductory Lectures, Ch. 19):

- Anxiety reaction: a chronic, free-floating anxiety which may have periods of acute anxiety. Typified by feelings of helplessness; although symptoms include phobias, obsessions,

rifles, pistols etc.; producing liquids, such as water-taps, water-cans, etc.; and being capable of lengthening or shortening, such as pencils, hanging-lamps, etc.; defying gravity (i.e. balloons, flying machines and zeppelins also represent the male organ). More complicated representations depend on personal associations with or reactions to objects: the complicated nature of landscapes mean they represent female bodies, sweets represent sexual satisfaction. Activities such as playing games, playing piano, sliding, gliding or pulling stand for masturbation because of the similarity of action. On the same note, rhythmic actions such as dancing, riding and climbing stand in for the sex act itself. Simple associations may appear as well: neckties, which are only worn by men, can symbolize men. (Introductory Lectures, p. 188–204)

⁵see 290–294 of the DSM II, which is included in Appendix 6.

⁶see 295–299 of the DSM II

compulsions and depression. It is caused by the failure of all the defenses to keep the unacceptable instinctual drives in stable control. (Introductory Lectures, Ch. 25, p. 452)

- phobic reaction: typified by one or more prominent phobias: and extreme anxiety focused on an ordinary place, object or situation. The mechanism of displacement moves the anxiety associated with the unacceptable drive to a neutral place, object or situation, which then is allowed to flourish unchecked by the defense mechanisms of the ego. (Introductory Lectures, p. 495–498)
- conversion reaction: what used to be called ‘hysteria’, it can manifest itself in many symptoms, including spasms, temporary paralysis, visual or auditory agnosia, weakness, shortness of breath, pains, etc. It results when the unacceptable instinctual drive is ‘converted’ into apparently physical symptoms. (Introductory Lectures, p. 485, 497–8)
- obsessive-compulsive reaction: the patient is troubled by persistent thoughts that are usually painful in nature. These obsessional thoughts interfere in some important way with the patient’s ability to engage in a meaningful adult life: i.e. intellectually, sexually, socially or professionally. Anxiety at not following through on an obsessional thought, which often manifests as repeated actions regarding some mundane object, can be severe and often is only revealed by completion of the mundane task in question.⁷ (Introductory Lectures, Ch. 17)

As an example, classical psychoanalysis holds that obsessive-compulsive reaction can be traced to unresolved conflicts in the anal stage of development, where frustration at potty-training is turned into rage towards one’s mother. That rage, in turn, is found to be unacceptable by the ego and repressed through one of the standard mechanisms creating obsessions with objects or scenarios that are symbolically linked to the original frustration. The particular object of obsession is essentially random, as the subject latches onto some mundane object present at the time of the frustration. The choice of obsessional object, however, can provide clues as to the true cause of the frustration, as it is invariably linked, through one of the mechanisms of representation, to the true object. The compulsive aspect of this conditions is an ‘acceptable’ outlet for the unacceptable rage towards one’s mother. Psychoanalysts go on to hold that obsessive-compulsive is often unconsciously aware of his or her rage and may take extreme steps to avoid losing control when provoked.

Psychoanalytic Treatment. Psychoanalysis—the process of psychoanalytic treatment—aims at resolving unresolved conflicts that cause neurosis.⁸ The psychoanalyst seeks to align the psychic forces within the individual so that they are no longer in conflict. A psychoanalyst must keep all five psychoanalytic hypotheses—the topographical, dynamic, economy, genetic and structural—in mind during treatment, but in practice, tends to focus on one or two at a time.

Classical psychoanalysis makes use of two basic techniques: free association and manipulating transference reactions. In free association, the psychoanalyst removes himself or herself from

⁷See item 300 in the DSM II for the full taxonomy of neurosis.

⁸There is something of a controversy over whether psychoanalysis can be used to treat psychosis. While many psychoanalysts believe psychosis and neurosis to be on a single spectrum of mental dysfunction, the psychotic patient’s connection to reality is so tenuous that the techniques of free-association and transference threaten to develop the psychosis further, rather than dissolve it.

the patients line of sight (hence the standard couch with the psychoanalyst seated behind the patients' head), and asks the patient to say whatever comes to mind when prompted regardless of logic, order or social constraint. In a relaxed state, it is theorized, these free-associations will reveal the connections between ideas that, when analyzed, explain the relationships this particular patient uses to represent latent content with manifest content.

Freud is often naively criticized for insisting on universal symbolic relationships: cigars always represent penises, for example. But this simply isn't true: classical psychoanalysis is 'empirical' in the sense that there is nothing in the mind that was not put there from experience. The symbolic relationships found in a patient have built up by that patient, based on his or her unique experiences. Where commonalities occur between patients, they are at the level of the language (i.e. symbolic relationships that originate from homophones in German would not be found in an English-speaking patient) or culture (i.e. shared mythology). So while a cigar may represent a penis because of its shape to some, it may represent excrement because of its color to others.

Transference reactions are inappropriate reactions in which the patient reacts to a person or object in the present as if it were a person or object from the past (see Introductory Lectures, Ch. 27). Transference is, in Freud's terms, a 'repetition,' a reliving of an event, relationship, emotion, attitude, etc. with a substitute person or object. Transference can be a very powerful tool for the psychoanalyst, especially when the object that is the source of the unresolved conflict can be projected onto a substitute, and the patient allowed to address the object directly. If a patient's neurosis originates in unresolved anger towards his dead father, substituting a inanimate object for that father can allow the patient to exorcise the anger and hence dissolve the neurosis. Since Freud's masterwork Dora, many psychoanalysts have held transference to be the primary tool of psychoanalysis.

In order for transference to work, however, the patient must be willing and capable of suspending his or her 'ego' and regressing to the state where he or she really believes that the substitute is the original source of the conflict. As psychotics live in a state where experienced reality is formed by the psychic desire not reality itself; psychotics are not suitable candidates for treatment via transference.

Throughout treatment, the psychoanalysts must be aware of resistance. Resistance is the patient's opposition to treatment. It defends the status quo by maintaining the neurosis or psychosis. Resistance may be conscious, subconscious or pre-conscious. It may hinder or misdirect free association. It may distract via inappropriate and unhelpful transference reactions. It may adapt to novel situations and invent new strategies. As Freud himself said "The resistance accompanies the treatment step by step. Every single association, every act of the person under treatment must reckon with the resistance and represents a compromise between the forces that are striving towards recovery and the opposing ones." (1912, p. 11).

The psychoanalytic treatment can then be broken down into four basic steps:

Confrontation. The first step in psychoanalysis: the patient's conscious ego must be made aware

Clarification: The problem is put into sharp focus. Often, this process works with the previous

Interpretation: The process of bringing the unconscious conflict into consciousness.

Working through: the progressive elaboration of resistance mechanisms as they manifest.

There are, of course, many more complications that occur in any single patient's psychoanalytic treatment, but these four basic steps are almost universally recognized.

When embarking on a new treatment, then, the psychoanalyst has three basic aims:

To translate the productions of the patient into their unconscious antecedents. The patient's unconscious elements must be synthesized into meaningful insights. Fragments of past and present must be communicated to the patient. As one listens one must ascertain

Adler INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK FOR THE TIME BEING

Jung Jungian psychoanalysis is distinguished from classical psychoanalysis by two major shifts in the basic theory.

Jungian psychoanalysis holds that the subconscious contains psychical elements that do not originate in the conscious mind.

Jungian psychoanalysts believe they have evidence of unconscious contents that are not explainable by the experiences of the individual. Thus, they hypothesize the existence of a deeper 'collective unconscious' that is composed of 'archetypes' that inform and structure the content of both the unconscious as well as our conscious lives.

Second, on a related note, Jungian psychoanalysis extends the genetic hypothesis from Freud's interpretation of neurosis.

For example, Freud originally posited that neurosis originated in traumatic experience in childhood on the basis of self-reports of his case-study patients. He ultimately came to realize, however, that these self-reports were fictionalizations, theorizing that the true cause of his patient's neurosis lay in their infantile fixations. Once again, Jung extends Freud's insight to allow for fixations throughout life. He argues that:

..the moment of the outbreak of neurosis is not just a matter of chance; as a rule it is most critical. It is usually the moment when a new psychological adjustment, that is, a new adaptation, is demanded. Such moments facilitate the outbreak of a neurosis, as every experienced neurologist knows.

This fact seems to me extremely significant. If the fixation were indeed real we should expect to find its influence constant: in other words, a neurosis lasting throughout life. This is obviously not the case. The psychological determination of a neurosis is only partly due to an early infantile predisposition; it must be due to some cause in the present as well. (The Essential Jung, 49 "Psychoanalysis and Neurosis")

That leads to the general proposition that Freud's identification of sexual desire as the origin of neurosis was far too narrow. Sexual desire is one of the pleasurable instincts that shape our psychology, but for Jung, "psychoanalytic theory should be freed from the purely sexual standpoint. In place of it I should like to introduce an energetic viewpoint into the psychology of neurosis" (ibid, p. 50).

Jung hypothesizes that the libidinal energies naturally increased when faced with an obstacle, in order to overcome it through adaptation. When that obstacle is too great, the libido retreats and regresses, and the patient reverts to a more primitive "mode of adaptation." The practice of psychoanalysis is the same, however, as Jung theorizes that the energy that the patient needs to overcome the present obstacle and become healthy is attached to these sexual fixations. By bringing past frustrations and maladaptations to light through psychoanalysis, the libidinal energy is free to return to the present-day task: adaptation to overcome the current obstacle.

The task of a psychoanalyst, then, is not only to discover the original traumatic cause of a neurosis, probably buried deep in childhood, but to discover the current obstacle that is perceived as being insurmountable. Jung agrees with Freud that the childhood fixations determine the form of neurosis, but unlike Freud holds that they cannot be considered the immediate cause of neurosis.⁹

The difference between practice among the psychoanalytic approaches is emphasis, not technique. As J.B. Wheelwright noted in 1963, "Freud focused on sexuality, Adler focused on power, and Jung focused on growth, which he called individuation." (quoted in American Handbook of Psychiatry, p. 817)

For Further reading:

Primary Sources: Freud. S. (1917 /1989) Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Strachey, J (trans) Liveright

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Jung, C. G. and A. Storr (1983). The essential Jung. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

Jung, C. G., H. E. Read, et al. (1953). The collected works of C. G. Jung. New York, Pantheon Books, v. 4

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Behaviorists

Behaviorism holds that psychology is properly limited to the observation, prediction and control of behavior.¹⁰ It typified by four hypotheses:

Internal entities are neither the object of scientific study nor explanatorily relevant to psych

⁹In Aristotelean metaphysics, the formal cause of something is the form of the thing whereas the immediate cause are the events that immediately proceeded the thing in question. The form is the pattern or type of thing something is. The immediate cause is what brings that thing into being. In this context, the form distinguishes the type of neurosis, the immediate cause is what caused the neurosis to present at this moment.

¹⁰As with most things in the history of ideas, even this definition is controversial. I've chosen this definition, which reflects Skinner's presentation of Behaviorism in his 1953 *Science and Human Behavior*, chapter 1 because it is the most explicit and radical. Watson defines that the goal of behaviorism as the "prediction and control of behavior," (1913) leaving out observation. To understand the various different forms of behaviorism that have been posited since Watson's, please see Error! Reference source not found. on p. Error! Bookmark not defined.Psychoanalysts

To be scientific, then, psychology must limit itself to observable behavior. The discourse of psychology as a scientific discipline is restricted to those terms that denote observable variables: behavior and environmental conditions, not internal mental states. From characterizing the phenomenon to be studied to offering an explanation, the behaviorist is committed to avoiding all terms that denote entities, quantities or interactions that are internal or unobservable.¹¹

A corollary of the thesis, which is frequently highlighted as an independent claim, is that introspection is not a scientific form of observation. One might argue (as historical figures like William James and William Wundt did—see “Error! Reference source not found.” and “Error! Reference source not found.” p. Error! Bookmark not defined.) that internal states are scientifically observable via introspection. Behaviorists, however, reject introspection as scientifically unreliable.¹² Evidence from Wundt and James demonstrates, they argue, that introspective procedures produce different results for different practitioners, and scientific evidence should be replicable regardless of the practitioner.

Behaviorists disagree on whether internal mental states are non-existent fictions or merely unavailable to scientific inquiry; but that is not important here. What is important is that these putative internal mental states do not enter into the scientific study of behavior, or the scientific language that describes and explains behavior.

1. The proper object of study for psychology is the organism and its environment. As a corollary of this insight, Behaviorists see behavior as the activity of an organism, not the activity of a mind. Psychology, for the behaviorist, is not the study of parts of an organism (such as the “ego,” “id,” and “superego”) and their relations, but rather the organism as a whole and its relationships with its environments. And similarly, explanations offered by Behaviorists refer to organisms, behaviors and environmental conditions, not methods of repression and techniques of representation. Behaviorism restricts its object of study as well as its explanations to the macroscopic scale: things that can be directly observed by the naked eye. In the classical sense, Behaviorism rejects as non-scientific explanations in terms of or investigations into things that are larger (societies, cultures)¹³ or smaller (brains, neurons).

This thesis unites behaviorism with classical psychoanalysis in opposition to Jung, because it holds that all present behavior is the result of discrete learning events in the individual's past. But unlike psychoanalytic explanations that posit unresolved psychic conflict to explain behavior, the behaviorist appeals only to previous learning experiences. To discover the reason for a given behavior then, is to discover the patterns of environmental reinforcement (called ‘conditioning’) that have caused the organism to learn this behavior. To cure a behavior is to ‘extinguish’ those conditioned responses in the organism or block those responses by substituting a new and novel response. Behaviorists hypothesize that learning can be physically realized in neurology, and hence, behaviorism is far more simple and plausible a theory than psychoanalysis, which cannot.

¹¹Watson seeks to eliminate the following misleading and unscientific terms from psychology: “consciousness, mental states, mind, content, introspectively verifiable, imagery, and the like.” (1913)

¹²See, e.g. Watson 1913 “Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, nor is the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness” and Skinner 1953 p. 30

¹³Recall that Behaviorism was formed in the first half of the 20th century, when Hegelianism was a viable theory of social science. Behaviorists here are not rejecting the plausibility of modern social psychology, anthropology or sociology. They are rejecting the idea of a transcendent spirit that instantiates human culture.

1. The principles of learning are generalizable across species.¹⁴ Behaviorists argue that given that animals are incapable of introspection—or, if they are, they cannot communicate it—psychological theories that make use of introspection are incapable of explaining animal psychology. Behaviorism, however, is not. Non-human animals are organisms living in environments that behave in certain regular ways. All of that is accessible to behavioristic science. And as it is an uncontroversial observation that at least some human behavior is the same as animal behavior (caring for the young, for example), it follows that behaviorism can explain regularities that introspective psychology cannot.

Learning

A behavioristic explanation of a given behavior takes the form of specifying the mechanism of learning that caused this behavior. A behavioristic treatment seeks to 'extinguish' that behavior through providing an antithetical mechanism.

Learning mechanisms in behaviorism are built on the principles of reinforcement and extinction. Explanation of reinforcement and extinction are always specified in terms of stimulus and response. According to Watson, by 'stimulus' behaviorists "mean any object in the general environment or any change in the physiological condition of the animal, such as the change we get when we keep an animal from sex activity, when we keep it from feeding, when we keep it from building a nest." By 'response' behaviorists "mean that system of organized activity that we see emphasized anywhere in any kind of animal, as building a skyscraper, drawing plans, having babies, writing books, and the like." (1929)

In recent years, B.F. Skinner has popularized operant conditioning and the idea of 'reinforcing' a behavior. Anything that increases the likelihood of a response given a stimulus is a reinforcement. Positive reinforcement takes the form of adding some "rewarding" object to the environment when the desired response occurs. "Negative" reinforcement usually means the removal of such objects. Reinforcing objects need not be physical, tangible objects, but can something as intangible as the attention of a parent. "Punishment" is a negative condition applied to the organism following a behavior.

A decrease in the probability of a response given a stimulus over time is called extinction. In classical conditioning models of learning, the lack of repetitive exposure to reinforcement will result in progressive extinction of the conditioned response.

The mechanisms of learning are: * Classical conditioning, which is sometimes called 'pure reinforcement,' occurs when an unconditioned stimulus, such as the presentation of food, causes an unconditioned ('natural') response, such as salivation. These 'natural' stimulus-response patterns are called "embryologic responses," and they are raw material of a classical conditioning paradigm. In classical conditioning, the conditioning intervention in the embryological response occurs by pairing a 'conditioned stimulus' (such as the ringing of a bell) with the unconditioned stimulus. After repeated exposures, the original unconditioned response can be removed, and the response (now 'conditioned') will occur when the subject is presented with the conditioned stimulus. These basic pairings between conditioned stimuli and responses can be generalized over time, so that any loud noise, for example, may cause salivation.

¹⁴See, e.g. Watson 1913 "The behaviorist, in his efforts to get a unitary scheme of animal response, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute."

* Operant conditioning differs from classical conditioning insofar as the conditioning intervention occurs after the response, rather than concurrent with the unconditioned stimulus. Operant condition introduces the possibility of promised reinforcement, which would occur when the promise of future reinforcement causes behavior.

Behaviorism as a treatment in psychiatry Behavioral treatments in psychiatry¹⁵, like behaviorism in psychology, follows from a deceptively simple insight: that psychiatric treatment aims at the cessation of maladaptive behavior. Like psychoanalysis, behavioral therapies restrict themselves to neurosis, not psychosis.

There are two major kinds of inhibition therapies found in the literature:

- Reciprocal inhibition, developed by Wolpe, involves diminishing the maladaptive behavior by conditioning a new behavior in response to a given stimulus that is incompatible with the undesired behavior. For reciprocal inhibition to work, the maladaptive behavior must be incompatible with the new conditioned behavior. Aversion therapy, which exposes the subject to the object of desire and conditions a new negative response, is a form of reciprocal inhibition.
- Transmarginal inhibition, also known as flooding, involves exposing the patient to strong examples of the stimuli for prolonged periods.

Other inhibition therapies, such as 'retroactive inhibition' are usually forms of reciprocal inhibition.

Further Reading:

Primary Sources: Skinner, B. F. (1953). *Science and human behavior*. New York,, Macmillan.

Watson, John B. (1913) "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it." *Psychological Review*, 20, 158–177. Also available at: <http://psychclassics.asu.edu/Watson/views.htm>

Watson, J. B. (1929). "Behaviorism – The Modern Note in Psychology."

Secondary Sources: Hornstein, G. A. (2002). *The Return of the Repressed: Psychology's Problematic Relations with Psychoanalysis, 1909–1960. Evolving Perspectives on the History of Psychology*. W. E. Pickren and D. A. Dewsbury. Washington, DC, The American Psychological Association.

Wolpe, R. (1958) *Psychotherapy by Reciprocal Inhibition*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Wozniak, Robert H. (1997) "Behaviorism: The Early Years" Available at <http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Psych/rwozniak/behaviorism.html>

Cognitivists

Cognitivists reject the behaviorists' conjecture that scientific psychology is limited—as scientific psychology—to observable behavior. But neither do they seek to reestablish introspection as a

¹⁵For more on the complicated history of the relationship between psychoanalysis and behaviorism, see Hornstein 2002.

valid observational method. Cognitivists agree that scientific evidence must be observable. But they disagree that the explanations of behavior must necessarily be in terms of observable macro-objects like organisms and environments. Cognitivists see the mind/brain as an information-processing system; therefore an adequate scientific explanations would take form of the specifying the mechanisms by which information is processed—including positing algorithms or modeling neural mechanisms that would generate the behavior in question. The difference between the Cognitivists and the Behaviorists is not about the experimental methods they follow, but rather about the structure of a scientific explanation.

Thus, cognitivism distinguishes itself from behaviorism in terms of a meta-theoretical thesis which rejects the half of the first behavioristic hypothesis that *internal entities are explanatorily irrelevant to psychology*. It does not reject the other three, or the corollary of the first, *that introspection is not a form of observation*.

Cognitivism grew slowly between 1955 and 1965, in part because it was not an 'intentional' revolution like Behaviorism. George Miller's 1956 paper "The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information," is one of the classics of cognitive psychology, although the term 'cognitive psychology' does not appear in it (see Error! Reference source not found. on p. Error! Bookmark not defined.). Miller argues that human's short-term memory behavior is limited to seven items plus or minus two. These 'items', however, need not be individual atomic units like Ebbinghaus' nonsense syllables. Miller hypothesized that brain could 'chunking' information into groups, which then could be easily remembered. To borrow a classic example from Bechtel and Graham, the sequence A, B, C, B, B, C, N, B, C, C, B, S would be difficult to remember on its own, but if it is 'chunked' into ABC, BBC, NBC, CBS, remembering it is simple. According to Miller, "There seems to be some limitation built into us either by learning or by design of our nervous system, al limit that keeps our channel capacities in this general range." (1956, p. 86) See Error! Reference source not found. on p. Error! Bookmark not defined. for a historical introduction. Miller's paper is included in the appendix.

Further Reading

Primary Sources: Miller, G. A. (1956). "The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information." *Psychological Review* 63: 81–97.

Miller, G. A. (1962). *Psychology, the science of mental life*. New York,, Harper & Row.

Secondary Sources: Bechtel, W., A. Abrahamsen, et al. (1998). *The Life of Cognitive Science. A Companion to Cognitive Science*. W. Bechtel and G. Graham. Malden, Mass, Blackwell.

Baars, B. J. (1986). *The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology*. New York, The Guildford Press.

Leahy, T. H. (2002). *The Mythical Revolutions of American Psychology. Evolving Perspectives on the History of Psychology*. W. E. Pickren and D. A. Dewsbury. Washington, DC, American Psychological Association.

Stillings, N.A., Feinstein, M.H., Garfield, J. L., Rissland, E.L, Rosenbaum, D.A., Weisler, S.E., Baker-Ward, L. *Cognitive Science: An Introduction*, Cambridge: MIT Press

3.3 Brief Sketch of the Game Characters

Characters with a '*' will only be included in large classes.

Psychoanalysts

Richard Green, MD Professor of Psychology, UCLA*

Professor of Psychology and UCLA, Green is most well known for his groundbreaking studies of 'sissy boys' and 'tomboy' girls, conducted with John Money of Johns Hopkins University. Green's recent essay "Mythological, Historical and Cross-Cultural Aspects of Transsexualism", which is reprinted in the book he co-edited with his mentor John Money Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment (1969), traces the "longstanding and widespread pervasiveness of the transsexual phenomenon."

Notable Work

Green, R. & Money, J. (1961) "Effeminacy in prepubertal boys; Summary of eleven cases and recommendations for case management." Pediatrics 27(2), p. 286–291

Green R. & Money J (eds) (1969). Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment. The Johns Hopkins University Press (November 1, 1969) ISBN 0-8018-1038-8.

Robert Hopcke Psychotherapist, San Francisco, CA (Jungian)*

Robert Hopcke is a counselor, with degrees in both psychotherapy and pastoral counseling, best known for his successful Jungian practice in Bay Area in California.

Harold Lief, MD Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania (Jungian)*

President of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis in 1967, Harold Lief is Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania. He is best known for his advocacy for greater emphasis on sexual education in medical schools.

Notable Work

Leif, H. (1964) "The Psychological Basis of Medical Practice" Postgrad Med J 40:355 doi:10.1136/pgmj.40.464.355-a

Judd Marmor, MD Psychiatrist, Hollywood, CA (Freudian)

The 'Psychiatrist to the stars', Judd Marmor has built an impressive psychiatric practice in L.A., after having immigrated to the US from Britain after serving in the British Navy during WWII. Rumor has it that many of the popular portrayals of psychoanalysis in the movies today are based on you.

Initial Member of the Research committee, term expiring 1974.

Notable Work:

Marmor, J. (ed.) (1965). Sexual inversion: The multiple roots of homosexuality (pp. 83107). New York: Basic Books.

Charles W. Socarides, MD Professor of Psychiatry, Columbia University and/or Irving Bieber, MD Professor of Psychiatry, NYU Medical College (Freudian)

Irving Bieber is Professor of Psychiatry at New York University Medical College and Charles Socarides at Columbia University. Socarides and Bieber have spent most of their career treating and studying male homosexuality. Bieber is primary author of the 1962 study Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study of Male Homosexuals is, in many ways, a response to the Kinsey Report. It reports on you study of 106 male homosexuals and 100 male heterosexuals seeking psychoanalysis for various problems. According to Socarides and Bieber, homosexuality is a neurotic adaptation to unresolved conflict, usually originating in the Oedipal stage of development.

Notable works

Bieber, I. (1962). Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study: By Irving Bieber, et. al. New York: Basic Books, New York

John P. Spiegel, MD Director, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University

World-famous for his study of combat fatigue, co-authored with Dr. Roy Grinker in the 1945 book Men Under Stress. Grinker and Spiegel argued, quite persuasively, that combat fatigue was not a result of a character flaw, but rather the social circumstances of war. It should, therefore, be treated, not punished. Spiegel is a former president of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis.

Initial member of the nomenclature committee, term expiring 1974.

Notable Work

Grinker, R. & Spiegel, J. P. (1945) Men Under Stress American Psychological Association. Was once available print-on-demand, but is not currently: www.apa.org/pubs/books/4320127.aspx

Behaviorists

Albert Bandura, PhD Professor of Psychology, Stanford

Initially serving the APA as Vice president (or President-elect) of the APA in 1971, will become president in 1972. He is therefore an initial member of the board of directors.

Bandura was trained in Behaviorism while at the University of Iowa, where Hull's advocate Spense taught. He was not, however, attracted to the strict mathematical-deductive model proposed by Hull, tending towards the work of Tolman. After graduating Iowa, he went west to work with other like-minded Tolman followers. Currently, Bandura is a Professor of Psychology at Stanford University. His work on 'social learning,' which was started by his 'bobo-doll' studies, is widely known. Many expect his presidential address in 1972 to both explain his notion of 'vicarious reinforcement,' and articulate the relationship between his behavioristic approach and Miller's new 'cognitive psychology'.

Bandura was elected as a Fellow of the APA in 1964.

Notable works

Bandura, A. (1965). Vicarious processes: A case of no-trial learning. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 2, pp. 1–55). New York: Academic Press.

Harry Harlow, PhD Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin

Initially 'former' president, serving on the board of directors.

Harlow is most well known for his series of experiments on separation anxiety in baby rhesus monkeys, Harry Harlow has become one of the most important advocates for behaviorism in the APA today. Harlow's primate lab at the University of Wisconsin is widely recognized as one of the top places for training young researchers in experimental psychology. Harlow won the Society for Experimental Psychology's Howard Crosby Warren medal in 1956 and the National Medal of Science in 1967. He served as President of the APA in 1970.¹⁶

Notable works

Harlow, H. (1958) "The nature of love" American Psychologist 13(12) 673–685 On Psych Classics: <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Harlow/love.htm>.

Evelyn Hooker, PhD Emeritus Professor of Psychology, UCLA

Evelyn Hooker studied with Karl Meunzinger and Robert Yerkes, pioneers in the fields of animal behavior. Starting in the 1950s, Hooker became interested in human sexuality. In 1953, she won a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) to study the mental health of 'non-patient, non-inmate homosexuals'. Hooker showed that if homosexuality itself were removed from the diagnostic information, homosexual men were no more likely to be diagnosed as 'neurotic' than heterosexual men.

On the program for the first class with Dr. H. Anonymous as a panelist on the topic 'Psychiatry: Friend or Foe to Homosexuals: A Dialogue'

Initial member of the Program committee, term expiring 1972.

Notable works

Hooker, E. (1956). A preliminary analysis of group behavior of homosexuals. Journal of Psychology, 42, 217–225.

Cognitivists

Noam Chomsky, PhD Professor of Linguistics, MIT

In 1971, Noam Chomsky is a quickly rising star in the academy. Currently a professor of Linguistics at MIT, his work is revolutionizing the field, changing the very idea of linguistics from the descriptive study of existing languages to the understanding of how languages result from formal (logical) rules. Chomsky is also a harsh critic of Skinner's radical behaviorism. His review of Skinner's 'Verbal Behavior' is widely seen as a devastating blow to behaviorism. It is contained in the appendix.

Notable works

¹⁶For the purposes of the game, 1970. In reality, 1958–1959.

Chomsky, N. (1959). "Review of Skinner's Verbal Behaviour" Language 35: 26–58. Electronic copy of 'review' with preface: <http://cogprints.org/1148/0/chomsky.htm> (included in the appendix)

Chomsky, N. (1966). Cartesian Linguistics New York, 1966

George Miller, PhD Professor of Psychology, Harvard

President of the APA in 1971. When the game begins, Miller is serving on the board of directors and responsible for the Presidential address to open the first game session. Miller was trained in behaviorism, but, in part because of his friendship with Chomsky, has developed a new approach he calls 'Cognitive Psychology.' Miller has a side interest in the history of psychology, having worked with E.G. Boring and authored Psychology: the science of mental life.

Notable Works:

Miller, G. A. (1956). The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, 63, 81–97.

Miller, G. A. (1962). Psychology, the science of mental life ([1st ed.]). New York,: Harper & Row.

David Marr, ABD Graduate Student, MIT*

A young neuroscientist from Cambridge, England, not yet finished with his PhD Working on a information-theoretical model of how the brain's visual system works. Influence points: none.

Independents

George W. Albee, PhD Professor of Psychology, University of Vermont (Psychologist)

Clinical Psychologist. Albee worked as the executive secretary for the APA from 1951–1953, along side Harry Harlow's wife. Many of the committee structures and procedures followed today were actually refined by Albee during his time as secretary. In the 1950s, he chaired a task force to survey the resources available to mental health professionals. The astonishing clarity of the resulting report, along with Albee's unwavering commitment to preventative mental health practices caused a great stir in psychiatric and psychological circles.

Author of 'A declaration of independence for psychology' (1964), Albee is a major figure in the often 'acrimonious' debate regarding the suitability of the medical model for understanding mental illness. If any questions arise regarding the APA's decision-making procedures, Albee is the person to ask. He has held every position of responsibility in the organization save the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

Initial member of the nomenclature committee, term expiring 1972. In classes over 16, also 'member at large' for the board of directors starting in 1971.

Notable Works

Albee, G. W. and M. Dickey (1957). "Manpower Trends in Three Mental Health Professions." *The American Psychologist* 12: 57–69.

Albee, G. W. (1970) "The uncertain future of clinical psychology" *American Psychologist* 1071–1080

Anne Anastasi, PhD Professor of Psychology, Fordham University (Psychologist)

The 'guru' of psychological testing, Anne Anastasi has developed more psychometrics than anyone else. Her 1954 textbook Psychological Testing is a classic in the field, defining psychometrics for a generation.

Initial member of the Program committee, term expiring 1974.

Notable Works

Anastasi. (1967). "Psychology, psychologists, and psychological testing." *American Psychologist* 22 (4), p. 297–306

Anastasi, A. (1964) *Differential Psychology* 3rd Edition. Macmillan

Anastasi, A. (1954) *Psychological Testing* 1st Edition. Macmillan

Kenneth Clark, PhD Professor of Psychology, CCNY (psychologist)

Kenneth Clark, along with his wife Mamie Phipps Clark, are the authors of a hugely famous study of the racial attitudes of young children. Ken and Mamie presented four identical plastic dolls that differed only with respect to color to black children between the ages of three and seven. When asked which doll they preferred, the majority selected the white doll. When asked to color in a drawing 'the same color' as themselves, most of the black children chose yellow or white crayons. Ken Clark testified as an expert in three of the five cases that were combined into the landmark school desegregation decision *Brown v. The Board of Education*, and his summary was cited by Chief Justice Warren (footnote 11) as influencing the court's decision.

Initial member of the Research committee, term expiring 1973.

Notable Works

Clark, Kenneth B. & Clark, Mamie K. (1939). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology, S.P.S.S.I. Bulletin*, 10, 591–599. [Available at psychclassics: <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Clark/Self-cons/>]

Clark, Kenneth B. & Clark, Mamie K. (1940). Skin color as a factor in racial identification of negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology, S.P.S.S.I. Bulletin*, 11, 159–169. [Available at psychclassics: <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Clark/Skin-color/>]

D Fordney-Settlage, MD Assistant Professor, Obstetrics and Gynecology Division of Reproductive Biology at the Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center., (gynecologist)*

Assistant Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology Division of Reproductive Biology at the Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center. Diane Fordney-Settlage has recently come to national prominence as an advocate for women's sexual health following the wide-spread adoption of oral contraceptive.

John Fryer, MD Professor of Psychiatry, Temple University (psychiatrist)

Psychiatrist at Temple University Hospital in Philadelphia, John Fryer is a outspoken advocate for the rights of gay psychiatrists.

Paul Gebhard, PhD Director of the Kinsey Institute, Professor of Anthropology, Indiana University (Anthropologist)

Director of 'The Kinsey Institute' (The Institute for Sex Research) at Indiana University, where Gebhard is a Professor of Anthropology.

Initial member of the Program committee, term expiring 1973.

Kinsey Reports:

Kinsey, Alfred C. et al. (1948/1998). Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders; Bloomington, IN: Indiana U. Press. Currently out of print, but on google books.

Kinsey, Alfred C. et al. (1953/1998). Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders; Bloomington, IN: Indiana U. Press. Preview available on google books.

Gebhard, Paul H. and Johnson, Alan B. (1979/1998). The Kinsey Data: Marginal Tabulations of 1938–1963 Interviews Conducted by the Institute for Sex Research. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders; Bloomington, IN: Indiana U. Press. Preview available on google books.

Ron Gold Journalist for Variety (Journalist)*

Independent Journalist for Variety, Gold is attending the APA meeting to cover the protests by gay activists.

Credibility Points: gets 10 points to distribute each conference

Frank Kameny and/or Barbara Gittings (Activists)*

Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings are the co-directors of the Mattachine Society, an organization advocating for greater respect for homosexuals.

Stanley Milgram, PhD Director, Graduate Program in Social Psychology, CUNY (Social psychologist)*

Former Director of Harvard's Department of Social Relations, currently director of the Graduate Program in Social Psychology at CUNY. Milgram is most famous for his 'small world' experiments, which asked randomly selected individuals in the midwest to attempt to deliver a message to a randomly selected individual in Boston through their existing social contacts. It was this study that produced the commonly-held belief that all people are separated by 'six degrees of separation.'

Notable Works: Milgram, Stanley. (1967). "The Small World Problem" Psychology Today, 2 p. 60 – 67

Jean Piaget, PhD Director of the International Center for Genetic Epistemology in Geneva, Switzerland (Developmental psychologist)*

Director of the International Center for Genetic Epistemology in Geneva, Switzerland. Currently 76, Jean Piaget is a legend in Psychology, generally recognized as the first main proponent and theorist of developmental psychology. Piaget's theory of 'Genetic Epistemology' marks a different approach to psychology from either Psychoanalysis or Behaviorism, borrowing from both.

Notable Works: Piaget, J. (1924). Judgment and reasoning in the child, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1928. available at <http://www.archive.org/details/judgmentandreas007972mbp>

Piaget, J. (1936). Origins of intelligence in the child, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953.

Piaget, J. (1957). Construction of reality in the child, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954.

Piaget, J. (1941). Child's conception of number (with Alina Szeminska), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952.

Piaget, J. (1945). Play, dreams and imitation in childhood, London: Heinemann, 1951.

Robert Spitzer, MD Researcher at Columbia Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research (Psychiatrist)

Researcher at Columbia Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research. Spitzer is a brilliant researcher, who has great promise in the field of psychiatry. As a young undergraduate, Spitzer wrote a paper discrediting the fraudulent psychiatrist Wilhelm Reich's 'orgone accumulator,' which he once believed in and sought treatment through. The FDA used his paper in their prosecution of Reich.

Initial member of the nomenclature committee, term expiring 1976.

Notable Works

Spitzer, R. (1953). "An Examination of Wilhelm Reich's Demonstrations of Orgone Energy" available at <http://www.srmhp.org/0401/reich.html>

Thomas Szasz, MD Professor of Psychiatry, State Hospital of New York at Syracuse (Psychiatrist)

Author of the polemic The Myth of Mental Illness (1960) and The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement (1970), Thomas Szasz has become a major thorn in the side of the psychiatric community. His position as Professor of Psychiatry at the State Hospital of New York at Syracuse was even threatened in the early Paul Hoch, New York's commissioner of mental hygiene.

On the program for 1971.

Notable Works

Szasz, T. (1960). "The Myth of Mental Illness" American Psychologist, 15, p. 113–118 available at <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Szasz/myth.htm>

Szasz, T. (1974). *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* New York: Harper & Row.

Szasz, T. (1970). *The Manufacture of Madness: a comparative study of the Inquisition and the mental health movement* New York: Harper & Row (See esp. the chapter titled "The Modern Psychiatric Scapegoat - The Homosexual") Influence points: 1

Leona Tyler, PhD Emeritus Dean and Professor of Psychology, University of Oregon, (Psychologist)

Leona Tyler's *The Psychology of Human Differences* is a classic in the psychology of human differences. Tyler has long sought to increase the respect for individual personalities in the practice of psychology and psychiatry. Her 'choice pattern technique' is one way of measuring these differences, and her work is standard fare for all graduate students of counseling.

Initial member of the Research committee, term expiring 1972.

Notable Works

Tyler, L.E. (1969). *The Work of the Counselor*, Prentice Hall

Philip Zimbardo, PhD Professor of Social Psychology at Stanford (Social psychologist)*

Philip Zimbardo has a great deal of promise as a researcher, but has yet to gain national prominence.

Influence points: 0

3.4 Things you should know

Basic scientific research

Ethics of human research

Ethical codes of research have generally followed the discovery or publication of horrifically unethical experiments. The most famous of these is probably the Nuremberg Code, adopted by the international medical community after the discovery of the Nazi 'experiments' performed on Jews, Homosexuals and Gypsies during the Holocaust. The Nuremberg code is available online, and should be reviewed by anyone proposing an experiment or sitting on the Research Committee. See http://www.ushmm.org/research/doctors/Nuremberg_Code.htm.

The Nuremberg Code

The Nuremberg code lays out ten simple principles for design experiments on humans. They are:

1. The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent; should be so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, overreaching, or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion; and should have sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him to make an understanding and enlightened decision. This latter element requires that before the acceptance of an affirmative decision by the experimental subject there should be made known to him the nature, duration, and purpose of the experiment; the method and means by which it is to be conducted; all inconveniences and hazards reasonably to be expected; and the effects upon his health or person which may possibly come from his participation in the experiment. The duty and responsibility for ascertaining the quality of the consent rests upon each individual who initiates, directs, or engages in the experiment. It is a personal duty and responsibility which may not be delegated to another with impunity.
2. The experiment should be such as to yield fruitful results for the good of society, unprocurable by other methods of means of study, and not random and unnecessary in nature.
3. The experiment should be so designed and based on the results of animal experimentation and a knowledge of the natural history of the disease or other problem under study that the anticipated results will justify the performance of the experiment.
4. The experiment should be so conducted as to avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury.
5. No experiment should be conducted where there is an a priori reason to believe that death or disabling injury will occur; except, perhaps, in those experiments where the experimental physicians also serve as subjects.
6. The degree of risk to be taken should never exceed that determined by the humanitarian importance of the problem to be solved by the experiment.
7. Proper preparations should be made and adequate facilities provided to protect the experimental subject against even remote possibilities of injury, disability or death.
8. The experiment should be conducted only by scientifically qualified persons. The highest degree of skill and care should be required though all stages of the experiment of those who conduct or engage in the experiment.
9. During the course of the experiment the human subject should be at liberty to bring the experiment to an end if he has reached the physical or mental state where continuation of the experiment seems to him to be impossible.
10. During the course of the experiment the scientist in charge must be prepared to terminate the experiment at any stage, if he has probable cause to believe, in the exercise of the good faith, superior skill and careful judgment required of him that a continuation of the experiment is likely to result in injury, disability or death to the experimental subject.

The Nuremberg Code

The Declaration of Helsinki

In 1964, the medical community through the World Medical Association adopted the 'Declaration of Helsinki', which replaced the Nuremberg code as the standard for ethical experimentation on humans by the medical community. The World Medical Association still maintains the Declaration, adopting the most recent revisions in 2004. It is available online (<http://www.wma.net/e/policy/b3.htm>).

Psychiatrists, as practicing medical doctors, are bound by the Declaration of Helsinki. While it is far more complete than the Nuremberg code, the same basic ideas appear:

I. Basic Principles

1. Biomedical research involving human subjects must conform to generally accepted scientific principles and should be based on adequately performed laboratory and animal experimentation and on a thorough knowledge of the scientific literature.
2. The design and performance of each experimental procedure involving human subjects should be clearly formulated in an experimental protocol which should be transmitted to a specially appointed independent committee for consideration, comment and guidance.
3. Biomedical research involving human subjects should be conducted only by scientifically qualified persons and under the supervision of a clinically competent medical person. The responsibility for the human subject must always rest with a medically qualified person and never rest on the subject of the research, even though the subject has given his or her consent.
4. Biomedical research involving human subjects cannot legitimately be carried out unless the importance of the objective is in proportion to the inherent risk to the subject.
5. Every biomedical research project involving human subjects should be preceded by careful assessment of predictable risks in comparison with foreseeable benefits to the subject or to others. Concern for the interests of the subject must always prevail over the interests of science and society.
6. The right of the research subject to safeguard his or her integrity must always be respected. Every precaution should be taken to respect the privacy of the subject and to minimize the impact of the study on the subject's physical and mental integrity and on the personality of the subject.
7. Physicians should abstain from engaging in research projects involving human subjects unless they are satisfied that the hazards involved are believed to be predictable. Physicians should cease any investigation if the hazards are found to outweigh the potential benefits.
8. In publication of the results of his or her research, the physician is obliged to preserve the accuracy of the results. Reports of experimentation not in accordance with the principles laid down in this Declaration should not be accepted for publication.
9. In any research on human beings, each potential subject must be adequately informed of the aims, methods, anticipated benefits and potential hazards of the study and the discomfort it may entail. He or she should be informed that he or she is at liberty to abstain from participation in the study and that he or she is free to withdraw his or her consent to participation at any time. The physician should then obtain the subject's freely given informed consent, preferably in writing.
10. When obtaining informed consent for the research project the physician should be particularly cautious if the subject is in a dependent relationship to him or her or may consent under duress. In that case the informed consent should be obtained by a physician who isn't engaged in the investigation and who is completely independent of this official relationship.
11. In case of legal incompetence, informed consent should be obtained from the legal guardian in accordance with national legislation. Where physical or mental incapacity makes it impossible to obtain informed consent, or when the subject is a minor, permission from the responsible relative replaces that of the subject in accordance with national legislation. Whenever the minor child is in fact able to give a consent, the minor's consent must be obtained in addition to the consent of the minor's legal guardian.
12. The research protocol should always contain a statement of the ethical considerations involved and should indicate that the principles enunciated in the present declaration are complied with.

II. Medical Research Combined with Professional Care (Clinical Research)

1. In the treatment of the sick person, the physician must be free to use a new diagnostic and therapeutic measure, if in his or her judgement it offers hope of saving life, re-establishing health or alleviating suffering.
2. The potential benefits, hazards and discomfort of a new method should be weighed against the advantages of the best current diagnostic and therapeutic methods.
3. In any medical study, every patient- including those of a control group, if any- should be assured of the best proven diagnostic and therapeutic method.
4. The refusal of the patient to participate in a study must never interfere with the physician-patient relationship.
5. If the physician considers it essential not to obtain informed consent, the specific reasons for this proposal should be stated in the experimental protocol for transmission to the independent committee (1, 2).
6. The physician can combine medical research with professional care, the objective being the

Table 2: Declaration of Helsinki

In the context of psychiatry, of course, the distinction made between therapeutic research and non-therapeutic research is crucially important. If a psychiatric patient were to be deemed incapable of making an informed decision, and there is an experiment therapy that the psychiatrist believes may help, there are few ethical checks and balances to constrain the psychiatrist from performing unwarranted experiments.

The APA Ethical Standards for Psychologists

The APA Standards were first published in 1953. They were revised in 1959, 1963 and 1968. The 1968 standards, which should guide the research committee in determining which research programs should be allowed to move forward, are attached in the Appendix.

Most of the APA standards outline the responsibilities of psychologists who practice counseling and patient care. While those are incredibly important, we're most concerned here with Principle 16: Research Precautions. In 1959, section 16 was titled 'Harmful Aftereffect.' It read:

Principle 16. Harmful Aftereffects. Only when a problem is significant and can be investigated in no other way is the psychologist justified in giving misinformation to research subjects or exposing research subjects to physical or emotional stress.

- a. When the possibility of serious aftereffects exists, research is conducted only when the subjects or the responsible agents are fully informed of this possibility and volunteer nevertheless.
- b. The psychologist seriously considers the possibility harmful aftereffects and removes them as soon as permitted by the design of the experiment.
- 1. c. A psychologist using animals in research adheres to the provisions of the Rules Regarding Animals, drawn up by the Committee on Precautions in Animal Experimentation and adopted by the American Psychological Association.

Table 3: APA Ethical Standards: 1959

Four years later, in 1963, the committee responsible for the Ethical guidelines move the 'preamble' into a numbered point (a), changed the title to 'Research Precautions' and added a new preamble. It also changed the phrase 'is significant' to 'is of scientific significance'; 'can be investigated in no other way' became 'it is not practicable to investigate it in any other way'; 'giving misinformation to research subjects' was dropped; and the phrase 'whether children or adults' added to the new point (a). (b) added the qualification of 'reasonable' to 'possibility'; changed 'harmful' to 'injurious' and 'volunteer' became 'agree to participate'. © changed 'removes' to 'avoids or removes'; and (d) were unchanged: (changes italicized)

<p>Principle 16. Research Precautions. The psychologist assumes obligations for the welfare of his research subjects, both animal and human.</p> <p>a. Only when a problem is of scientific significance and it is not practicable to investigate it in any other way is the psychologist justified in exposing research subjects research subjects, whether children or adults, to physical or emotional stress.</p> <p>b. When the possibility of injurious aftereffects exists, research is conducted only when the subjects or the responsible agents are fully informed of this possibility and agree to participate nevertheless.</p> <p>c. The psychologist seriously considers the possibility harmful aftereffects and avoids or removes them as soon as permitted by the design of the experiment.</p>
<p>2. d. A psychologist using animals in research adheres to the provisions of the Rules Regarding Animals, drawn up by the Committee on Precautions in Animal Experimentation and adopted by the American Psychological Association.</p>

Table 4: APA Ethical Standards 1963

These changed little between 1963 and 1968, except for the addition of the qualifying phrase 'as part of the investigation' to (a) and adding provision (e) governing the use of psychoactive drugs:

<p>Principle 16. Research Precautions. The psychologist assumes obligations for the welfare of his research subjects, both animal and human.</p> <p>a. Only when a problem is of scientific significance and it is not practicable to investigate it in any other way is the psychologist justified in exposing research subjects research subjects, whether children or adults, to physical or emotional stress as part of an investigation.</p> <p>b. When the possibility of injurious aftereffects exists, research is conducted only when the subjects or the responsible agents are fully informed of this possibility and agree to participate nevertheless.</p> <p>c. The psychologist seriously considers the possibility harmful aftereffects and avoids, or removes them as soon as permitted by the design of the experiment.</p>
<p>3. d. A psychologist using animals in research adheres to the provisions of the Rules Regarding Animals, drawn up by the Committee on Precautions in Animal Experimentation and adopted by the American Psychological Association.</p>
<p>e. Investigations of human subjects using experimental drugs (for example, hallucinogenic, psychotomimetic, psychedelic, or similar substances) should be conducted only in such settings as clinics, hospitals, or research facilities maintaining appropriate safeguards for the subjects.</p>

Table 5: APA Ethical Standards 1968

Further reading:

The National Institutes of Heath, O. o. H. S. R. (2009). "Nuremberg Code." Retrieved 10/2/2009, 2009, from <http://ohsr.od.nih.gov/guidelines/nuremberg.html>.

World Medical Organization. Declaration of Helsinki. British Medical Journal (7 December) 1996;313(7070):1448–1449.

The APA Standards are available from the American Psychologist:

1953 is available as a book, and is held by some libraries

Subsequent standards were published in the American Psychologist:

1958 American Psychologist (13) p. 268–271

1963 American Psychologist (18) p. 56–60

1968 American Psychologist (23) p. 357–361

For a historical overview, see:

Fisher, C. B. (2009). Decoding the ethics code : a practical guide for psychologists. Los Angeles, Sage Publications.

4 CORE TEXTS

Freud, Sigmund *Introductory lectures on psychoanalysis*, WW Norton & Company

5 SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited

Works cited should go here (this page is optional). See the Works Cited Format document for information on formatting citations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to John Heywood, University of Lancaster GDC playtesters in 2014 XXX at Albion for taking a chance...

SUPPLEMENTAL DOCUMENTS

Pinel, Philippe. "A Treatise on Insanity", 1806

INSANITY FROM RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASM EXTREMELY,
DIFFICULT TO CURE.

29. To say that the attempts, which have been made in England and France, to cure the insanity of devotees, have been generally ineffectual, is not precisely to assert its incurability. It certainly is not impossible, that, by a judicious combination of moral and physical means, a cure might, in many instances, be effected. My plan would have been, could the liberties of the Bicetre have admitted of it, to separate this class of maniacs from the others; to apportion for their use a large piece of ground so till or work upon, in the way that might or their own inclination might dispose them; to encourage em- ployments of this description, by the prospect of a moderate recompense, want or more exalted mo- tives; to remove from their sight every object ap- pertaining to religion, every painting or book cal- culated to rouse its recollections; to order certain hours of the day to be devoted to philosophical read- ing, and to seize every opportunity of drawing apt comparisons between the distinguished acts of hu- manity and patriotism of the ancients, and the pi- ous nullity and delirious extravagances of saints and anchorites; to divert their minds from the pe-

cular object of their hallucination, and to fix their interest upon pursuits of contrary influence and tendency.

**THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR OF BICETRE, UPON THE
REVOLUTIONARY ORDERS HE RECEIVED TO DESTROY
THE SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGION.**

30. In the third year of the republic, the directors of the civil hospitals, in the excess of their revolutionary zeal, determined to remove from those places the external objects of worship, the only remaining consolation of the indigent and the unhappy. A visit for this purpose was paid to the hospital de Bicetre. The plunder, impious as it was and detestable, was begun in the dormitories of the old and the infirm, who were naturally struck at an instance of robbery so new and unexpected, some with astonishment, some with indignation, and others with terror. The first day of visitation being already far spent, it was determined to reserve the lunatic department of the establishment for another opportunity. I was present at the time, and seized the occasion to observe, that the unhappy residents of that part of the hospital required to be treated

Kraft-Ebing, Ricard von. "Psychopathie Sexualis", 1894

Excerpt 1

HOMO-SEXUALITY.

that fur (ermine) is the symbol of royalty, and their fetich of the men described in the novels.

II. *Great Diminution or Complete Absence of Sexual Feeling for the Opposite Sex, with Substitution of Sexual Feeling and Instinct for the Same Sex. (Homo-sexuality, or Contrary Sexual Instinct).*

After the attainment of complete sexual development, among the most constant elements of self-consciousness in the individual, are the knowledge of representing a definite sexual personality and the consciousness of desire, during the period of physiological activity of the reproductive organs (production of semen and ova), to perform sexual acts corresponding with that sexual personality,—acts which, consciously or unconsciously, have a procreative purpose.

The sexual instinct and desire, save for indistinct feelings and impulses, remain latent until the period of development of the sexual organs. The child is *generis neutrius*; and though, during this latent period,—when sexuality has not yet risen into clear consciousness, is but virtually present, and unconnected with powerful organic sensations,—too early excitation of the genitals may occur, either spontaneously or as a result of external influence, and find satisfaction in masturbation; yet, notwithstanding this, the *psychical* relation to persons of the opposite sex is still absolutely wanting, and the sexual acts during this period partake more or less of a reflex spinal nature.

The fact of innocence, or of sexual neutrality, is the more remarkable, since very early, in education, employment, dress, etc., the child undergoes a differentiation from children of the opposite sex. These impressions, however, remain destitute of mental meaning, because they apparently are without sexual coloring; for the central organ (cortex) of sexual emotions and ideas is not yet capable of activity, owing to its undeveloped condition.

With the inception of anatomical and functional development of the generative organs, and the differentiation of form belonging to each sex, which goes hand in hand with it in the boy or girl, rudiments of a mental feeling corresponding with

the sex are developed; and in this, of course, education and external influences in general have a powerful effect upon the individual, who is now all attention.

If the sexual development is normal and undisturbed, a definite character, corresponding with the sex, is developed. Certain definite inclinations and reactions in intercourse with persons of the opposite sex arise; and it is psychologically worthy of note with what relative rapidity the definite mental type corresponding with the sex is evolved.

While modesty, for example, during childhood, is essentially but an uncomprehended and incomprehensible exaction of education and imitation, and in the innocence and *naïveté* of the child but imperfectly expressed; in the youth and maiden it becomes an imperative requirement of self-respect; and, if in any way it is offended, intense vasomotor reaction (blushing) and psychical emotion are induced.

If the original constitution is favorable and normal, and factors injurious to the psycho-sexual development exercise no influence, then a psycho-sexual personality is developed that is so unchangeable, and corresponds so completely and harmoniously with the sex the individual represents, that subsequent loss of the generative organs (as by castration), or the climacteric or senility, cannot essentially alter it. But this, of course, is not to declare that the castrated man or woman, the youth and the aged man, the maiden and matron, the impotent and the potent man, do not differ essentially from one another mentally.

An interesting and important question for what follows is, whether the peripheral influences of the generative glands (testes and ovaries), or central cerebral conditions, are the determining factors in psycho-sexual development. The fact that congenital deficiency of the generative glands, or removal of them before puberty, has a great influence on physical and psycho-sexual development, so that the latter is distorted and assumes a type more closely resembling the opposite sex (eunuchs, certain viragoes, etc.), betokens their great importance in this respect.

But that the physical processes taking place in the genital

organs are only co-operative, and not the exclusive factors in the process of development of the psycho-sexual character, is shown by the fact that, notwithstanding a normal anatomical and physiological state of these organs, a sexual instinct may be developed which is the exact opposite of that characteristic of the sex to which the individual belongs.

In this case, the cause is to be sought only in an anomaly of central conditions,—in an abnormal psycho-sexual constitution. This constitution, as far as its anatomical and functional foundation is concerned, is absolutely unknown. Since, in almost all such cases, the individual subject to the perverse sexual instinct displays a neuropathic predisposition in several directions, and the latter may be brought into relation with hereditary degenerate conditions, this anomaly of psycho-sexual feeling may be called, clinically, a functional sign of degeneration. This perverse sexuality appears spontaneously, without external cause, with the development of sexual life, as an individual manifestation of an abnormal form of the *vita sexualis*, and then has the force of a *congenital* phenomenon; or it develops upon a sexuality the beginning of which was normal, as a result of very definite injurious influences, and thus appears as an *acquired* anomaly. Upon what this enigmatical phenomenon of acquired homo-sexual instinct depends is still inexplicable, and only a matter for hypothesis. Careful examination of the so-called acquired cases makes it probable that the predisposition also present here consists of a latent homo-sexuality, or, at least, bi-sexuality, which, for its manifestation, requires the influence of accidental exciting causes to rouse it from its slumber.

In so-called contrary sexual instinct there are degrees of the phenomenon which quite correspond with the degrees of predisposition of the individuals. Thus, in the milder cases, there is simple hermaphroditism; in more pronounced cases, only homo-sexual feeling and instinct, but limited to the *vita sexualis*; in still more complete cases, the whole psychical personality, and even the bodily sensations, are transformed to correspond with the sexual perversion; and, in the complete cases, the physical form is correspondingly altered.

The following division of the various phenomena of this psycho-sexual anomaly is made, therefore, in accordance with these clinical facts:—

A. *Homo-sexual Feeling as an Acquired Manifestation.*—
The determining condition here is the demonstration of perverse feeling for the same sex; not the proof of sexual acts with the same sex. These two phenomena must not be confounded with each other; perversity must not be taken for perversion.

Perverse sexual acts, not dependent upon perversion, often come under observation. This is especially true with reference to sexual acts between persons of the same sex, particularly pederasty. Here paræsthesia sexualis is not necessarily at work; but hyperæsthesia, with physical or mental impossibility of natural sexual satisfaction. Thus we find homo-sexual intercourse in impotent masturbators or debauchees, or *faute de mieux* in sensual men and women in imprisonment, on ship-board, in garrisons, bagnios, boarding-schools, etc.

There is an immediate return to normal sexual intercourse as soon as obstacles to it are removed. Very frequently the cause of such temporary aberration is masturbation and its results in youthful individuals.

Nothing is so prone to contaminate—under certain circumstances, even to exhaust—the source of all noble and ideal sentiments, which arise of themselves from a normally developing sexual instinct, as the practice of masturbation in early years. It despoils the unfolding bud of perfume and beauty, and leaves behind only the coarse, animal desire for sexual satisfaction. If an individual, spoiled in this manner, reaches an age of maturity, there is wanting in him that æsthetic, ideal, pure, and free impulse which draws one toward the opposite sex. Thus the glow of sensual sensibility wanes, and the inclination toward the opposite sex becomes weakened. This defect influences the morals, character, fancy, feeling, and instinct of the youthful masturbator, male or female, in an unfavorable way, and, under certain circumstances, allows the desire for the opposite sex to sink to *nil*; so that masturbation is preferred to the natural mode of satisfaction.

Sometimes the development of higher sexual feelings toward the opposite sex suffers, on account of hypochondriacal fear of infection in sexual intercourse; or on account of an actual infection; or they suffer as a result of a faulty education which points out such dangers and exaggerates them. Again (especially in females), fear of the result of coitus (pregnancy), or abhorrence of men, by reason of mental or moral weakness, may direct into perverse channels an instinct that makes itself felt with abnormal intensity. But too early and perverse sexual satisfaction injures not merely the mind, but also the body; inasmuch as it induces neuroses of the sexual apparatus (irritable weakness of the centres governing erection and ejaculation; defective pleasurable feeling in coitus), while, at the same time, it maintains the imagination and libido in continuous excitement.

Almost every masturbator at last reaches a point where, frightened on learning the results of the vice, or on experiencing them (neurasthenia), or led by example or seduction to the opposite sex, he wishes to free himself of the vice and re-instate his vita sexualis. The moral and mental conditions are the most unfavorable possible. The pure glow of sexual feeling is destroyed; the fire of sexual instinct is wanting, and self-confidence, no less; for every masturbator is more or less timid and cowardly. If the youthful sinner at last comes to make an attempt at coitus, he is either disappointed because enjoyment is wanting, on account of defective sensual feeling, or he is lacking in the mental strength necessary to accomplish the act. The fiasco has a fatal effect, and leads to absolute psychical impotence. A bad conscience and the memory of past failures prevent success in any further attempts. The constant libido sexualis, however, demands satisfaction; but this moral and mental perversion separates him further and further from women. For various reasons, however (neurasthenic complaints, hypochondriacal fear of the results, etc.), the individual is kept from masturbation. Occasionally, under such circumstances, there may be bestiality. Intercourse with the same sex is then near at hand,—as a result of occasional seduction or of the feelings of

Sexual vice, a lighter side

friendship which, on the level of pathological sexuality, easily associate themselves with sexual feelings. Passive and mutual onanism then becomes the equivalent of the avoided act. If there is a seducer,—which, unfortunately, is so frequent,—then the cultivated pederast is produced,—i.e., a man who performs *quasi* acts of onanism with persons of his own sex, and, at the same time, feels and prefers himself in an active rôle corresponding with his real sex; who is mentally indifferent not only to persons of the opposite sex, but also to those of his own sex.

Sexual aberration in the *normally* constituted, *untainted*, mentally healthy individual, reaches this degree. No case has been demonstrated in which perversity has been transformed into perversion,—into a reversal of the sexual instinct.¹

With tainted individuals, the matter is quite different. The latent perverse sexuality is developed under the influence of neurasthenia induced by masturbation, abstinence, or otherwise.

Gradually, in contact with persons of the same sex, sexual excitation by them is induced. Related ideas are colored with

¹ Garnier (*Anomalies Sexuelles*, Paris, pp. 508, 509) reports two cases (Cases 222 and 223) that are apparently opposed to this assumption, particularly the first, in which despair about the unfaithfulness of a lover led the individual to submit to the seductions of men. But the case itself clearly shows that this individual never found pleasure in homo-sexual acts. In Case 223, the individual was effeminated *ab origine*, or was at least a psychical hermaphrodite.

Those who hold to the opinion that the origin of homo-sexual feelings and instinct is found to be exclusively in defective education and other psychological influences are entirely in error.

An untainted male may be raised never so much like a female, and a female like a male, but they will not become homo-sexual. The natural disposition is the determining condition; not education and other accidental circumstances, like seduction. There can be no thought of contrary sexual instinct save when the person of the same sex exerts a psycho-sexual influence on the individual, and thus brings about libido and orgasm,—i.e., has a psychical attraction. Those cases are quite different in which, *faute de mieux*, with great sensuality and a defective aesthetic sense, the body of a person of the same sex is used for an onanistic act (not for coitus in a psychical sense).

In his excellent monograph, Moll shows very clearly and convincingly the importance of original predisposition in contrast with exciting causes (comp. *op. cit.*, pp. 156-175). He knows "many cases where early sexual intercourse with men was not capable of inducing perversion." Moll significantly says, further: "I know of such an epidemic (of mutual onanism) in a Berlin school, where a person who is now an actor shamelessly introduced mutual onanism. Though I now know the names of very many urningen in Berlin, yet I could not ascertain, even with anything like probability, that among all the scholars of that school at that time there was one that had become an urning; but, on the other hand, I have quite certain knowledge that many of those scholars are now normal sexually, in feeling and intercourse."

lustful feelings, and awaken corresponding desires. This decidedly degenerate reaction is the beginning of a process of physical and mental transformation, a description of which is attempted in what follows, and which is one of the most interesting psychological phenomena that has been observed. This metamorphosis presents different stages, or degrees.

I. Degree: Simple Reversal of Sexual Feeling.—This degree is attained when persons of the same sex have an aphrodisiac effect, and the individual has a sexual feeling for them. Character and feeling, however, still correspond with the sex of the individual presenting the reversal of sexual feeling. He feels himself in the active rôle ; he recognizes his impulse toward his own sex as an aberration, and finally seeks aid. With episodical improvement of the neurosis, at first even normal sexual feelings may re-appear and assert themselves. The following case seems well suited to exemplify this stage of the psycho-sexual degeneration :—

Case 94. Acquired Contrary Sexual Instinct.—“I am an official, and, as far as I know, come of an untainted family. My father died of an acute disease ; my mother is living and is *quite nervous*. A sister has been very intensely religious for some years.

“I myself am tall, and, in speech, gait, and manner, give a perfectly masculine impression. Measles is the only disease I have had ; but since my thirteenth year I have suffered with so-called nervous headache. My sexual life began in my thirteenth year, when I became acquainted with a boy somewhat older than myself, with whom I took pleasure in mutual fondling of the genitals. I had the first ejaculation in my fourteenth year. Seduced to onanism by two older school-mates, I practiced it partly with others and partly alone ; in the latter case, however, always with the thought of persons of the female sex. My libido sexualis was very great, as it is to-day. Later, I tried to win a pretty, stout servant-girl who had very large mammae ; id solum assecutus sum, ut me praesente superiorem corporis sui partem enudaret mihiique concederet os mammaque osculari, dum ipsa penem meum valde erectum in manum suam recepit eumque trivit.

“Notwithstanding my urgent demand for coitus, she would not allow it ; but she finally permitted me to touch her genitals.

“After going to the University, I visited a brothel and succeeded without especial effort.

“There an event occurred which brought a change in me. One

evening I accompanied a friend home, and in a mild state of intoxication I grasped him ad genitalia. He made but slight opposition. I then went up to his room with him, and we practiced mutual masturbation. From that time we indulged in it quite frequently; in fact, it came to immissio penis in os, with resultant ejaculations. But it is strange that I was not at all in love with this person, but passionately in love with another friend, near whom I never felt the slightest sexual excitement, and whom I never connected with sexual matters, even in thought. My visits to brothels, where I was gladly received, became more infrequent; in my friend I found a substitute, and did not desire sexual intercourse with women.

“ We never practiced pederasty, and that word was not even known between us. From the beginning of this relation with my friend, I again masturbated more frequently, and naturally the thought of females receded more and more into the background, and I thought more and more about young, handsome, strong men with the largest genitals. I preferred young fellows, from sixteen to twenty-five years old, without beards, but they had to be handsome and clean. Young laborers dressed in trousers of Manchester cloth or English leather, particularly masons, especially excited me.

“ Persons in my own position had hardly any effect on me; but, at the sight of one of those strapping fellows of the lower class, I experienced marked sexual excitement. It seems to me that the touch of such trousers, the opening of them, and the grasping of the penis, as well as kissing the fellow, would be the greatest delight. My sensibility to female charms is somewhat dulled; yet in sexual intercourse with a woman, particularly when she has well-developed mammae, I am always potent without the help of imagination. I have never attempted to make use of a young laborer, or the like, for the satisfaction of my evil desires, and never shall; but I often feel the longing to do it. I often impress on myself the mental image of such a man, and then masturbate at home.

“ I am absolutely devoid of taste for female work. I rather like to move in female society, but dancing is repugnant to me. I have a lively interest in the fine arts. That my sexual sense is partly reversed is, I believe, in part due to greater convenience, which keeps me from entering into a relation with a girl; as the latter is a matter of too much trouble. To be constantly visiting houses of prostitution is, for æsthetic reasons, repugnant to me; and thus I am always returning to solitary onanism, which is very difficult for me to avoid.

“ Hundreds of times I have said to myself that, in order to have a normal sexual sense, it would be necessary for me, first of all, to overcome my irresistible passion for onanism,—a practice so repugnant to my æsthetic feeling. Again and again I have resolved with all my might to fight this passion; but I am still unsuccessful. When I felt the sexual impulse gaining strength, instead of seeking satisfaction in the natural

manner, I preferred to masturbate, because I felt that I would thus have more enjoyment.

" And yet experience has taught me that I am always potent with girls, and that, too, without trouble and without the help of imagining masculine genitals. In one case, however, I did not attain ejaculation because the woman—it was in a brothel—was devoid of every charm. I cannot avoid the thought and severe self-accusation that, to a certain extent, my contrary sexuality is the result of excessive onanism ; and this especially depresses me, because I am compelled to acknowledge that I scarcely feel strong enough to overcome this vice by the force of my own will.

" As a result of my relations with my fellow-student and schoolmate for years, mentioned in this communication,—which, however, began while we were at the University, and after we had been friends for seven years,—the impulse to unnatural satisfaction of libido has grown much stronger. I trust you will permit the description of an incident which occupied me for months :—

" In the summer of 1882, I made the acquaintance of a companion six years younger than myself, who, with several others, had been introduced to me and my acquaintances. I very soon felt a deep interest in this handsome man, who was unusually well proportioned, slim, and full of health. After a few weeks of association, this feeling became friendship, and at last passionate love, with feelings of the most intense jealousy. I very soon noticed that, in this, sexual excitation was also very marked ; and, notwithstanding my determination, aside from all others, to keep myself in check in relation to this man, whom I respected so highly for his superior character, one night, after free indulgence in beer, as we were enjoying a bottle of champagne in my room and drinking to good, true, and lasting friendship, I yielded to the irresistible impulse to embrace him, etc.

" When I saw him, next day, I was so ashamed that I could not look him in the face. I felt the deepest regret for my action, and accused myself bitterly for having thus sullied this friendship, which was to be and remain so pure and precious. In order to prove to him that I had lost control of myself only momentarily, at the end of the semester I urged him to make an excursion with me ; and after some reluctance, the reason of which was only too clear to me, he consented. Several nights we slept in the same room without any attempt on my part to repeat my action. I wished to talk with him about the event of that night, but I could not bring myself to it ; even when, during the next semester, we were separated, I could not induce myself to write to him on the subject ; and when I visited him, in March, at X., it was the same. And yet I felt a great desire to clear up this dark point by an open statement. In October of the same year, I was again in X., and this time found courage to speak without reserve ; indeed, I asked him why he had not resisted me. He answered that, in part, it was because he wished to please

me, and, in part, owing to the fact that he was somewhat apathetic as a result of being a little intoxicated. I explained to him my condition, and also gave him "Psychopathia Sexualis" to read, expressing the hope that by the force of my own will I should become fully and lastingly master of my unnatural impulse. Since this confession, the relation between this friend and me has been the most delightful and happy possible; there are the most friendly feelings on both sides, which are heart-felt and true; and it is to be hoped that they will endure.

"If I should not improve my abnormal condition, I am determined to put myself under your treatment; the more because, after a careful study of your work, I cannot count myself as belonging to the category of so-called urning; and, too, because I have the firm conviction, or hope, at least, that a strong will, assisted and combined with skillful treatment, could transform me into a man of normal feeling."

Case 95. Ilma S.¹, aged 29; single; merchant's daughter. She comes of a family having bad nervous taint. Father was a drinker and died by suicide, as also did the patient's brother and sister. A sister suffers with convulsive hysteria. Mother's father shot himself while insane. Mother was sickly, and died paralyzed after apoplexy. The patient never had any severe illness. She is bright, enthusiastic, and dreamy. Menses at the age of eighteen without difficulty; but thereafter they were very irregular. At fourteen, chlorosis and catalepsy from fright. Later, hysteria gravis and an attack of hysterical insanity. At eighteen, relations with a young man which were not platonic. This man's love was passionately returned. From statements of the patient, it seems that she was very sensual, and after separation from her lover practiced masturbation. After this she led a romantic life. In order to earn a living, she put on male clothing, and became a tutor; but she gave up her place because her mistress, not knowing her sex, fell in love with her and courted her. Then she became a railway-employé. In the company of her companions, in order to conceal her sex, she was compelled to visit brothels with them, and hear the most vulgar stories. This became so distasteful to her that she gave up her place, resumed the garments of a female, and again sought to earn her living. She was arrested for a theft, and on account of severe hystero-epilepsy was sent to the hospital. There, inclination and impulse toward the same sex were discovered. The patient became troublesome on account of passionate love for female nurses and patients.

Her sexual perversion was considered congenital. With regard to this the patient made some interesting statements:—

"I am judged incorrectly, if it is thought that I feel myself a man toward the female sex. In my whole thought and feeling I am much more a woman. I loved my cousin as only a woman can love a man."

¹ Comp. author's Experimental Study in the Domain of Hypnotism, 1889. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

"The change of my feeling originated in this, that, in Pesth, dressed as a man, I had an opportunity to observe my cousin. I saw that I had wholly deceived myself in him. That gave me terrible heart-pangs. I knew that I could never love another man; that I belonged to those who love but once. Of similar effect was the fact that, in the society of my companions at the railway, I was compelled to hear the most offensive language and visit the most disreputable houses. As a result of the insight into men's motives, gained in this way, I took an unconquerable dislike to them. However, since I am of a very passionate nature and need to have some loving person on whom to depend, and to whom I can wholly surrender myself, I felt myself more and more powerfully drawn toward intelligent women and girls who were in sympathy with me."

The contrary sexual instinct of this patient, which was clearly acquired, expressed itself in a stormy and decidedly sensual way, and was further augmented by masturbation; because constant oversight in hospitals made sexual satisfaction with the same sex impossible. Character and occupation remained feminine. There were no manifestations of virginity. According to information lately received by the author, this patient, after two years of treatment in an asylum, was entirely freed from her neurosis and sexual perversion, and discharged cured.

Case 96. X., aged 19; mother nervous; two sisters of mother's father were insane. Patient of nervous temperament; well endowed mentally; well developed; normally formed. When he was twelve years old, he was seduced into mutual onanism by an elder brother.

After this, the patient continued the vice alone. In the last three years, during the act of masturbation, he had had peculiar fancies in the sense of "contrary sexual instinct."

He fancies himself a female; as, for example, a ballet-dancer in the act of coitus with an officer or circus rider. These perverse fancies have accompanied the act of masturbation since the patient became neurasthenic. He understands the harm of masturbation, fights desperately against it, but always gives up to the impulse.

If he is able to withstand the impulse for a few days, a normal desire for sexual intercourse with females is awakened; but a certain fear of infection holds these desires in check, and always drives him again to masturbation.

It is worthy of remark that this unfortunate's lascivious dreams concerned only females.

In the course of the last few months, the patient had become very neurasthenic and hypochondriacal. He feared tabes.

I advised treatment of the neurasthenia, suppression of masturbation, and marital cohabitation, if possible, after improvement of the neurasthenia.

Case 97. Mr. X, aged 35, single, official; mother insane, brother hypochondriacal.

Patient was healthy, strong, of lively sensual temperament. He had manifested powerful sexual instinct abnormally early, and masturbated while yet a small boy. He had coitus the first time at the age of fourteen, he says, with enjoyment and complete power. When fifteen years old, a man sought to seduce him, and performed manustupration on him. X. experienced a feeling of repulsion, and freed himself from the disgusting situation. At maturity he committed excesses in libido, with coitus; in 1880 he became neurasthenic, being afflicted with weakness of erection and ejaculatio præcox. He thus became less and less potent, and no longer experienced pleasure in the sexual act. At this time of sexual decadence, for a long time, he still had what was previously foreign to him, and is still incomprehensible to him,—an inclination for sexual intercourse with immature girls of the age of twelve or thirteen. His libido increased as virility diminished.

Gradually he developed inclination for boys of thirteen or fourteen. He was impelled to approach them.

Quodsi ei occasio data est ut tangere posset pueros qui ei placuere, penis vehementer se erexit tum maxime quum crura puerorum tangere potuisset. Abhinc feminas non cupivit. Nonnunquam feminas ad coitum coëgit sed erectio debilis, ejaculatio præmatura erat sine ulla voluptate.

Now only youths interested him. He dreamed about them and had pollutions. After 1882 he now and then had opportunity concubere cum juvenibus. This led to powerful sexual excitement, which he satisfied by masturbation. It was only exceptional for him to venture to touch his bed-fellow and indulge in mutual masturbation. He shunned pederasty. For the most part, he was compelled to satisfy his sexual needs by means of solitary masturbation. In the act he called up the vision of pleasing boys. After sexual intercourse with such boys, he always felt strengthened and refreshed, but morally depressed; because there was consciousness of having performed a perverse, indecent, and punishable act. He found it painful that his disgusting impulse was more powerful than his will.

X. thinks that his love for his own sex has resulted from great excess in natural sexual intercourse, and bemoans his situation. On the occasion of a consultation, in December, 1889, he asked whether there were any means to bring him back to a normal sexual condition, since he had no real horror feminæ, and would very gladly marry.

This intelligent patient, free from degenerative signs, presented no abnormal symptoms except those of sexual and spinal neurasthenia of moderate degree.

*Set Change
acquired*

II. Degree: Eviration and Defemination.—If, in cases of contrary sexual instinct thus developed, no restoration occurs, then deep and lasting transformations of the psychical personality may occur. The process completing itself in this way may be briefly designated eviration. The patient undergoes a deep change of character, particularly in his feelings and inclinations, which become those of a female. After this, he also feels himself to be a woman during the sexual act, has desire only for passive sexual indulgence, and, under certain circumstances, sinks to the level of a prostitute. In this condition of deep and more lasting psycho-sexual transformation, the individual is like the (congenital) urning of high grade. The possibility of a restoration of the previous mental and sexual personality seems, in such a case, excluded.

The following case is a classical example of this variety of lasting acquired contrary sexual instinct:—

Case 98. Sch., aged 30, physician, one day told me the story of his life and malady, asking explanation, and advice concerning certain anomalies of his vita sexualis. The following description gives, for the most part verbatim, the details of the autobiography; only in some portions is it shortened:—

"My parents were healthy. As a child I was sickly; but with good care I thrived, and got on well in school. When eleven years old, I was taught to masturbate by my playmates, and gave myself up to it passionately. Until I was fifteen, I learned easily. On account of frequent pollutions, I became less capable, did not get on easily in school, and was uncertain and embarrassed when called on by the teacher. Frightened by my loss of capability, and recognizing that the loss of semen was responsible for it, I gave up masturbation; but the pollutions became even more frequent, so that I often had two or three in a night. In despair, I now consulted one physician after another. None were able to help me.

"Since I grew weaker and weaker, by reason of the loss of semen, with the impulse to sexual satisfaction growing more and more powerful, I sought houses of prostitution. But I was there unable to find satisfaction; for, even though the sight of a naked female pleased me, neither orgasm nor erection occurred; and even manustupration by the puella was not capable of inducing erection. Scarcely would I leave the house, when the impulse would seize me again, and I would have violent erections. I grew ashamed before the girls, and ceased to visit such houses. Thus a couple of years passed. My sexual life consisted of

pollutions. My inclination toward the opposite sex grew less and less. At nineteen I went to the University. The theatre had more attractions for me. I wished to become an actor. My parents were not willing. At the Capital I was compelled now and then to visit girls with my comrades. I feared such a situation; because I knew that coitus was impossible for me, and because my friends might discover my impotence. Therefore, I avoided, as far as possible, the danger of becoming the butt of jokes and ridicule.

"One evening, in the opera-house, an old gentleman sat near me. He courted me. I laughed heartily at the foolish old man, and entered into his joke. Exinapinato genitalia mea prehendit, quo facto statim penis meus se erexit. Frightened, I demanded of him what he meant. He said that he was in love with me. Having heard of hermaphrodites in the clinics, I thought I had one before me, and became curious to see his genitals. The old man was very willing, and went with me to the water-closet. Sicuti penem maximum ejus erectum adspexi, perterritus effugi.

"This man followed me, and made strange proposals which I did not understand, and repelled. He did not give me any rest. I learned the secrets of male love for males, and felt that my sexuality was excited by it. But I resisted the shameful passion (as I then regarded it), and, for the next three years, I remained free from it. During this time I repeatedly attempted coitus with girls in vain. My attempts to free myself of my impotence by means of medical treatment were also vain. Once, when my libido sexualis was troubling me again, I recalled what the old man had told me: that male-loving men were accustomed to meet on the E. Promenade.

"After a hard struggle, and with beating heart, I went there, made the acquaintance of a blonde man, and allowed myself to be seduced. The first step was taken. This kind of sexual love was satisfactory to me. I always preferred to be in the arms of a strong man. The satisfaction consisted of mutual manustupration; occasionally in osculum ad penem alterius. I was then twenty-three years old. Sitting, together with my comrades, on the beds of patients in the clinic during the lectures, excited me so intensely that I could scarcely listen to the lectures. In the same year I entered into a formal love-relation with a merchant of thirty-four. We lived as man and wife. X. played the man, and fell more and more in love. I gave up to him, but now and then I had to play the man. After a time I grew tired of him, became unfaithful, and he became jealous. There were terrible scenes, which led to temporary separation, and finally to actual rupture. (The merchant afterward became insane, and died by suicide.)

"I made many acquaintances, and loved the most ordinary people. I preferred those having a full beard, and who were tall and of middle age, and able to play the active *rôle* well. I developed a proctitis. The pro-

fessor thought it was the result of sitting too much while preparing for examinations. I developed a fistula, and had to undergo an operation; but this did not cure me of my desire to allow myself to be used passively. I became a physician, and went to a provincial city, where I had to live like a nun. I developed a desire to move in ladies' society, and was gladly welcomed there; because it was found that I was not so one-sided as most men, and was interested in *toilettes* and such feminine things. However, I felt very unhappy and lonesome. Fortunately, in this town, I made the acquaintance of a man, a 'sister,' who felt like me. For some time I was taken care of by him. When he had to leave, I had an attack of despair, with depression, which was accompanied by thoughts of suicide.

"When it became impossible for me to longer endure the town, I became a military surgeon in the Capital. There I began to live again, and often made two or three acquaintances in one day. I had never loved boys or young people; only fully-developed men. The thought of falling into the hands of the police was frightful. Thus I have escaped the clutches of the blackmailer. At the same time, I could not keep myself from the satisfaction of my impulse. After some months I fell in love with an official of forty. I remained true to him for a year, and we lived like a pair of lovers. I was the wife, and was formally courted by the lover. One day I was transferred to a small town. We were in despair. The last night was spent in continually kissing and caressing one another.

"In T. I was unspeakably unhappy, in spite of some 'sisters' whom I found. I could not forget my lover. In order to satisfy my sexual desire, which cried for satisfaction, I chose soldiers. Money obtained men; but they remained cold, and I had no enjoyment with them. I was successful in being re-transferred to the Capital. There, there was a new love-relation, but much jealousy; because my lover liked to go into the society of 'sisters,' and was proud and coquettish. There was a rupture. I was very unhappy and very glad to be transferred from the Capital. I now stayed in C., alone and in despair. Two infantry privates were brought into service, but with the same unsatisfactory result. When shall I ever find true love again?

"I am over medium height, well developed, and look somewhat aged; and, therefore, when I wish to make conquests I use the arts of the toilet. My manner, movements, and face are masculine. Physically I feel as youthful as a boy of twenty. I love the theatre, and especially art. My interest in the stage is in the actresses, whose every movement and gesture I notice and criticise.

"In the society of gentlemen I am silent and embarrassed, while in the society of those like myself I am free, witty, and as fawning as a cat, if a man is sympathetic. If I am without love, I become deeply melancholic; but the favors of the first handsome man dispel my depre-

sion. In other ways I am frivolous; anything but ambitious. My profession is nothing to me. Masculine pursuits do not interest me. I prefer novels and going to the theatre. I am effeminate, sensitive, easily moved, easily injured, and nervous. A sudden noise makes my whole body tremble, and I have to collect myself in order to keep from crying out."

Remarks: The foregoing case is certainly one of acquired contrary sexual instinct, since the sexual instinct and impulse were originally directed toward the female sex. Sch. became neurasthenic through masturbation.

As an accompanying manifestation of the neurasthenic neurosis, lessened impressionability of the erection-centre and consequent relative impotence came on. As a result of this, sexual sensibility toward the opposite sex was lessened, with simultaneous persistence of libido sexualis. The acquired contrary sexual instinct must be abnormal, since the first touch by a person of the same sex is an adequate stimulus for the erection-centre. The perverse sexual feeling became complete. At first Sch. felt like a man in the sexual act; but more and more, as the change progressed, the feeling and desire of satisfaction changed to the form which, as a rule, characterizes the (congenital) urning.

This eviration induces a desire for the passive *rôle*, and, further, for (passive) pederasty. It makes a deeper impress on the character. The character becomes feminine, inasmuch as Sch. now prefers to move in the society of actual females, has an increasing desire for feminine occupations, and, indeed, makes use of the arts of the toilet in order to improve his fading charms and make "conquests."

The foregoing facts, concerning acquired contrary sexual instinct and effemimation, find an interesting confirmation in the following ethnological data:—

Even Herodotus describes a peculiar disease which frequently affected the Scythians. The disease consisted in this: that men became effeminate in character, put on female garments, did the work of women, and even became effeminate in appearance. As an explanation of this insanity of the Scythians,¹ Herodotus relates the myth that the goddess Venus, angered by the plundering of the temple at Ascalon by the Scythians, had made women of these plunderers and their posterity.

¹ Comp. Sprengel, "Apologie des Hippokrates," Leipzig, 1792, p. 611; Friedreich, "Literärgeschichte der psych. Krankheiten," 1830, p. 31; Lallemand, "Des pertes séminales," Paris, 1836, i, p. 581; Nysten, "Dictionn. de médecine," xi édit., Paris, 1858, Art. "éviration et Maladie des Scythes"; Marandon, "De la maladie des Scythes"; "Annal. médico-psychol.," 1877, Mars, p. 161; Hammond, American Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry, August, 1882.

Hippocrates, not believing in supernatural diseases, recognized that impotence was here a causative factor, and explained it, though incorrectly, as due to the custom of the Scythians, by attributing it to disease of the jugular veins induced by excessive riding. He thought that these veins were of great importance in the preservation of the sexual powers, and that when they were severed, impotence was induced. Since the Scythians considered their impotence due to divine punishment, and incurable, they put on the clothing of females, and lived as women among women.

It is worthy of note that, according to Klaproth ("Reise in den Kaukasus," Berlin, 1812, v, p. 285) and Chotomski, even at the present time impotence is very frequent among the Tartars, as a result of riding unsaddled horses. The same is observed among the Apaches and Navajos of the Western Continent, who ride excessively, scarcely ever going on foot, and are remarkable for small genitals and mild libido and virility. Sprengel, Lallemand, and Nysten recognized the fact that excessive riding may be injurious to the sexual organs.

Hammond reports analogous observations of great interest concerning the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. These descendants of the Aztecs cultivate so-called "mujerados," of which every Pueblo tribe requires one in the religious ceremonies (actual orgies in the spring), in which pederasty plays an important part. In order to cultivate a "mujerado," a very powerful man is chosen, and he is made to masturbate excessively and ride constantly. Gradually such irritable weakness of the genital organs is engendered that, in riding, great loss of semen is induced. This condition of irritability passes into paralytic impotence. Then the testicles and penis atrophy, the hair of the beard falls out, the voice loses its depth and compass, and physical strength and energy decrease. Inclinations and disposition become feminine. The "mujerado" loses his position in society as a man. He takes on feminine manners and customs, and associates with women. Yet, for religious reasons, he is held in honor. It is probable that, at other times than during the festivals, he is used by the chiefs for pederasty. Hammond had an opportunity to examine two "mujerados." One had become such seven years before, and was thirty-five years old at the time. Seven years before, he was entirely masculine and potent. He had noticed gradual atrophy of the testicles and penis. At the same time he lost libido and the power of erection. He differed in nowise, in dress and manner, from the women among whom Hammond found him. The genital hair was wanting, the penis was shrunken, the scrotum lax and pendulous, and the testicles were very much atrophied and no longer sensitive to pressure. The "mujerado" had large mammae like a pregnant woman, and asserted that he had nursed several children whose mothers had died. A second "mujerado," aged thirty-six, after he had been ten years in the condition, presented the same peculiarities, though with less de-

velopment of mammae. Like the first, the voice was high and thin. The body was plump.¹

*III. Degree: Stage of Transition to Metamorphosis
Sexualis Paranoica.*

A further degree of development is represented by those cases in which bodily sensation is also transformed in the sense of a *transmutatio sexus*. In this respect the following case is unique:—

¹ The following description of the "bote" is taken from Dr. J. G. Kiernan's article on "Responsibility in Sexual Perversion," read before the Chicago Medical Society, March 7, 1892: "In accordance with the well-known physiological law, that too frequent excitation of a nerve exhausts the reaction of that nerve to that excitant, sexual excess exhausts the normal reaction, whence it occurs that abnormal stimulus is required and the vice type of sexual perversion results. Such vice types crop up among savages. Dr. A. B. Holder (N. Y. Med. Jour., 1889) describes a sexual pervert called the 'bote' by the Montana and the 'burdach' by the Washington Indians. Such a pervert is found among all the tribes of the Northwest. Like all other sexual perverts, these 'botes' can recognize each other. Dr. Holder has found that the 'bote' wears the squaw dress, parts his hair like a squaw, and assumes feminine speech and manners. Their features are often masculine. In childhood feminine dress and manners are assumed, but not until puberty do 'bote' practices result. These consist in taking the male organ of the active party in the lips of the 'bote,' who experiences the sexual orgasm at the same time. A 'bote' examined by Dr. Holder was a splendidly formed fellow, of prepossessing face, in perfect health, active in movement, and happy in disposition. By offering payment, he induced him to submit himself, though with considerable reluctance, to a thorough examination. He was five feet eight inches high, weighed one hundred and fifty-eight pounds, and had a frank, intelligent face,—being an Indian, of course beardless. He was thirty-three years of age, and had worn woman's dress for twenty-eight years. His dress was the usual dress of the Indian female, consisting of four articles,—a single dress or gown of half a dozen yards of cloth, made loose with wide sleeves, and skirt reaching to the ankles, the skirt and body of one piece, very much like the 'Mother Hubbard' *negligée* worn by ladies; a beaded belt loosely confining this at the waist; stockings from government annuity goods, and buckskin moccasins extending above the ankles. The hair, twenty-four or twenty-six inches long, was parted in the centre and allowed to hang loose in two masses behind the shoulders. Since among the Sioux and some other tribes it is usual for men to wear their hair in this way, it is well to observe that in this tribe (Absaroke) the men usually wear the hair in long braids, and always part it on the side and 'roach' the front. His skin was smooth and free from hair, there being absolutely none on the legs, arms, or breast, or in the arm-pits. This is of no special significance, as male and female Indians are both free from hair on these parts of the body. The mammae were as rudimentary as those of the male. When he removed his dress he threw his thighs together so as to completely conceal the organs, whether male or female; such a movement is made by timid women under examination,—a movement usually successful in the female, owing to the non-projecting character of the genitals and to the rotundity of the thighs; but not usually easy, for the reverse reasons, in the male. In this the 'bote'—either from the conformation of the thighs, which had the feminine rotundity, or from skill acquired by habit—succeeded completely. When he separated his thighs, male organs came into view, in size perhaps not quite so large as the physique of the man would indicate, but in position and shape altogether normal. The penis was flaccid. The 'bote' in habits very closely resembles a class described by Hippocrates among the Scythians of Caucasus, called by the Greeks *anandreis*, a word strikingly similar in meaning to 'bote.'”—TRANS.

Case 99. *Autobiography.* "Born in Hungary in 1844, for many years I was the only child of my parents; for the other children died for the most part of general weakness. A brother came late, who is still living.

"I come of a family in which nervous and mental diseases have been numerous. It is said that I was very pretty as a little child, with blonde locks and transparent skin; very obedient, quiet, and modest, so that I was taken everywhere in the society of ladies without any offense on my part.

*Childhood
Carries*

"With a very active imagination—my enemy through life—my talents developed rapidly. I could read and write at the age of four; my memory reaches back to my third year. I played with everything that fell into my hands,—with leaden soldiers, or stones, or ribbons from a children's store; but a machine for working in wood, that was given to me as a present, I did not like. I liked best to be at home with my mother, who was everything to me. I had two or three friends, with whom I got on good-naturedly; but I liked to play with their sisters quite as well, who always treated me like a girl, which at first did not embarrass me. I must have already been on the road to become just like a girl; at least, I can still well remember how it was always said: 'He is not intended for a boy.' At this I tried to play the boy,—imitated my companions in everything, and tried to surpass them in wildness. In this I succeeded. There was no tree or building too high for me to reach its top. I took great delight in soldiers. I avoided girls more, because I did not wish to play with their play-things; and it always annoyed me that they treated me so much like one of themselves.

"In the society of mature people, however, I was always modest, and, also, always regarded with favor. Fantastic dreams about wild animals—which once drove me out of bed without waking me—frequently troubled me. I was always very simply, but very elegantly, dressed, and thus developed a taste for beautiful clothing. It seems peculiar to me that, from the time of my school-days, I had a partiality for ladies' gloves, which I put on secretly as often as I could. Thus, when once my mother was about to give away a pair of gloves, I made great opposition to it, and told her, when she asked why I acted so, that I wanted them myself. I was laughed at; and from that time I took good care not to display my preference for female things. Yet my delight in them was very great. I took especial pleasure in masquerade costumes,—i.e., only in female attire. If I saw them, I envied their owners. What seemed to me the prettiest sight was: two young men, beautifully dressed as white ladies, with masks on; and yet I would not have shown myself to others as a girl for anything; I was so afraid of being ridiculed. At school I worked very hard, and was always among the first. From childhood my parents taught me that duty came first; and they always set me an example. It was also a pleasure for me to

attend school; for the teachers were kind, and the elder scholars did not plague the younger ones. We left my first home; for my father was compelled, on account of his business,—which was dear to him,—to separate from his family for a year. We moved to Germany. Here there was a stricter, rougher manner, partly in teachers and partly in scholars; and I was again ridiculed on account of my girlishness. My schoolmates went so far as to give a girl, who had exactly my features, my name, and me hers; so that I hated the girl. But I later came to be on terms of friendship with her after her marriage. My mother tried to dress me elegantly; but this was repugnant to me, because it made me the object of joke. So, finally, I was delighted when I had correct trousers and coats. But with these came a new annoyance. They irritated my genitals, particularly when the cloth was rough; and the touch of tailors while measuring me, on account of their tickling, which almost convulsed me, was unendurable, particularly about the genitals. Then I had to practice gymnastics; and I simply could do nothing at all, or only indifferently the things that girls cannot do easily. While bathing I was troubled by feeling ashamed to undress; but I liked to bathe. Until my twelfth year I had a great weakness in my back. I learned to swim late, but ultimately so well that I took long swims. At thirteen I had pubic hair, and was about six feet tall; but my face was feminine until my eighteenth year, when my beard came in abundance and gave me rest from resemblance to woman. An inguinal hernia that was acquired in my twelfth year, and cured when I was twenty, gave me much trouble, particularly in gymnastics. Besides, from my twelfth year on, I had, after sitting long, and particularly while working at night, an itching, burning, and twitching, extending from the penis to my back, which the acts of sitting and standing increased, and which was made worse by catching cold. But I had no suspicion whatever that this could be connected with the genitals. Since none of my friends suffered in this way, it seemed strange to me; and it required the greatest patience to endure it; the more owing to the fact that my abdomen troubled me.

"In *sexualibus* I was still perfectly innocent; but now, as at the age of twelve or thirteen, I had a definite feeling of preferring to be a young lady. A young lady's form was more pleasing to me; her quiet manner, her deportment, but particularly her attire, attracted me. But I was careful not to allow this to be noticed; and yet, I am sure that I should not have shrunk from the castration-knife, could I have thus attained my desire. If I had been asked to say why I preferred female attire, I could have said nothing more than that it attracted me powerfully; perhaps, too, I seemed to myself, on account of my uncommonly white skin, more like a girl. The skin of my face and hands, particularly, was very sensitive. Girls liked my society; and, though I should have preferred to have been with them constantly, I avoided them when I could; for I had to exaggerate in order not to appear feminine. In

my heart I always envied them. I was particularly envious when one of my young girl friends got long dresses and wore gloves and veils. When, at the age of fifteen, I was on a journey, a young lady, with whom I was boarding, proposed that I mask as a lady and go out with her; but, owing to the fact that she was not alone, I did not acquiesce, much as I should have liked it. Others stood on very little ceremony with me. While on this journey, I was pleased at seeing boys in one city wearing blouses with short sleeves, and the arms bare. A lady elaborately dressed was like a goddess to me; and if even her hand touched me coldly I was happy and envious, and only too gladly would have put myself in her place in the beautiful garments and lovely form. Nevertheless, I studied assiduously, and passed through the Realschule and the Gymnasium in nine years, passing a good final examination. I remember, when fifteen, to have first expressed to a friend the wish to be a girl. In answer to his question, I could not give the reason why. At seventeen I got into fast society; I drank beer, smoked, and tried to joke with waiter-girls. The latter liked my society, but they always treated me as if I wore petticoats. I could not take dancing lessons, they repelled me so; but if I could have gone as a mask, it would have been different. My friends loved me dearly; I hated only one, who seduced me into onanism. Shame on those days, which injured me for life! I practiced it quite frequently, but in it seemed to myself like a double man. I cannot describe the feeling; I think it was masculine, but mixed with feminine elements. I could not approach girls; I feared them, but they were not strange to me. They impressed me as being more like myself; I envied them. I would have denied myself all pleasures if, after my classes, at home I could have been a girl and thus have gone out. Crinoline and a smoothly-fitting glove were my ideals. With every lady's gown I saw I fancied how I should feel in it,—*i.e.*, as a lady. I had no inclination toward men. But I remember that I was somewhat lovingly attached to a very handsome friend with a girl's face and dark hair, though I think I had no other wish than that we both might be girls.

"At the high-school I finally once had coitus; *hoc modo sensi, me libentius sub puella concubuisse et penem meum cum cunno mutatum maluisse*. To my astonishment, too, the girl had to treat me as a girl, and did it willingly; but she treated me as if I were she (she was still quite inexperienced, and, therefore, did not laugh at me).

"When a student, at times I was wild, but I always felt that I assumed this wildness as a mask. I drank and duelled, but I could not take lessons in dancing, because I was afraid of betraying myself. My friendships were close, but without other thoughts. It pleased me most to have a friend masked as a lady, or to study the ladies' costumes at a ball. I understood such things perfectly. Gradually I began to feel like a girl.

" On account of unhappy circumstances, I twice attempted suicide. Without any cause I once slept fourteen days, had many hallucinations (visual and auditory at the same time), and was with both the living and the dead. The latter habit of thought remains. I also had a friend (a lady) who knew my hobby and put on my gloves for me; but she always looked upon me as a girl. Thus I understood women better than other men did, and in what they differed from men; so I was always treated *more feminarum*,—as if they had found in me a female friend. On the whole, I could not endure obscenity, and indulged in it myself only out of braggadocio when it was necessary. I soon overcame my aversion to foul odors and blood, and even liked them. I was wanting in only one respect: I could not understand my own condition. I knew that I had feminine inclinations, but believed that I was a man. Yet I doubt whether, with the exception of the attempts at coitus, which never gave me pleasure (which I ascribe to onanism), I ever admired a woman without wishing I were she; or without asking myself whether I should not like to be the woman, or be in her attire. Obstetrics I learned with difficulty (I was ashamed for the exposed girls, and had a feeling of pity for them); and even now I have to overcome a feeling of fright in obstetrical cases; indeed, it has happened that I thought I felt the traction myself. After filling several positions successfully as a physician, I went through a military campaign as a volunteer surgeon. Riding, which, while a student, was painful to me, because in it the genitals had more of a feminine feeling, was difficult for me (it would have been easier in the female style).

" Still, I always thought I was a man with obscure masculine feeling; and whenever I associated with ladies, I was still soon treated as an inexperienced lady. When I wore a uniform for the first time, I should have much preferred to have slipped into a lady's costume, with a veil; I was disturbed when the stately uniform attracted attention. In private practice I was successful in the three principal branches. Then I made another military campaign; and during this I came to understand my nature; for I think that, since the first ass, no beast of burden has ever had to endure with so much patience as I have. Decorations were not wanting, but I was indifferent to them.

" Thus I went through life, such as it was, never satisfied with myself, full of dissatisfaction with the world, and vacillating between sentimentality and a wildness that was for the most part affected.

" My experience as a candidate for matrimony was very peculiar. I should have preferred not to marry, but family circumstances and practice forced me to it. I married an energetic, amiable lady, of a family in which female government was rampant. I was in love with her as much as one of us can be in love,—*i.e.*, what we love we love with our whole hearts, and live in it, even though we do not show it as much as a genuine man does. We love our brides with all the love of a woman, almost

as a woman might love her bridegroom. But I cannot say this for myself; for I still believed that I was but a depressed man, who would come to himself, and find himself out by marriage. But, even on my marriage-night, I felt that I was only a woman in man's form; sub femina locum meum esse mihi visum est. On the whole, we lived contented and happy, and for two years were childless. After a difficult pregnancy, during which I was in mortal fear of death, the first boy was born in a difficult labor,—a boy on whom a melancholy nature still hangs; who is still of melancholy disposition. Then came a second, who is very quiet; a third, full of peculiarities; a fourth, a fifth; and all have predisposition to neurasthenia. Since I always felt out of my own place, I went much in gay society; but I always worked as much as human strength would allow. I studied and operated; and I experimented with many drugs and methods of cure, always on myself. I left the regulation of the house to my wife, as she understood house-keeping very well. My marital duties I performed as well as I could, but without personal satisfaction. Since the first coitus, the masculine position in it has been repugnant, and, too, difficult for me. I should have much preferred to have the other rôle. When I had to deliver my wife, it almost broke my heart; for I knew how to appreciate her pain. Thus we lived long together, until severe gout drove me to various baths, and made me neurasthenic. At the same time, I became so anaemic that every few months I had to take iron for some time; otherwise I would be almost chlorotic or hysterical, or both. Stenocardia often troubled me; then came unilateral cramps of chin, nose, neck, and larynx; hemicrania and cramps of the diaphragm and chest-muscles. For about three years I had a feeling as if the prostate were enlarged,—a bearing-down feeling, as if giving birth to something; and, also, pain in the hips, constant pain in the back, and the like. Yet, with the strength of despair, I fought against these complaints, which impressed me as being female or effeminate, until three years ago, when a severe attack of arthritis completely broke me down.

“But before this terrible attack of gout occurred, in despair, to lessen the pain of gout, I had taken hot baths, as near the temperature of the body as possible. On one of these occasions it happened that I suddenly changed, and seemed to be near death. I sprang with all my remaining strength out of the bath: I had felt exactly like a woman with libido. Too, at the time when the extract of Indian hemp came into vogue, and was highly prized, in a state of fear of a threatened attack of gout (feeling perfectly indifferent about life), I took three or four times the usual dose of it, and almost died of haschisch poisoning. Convulsive laughter, a feeling of unheard of strength and swiftness, a peculiar feeling in brain and eyes, millions of sparks streaming from the brain through the skin,—all these feelings occurred. But I could not force myself to speak. All at once I saw myself a woman from my toes

to my breast; I felt, as before while in the bath, that the genitals had shrunken, the pelvis broadened, the breasts swollen out; a feeling of unspeakable delight came over me. I closed my eyes, so that at least I did not see the face changed. My physician looked as if he had a gigantic potatoe instead of a head; my wife had the full moon on her nates. And yet I was strong enough to briefly record my will in my note-book when both left the room for a short time.

"But who could describe my fright, when, on the next morning, I awoke and found myself feeling as if completely changed into a woman; and when, on standing and walking, I felt vulva and mammæ! When at last I raised myself out of bed, I felt that a complete transformation had taken place in me. During my sickness a visitor said: 'He is too patient for a man.' And the visitor gave me a plant in bloom, which seemed strange, but pleased me. From that time I was patient, and would do nothing in a hurry; but I became tenacious, like a cat, though, at the same time, mild, forgiving, and no longer bearing enmity,—in short, I had a woman's disposition. During the last sickness I had many visual and auditory hallucinations,—spoke with the dead, etc.; saw and heard familiar spirits; felt like a double person; but, while lying ill, I did not notice that the man in me had been extinguished. The change in my disposition was a piece of good fortune which came over me like lightning, and which, had it come with me feeling as I formerly did, would have killed me; but now I gave myself up to it, and no longer recognized myself. Owing to the fact that I still often confounded neurasthenic symptoms with the gout, I took many baths, until an itching of the skin with the feeling of scabies, instead of being diminished, was so increased that I gave up all external treatment (I was made more and more anaemic by the baths), and hardened myself as best I could. But the imperative female feeling remained, and became so strong that I wear only the mask of a man, and in everything else feel like a woman; and gradually I have lost memory of the former individuality. What was left of me from the gout, the influenza ruined entirely.

"*Present Condition:* I am tall, slightly bald, and the beard is growing gray. I begin to stoop. Since having the influenza, I have lost about a quarter of my strength. Owing to a valvular lesion, my face looks somewhat red; full beard; chronic conjunctivitis; more muscular than fat. The left foot seems to be developing varicose veins, and it often goes to sleep; but it is not really thickened, though it seems to be.

"The mammary region, though small, swells out perceptibly. The abdomen is feminine in form; the feet are placed like a woman's, and the calves, etc., are feminine; and it is the same with arms and hands. I can wear ladies' hose, and gloves, $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{3}{4}$ in size. I also wear a corset without annoyance. My weight varies between 168 and 184 pounds. Urine without albumen or sugar, but it contains an excess of uric acid. But if there is not too much uric acid in it, it is clear, and almost as

clear as water after any excitement. Bowels usually regular; but should they not be, then come all the symptoms of female obstipation. Sleep is poor,—for weeks at a time only two or three hours long. Appetite quite good; but, on the whole, my stomach will not bear more than that of a strong woman, and reacts to irritating food with cutaneous eruption and burning in the urethra. The skin is white, and, for the most part, feels quite smooth; there has been unbearable cutaneous itching for the last two years; but during the last few weeks it has diminished, and is now present only in the popliteal spaces and on the scrotum.

“Tendency to perspire. Perspiration was previously as good as wanting, but now there are all the odious peculiarities of the female perspiration, particularly about the lower part of the body; so that I have to keep myself cleaner than a woman. (I perfume my handkerchief, and use perfumed soap and *eau-de-Cologne*.)

“*General Feeling*: I feel like a woman in a man’s form; and even though I often am sensible of the man’s form, yet it is always in a feminine sense. Thus, for example, I feel the penis as clitoris; the urethra as urethra and vaginal orifice, which always feels a little wet, even when it is actually dry; the scrotum as labia majora; in short, I always feel the vulva. And all that that means one alone can know who feels or has felt so. But the skin all over my body feels feminine; it receives all impressions, whether of touch, of warmth, or whether unfriendly, as feminine, and I have the sensations of a woman. I cannot go with bare hands, as both heat and cold trouble me. When the time is past when we men are permitted to carry sun-umbrellas, I have to endure great sensitiveness of the skin of my face, until sun-umbrellas can again be used. On awaking in the morning, I am confused for a few moments, as if I were seeking for myself; then the imperative feeling of being a woman awakens. I feel the sense of the vulva (that one is there), and always greet the day with a soft or loud sigh; for I have fear again of the play that must be carried on throughout the day. I had to learn everything anew; the knife—apparatus, everything—has felt different for the last three years; and with the change of muscular sense I had to learn everything over again. I have been successful, and only the use of the saw and bone-chisel are difficult; it is almost as if my strength were not quite sufficient. On the other hand, I have a keener sense of touch in working with the curette in the soft parts. It is unpleasant that, in examining ladies, I often feel their sensations; but this, indeed, does not repel them. The most unpleasant thing I experience is foetal movement. For a long time—several months—I was troubled by reading the thoughts of both sexes, and I still have to fight against it. I can endure it better with women; with men it is repugnant. Three years ago I had not yet consciously seen the world with a woman’s eyes; this change in the relation of the eyes to the brain came almost suddenly, with violent headache. I was with a lady whose sexual feeling

was reversed, when suddenly I saw her changed in the sense I now feel myself,—viz., she as man,—and I felt myself a woman in contrast with her; so that I left her with ill-concealed vexation. At that time she had not yet come to understand her own condition perfectly.

“ Since then, all my sensory impressions are as if they were feminine in form and relation. The cerebral system almost immediately adjusted itself to the vegetative; so that all my ailments were manifested in a feminine way. The sensitiveness of all nerves, particularly that of the auditory and olfactory and trigeminal, increased to a condition of nervousness. If only a window slammed, I was frightened inwardly; for a man dare not tremble at such things. If food is not absolutely fresh, I perceive a cadaverous odor. I could never depend on the trigeminus; for the pain would jump whimsically from one branch of it to another; from a tooth to an eye. But, since my transformation, I bear toothache and migraine more easily, and have less feeling of fear with stenocardia. It seems to me a strange fact that I feel myself to be a fearful, weak being, and yet, when danger threatens, I am much rather cool and collected; and this is true in dangerous operations. The stomach rebels against the slightest indiscretion (in female diet) that is committed without thought of the female nature, either by ructus or other symptoms; but particularly against abuse of alcoholics. The indisposition after intoxication that a man who feels like a woman experiences is much worse than any a student could get up. It seems to me almost as if one feeling like a woman were entirely controlled by the vegetative system.

“ Small as my nipples are, they demand room, and I feel them as mammae; just as during the beginning of puberty, the nipples swelled and pained. On this account, the white shirt, the waistcoat, and the coat trouble me. I feel as though the pelvis were female; and it is the same with the anus and nates. At first the sense of a female abdomen was troublesome to me; for it cannot bear trousers, and it always possesses or induces the feminine feeling. I also have the imperative feeling of a waist. It is as if I were robbed of my own skin, and put in a woman’s skin that fitted me perfectly, but which felt everything as if it covered a woman; and whose sensations passed through the man’s body, and exterminated the masculine element. The testes, even though not atrophied or degenerated, are still no longer testes, and often cause me pain, with the feeling that they belong in the abdomen, and should be fastened there; and their mobility often bothers me.

“ Every four weeks, at the time of the full moon, I have the mollemen of a woman for five days, physically and mentally, only I do not bleed; but I have the feeling of a loss of fluid; a feeling that the genitals and abdomen are (internally) swollen. A very pleasant period comes when, afterward and later in the interval for a day or two, the physiological desire for procreation comes, which with all power permeates the

woman. My whole body is then filled with this sensation, as an immersed piece of sugar is filled with water, or as full as a soaked sponge. It is like this: first, a woman longing for love, and then, for a man; and, in fact, the desire, as it seems to me, is more a longing to be possessed than a wish for coitus. The intense natural instinct or the feminine concupiscence overcomes the feeling of modesty, so that indirectly coitus is desired. I have never felt coitus in a masculine way more than three times in my life; and even if it were so in general, I was always indifferent about it. But, during the last three years, I have experienced it passively, like a woman; in fact, oftentimes with the feeling of feminine ejaculation; and I always feel that I am impregnated. I am always fatigued as a woman is after it, and often feel ill, as a man never does. Sometimes it caused me so great pleasure that there is nothing with which I can compare it; it is the most blissful and powerful feeling in the world; at that moment the woman is simply a vulva that has devoured the whole person.

"During the last three years I have never lost for an instant the feeling of being a woman, and now, owing to habit, this is no longer annoying to me, though during this period I have felt debased; for a man could endure to feel like a woman without a desire for enjoyment; but when desires come! The happiness ceases; then come the burning, the heat, the feeling of turgor of the genitals (when the penis is not in a state of erection the genitals do not play any part). In case of intense desire, the feeling of sucking in the vagina and vulva is really terrible—a hellish pain of lust hardly to be endured. If I then have opportunity to perform coitus, it is better; but, owing to defective sense of being possessed by the other, it does not afford complete satisfaction; the feeling of sterility comes with its weight of shame, added to the feeling of passive copulation and injured modesty. I seem almost like a prostitute. Reason does not give any help; the imperative feeling of femininity dominates and rules everything. The difficulty in carrying on one's occupation, under such circumstances, is easily appreciated; but it is possible to force one's self to it. Of course, it is almost impossible to sit, walk, or lie down; at least, any one of these cannot be endured long; and with the constant touch of the trousers, etc., it is unendurable.

"Marriage then, except during coitus, where the man has to feel himself a woman, is like two women living together, one of whom regards herself as in the mask of a man. If the periodical molimen fail to occur, then come the feelings of pregnancy or of sexual satiety, which a man never experiences, but which take possession of the whole being, just as the feeling of femininity does, and are repugnant in themselves; and, therefore, I gladly welcome the regular molimen again. When erotic dreams or ideas occur, I see myself in the form I have as a woman, and see erected organs presenting. Since the anus feels feminine, it would not be hard to become a passive pederast; only positive religious command

prevents it, as all other deterrent ideas would be overcome. Since such conditions are repugnant, as they would be to any one, I have a desire to be sexless, or to make myself sexless. If I had been single, I should long ago have taken leave of testes, scrotum, and penis.

"Of what use is female pleasure, when one does not conceive? What good comes from excitation of female love, when one has only a wife for gratification, even though copulation is felt as though it were with a man? What a terrible feeling of shame is caused by the feminine perspiration! How the feeling for dress and ornament lowers a man! Even in his changed form, even when he can no longer recall the masculine sexual feeling, he would not wish to be forced to feel like a woman. He still knows very well that, before, he did not constantly feel sexually; that he was merely a human being uninfluenced by sex. Now, suddenly, he has to regard his former individuality as a mask, and constantly feel like a woman, only having a change when, every four weeks, he has his periodical sickness, and in the intervals his insatiable female desire. If he could but awake without immediately being forced to feel like a woman! At last he longs for a moment in which he might raise his mask; but that moment does not come. He can only find amelioration of his misery when he can put on some bit of female attire or finery, an under-garment, etc.; for he dare not go about as a woman. To be compelled to fulfill all the duties of a calling with the feeling of being a woman costumed as a man, and to see no end of it, is no trifle. Religion alone saves from a great lapse; but it does not prevent the pain when temptation affects the man who feels as a woman; and so it must be felt and endured! When a respectable man who enjoys an unusual degree of public confidence, and possesses authority, must go about with his vulva—imaginary though it be; when one, leaving his arduous daily task, is compelled to examine the *toilette* of the first lady he meets, and criticise her with feminine eyes, and read her thoughts in her face; when a journal of fashions possesses an interest equal to that of a scientific work (I felt this as a child); when one must conceal his condition from his wife, whose thoughts, the moment he feels like a woman, he can read in her face, while it becomes perfectly clear to her that he has changed in body and soul,—what must all this be? The misery caused by the feminine gentleness that must be overcome! Oftentimes, of course, when I am away alone, it is possible to live for a time more like a woman; for example, to wear female attire, especially at night, to keep gloves on, or to wear a veil or a mask in my room, so that thus there is rest from excessive libido. But when the feminine feeling has once gained an entrance, it imperatively demands recognition. It is often satisfied with a moderate concession, such as the wearing of a bracelet above the cuff; but it imperatively demands some concession. My only happiness is to see myself dressed as a woman without a feeling of shame; indeed, when my face is veiled or masked, I prefer it so, and thus think of myself. Like

every one of Fashion's fools, I have a taste for the prevailing mode; so greatly am I transformed. To become accustomed to the thought of feeling only like a woman, and only to remember the previous manner of thought to a certain extent in contrast with it; and, at the same time, to express one's self as a man,—it requires a long time and an infinite amount of persistence.

"Nevertheless, in spite of everything, it will happen that I betray myself by some expression of feminine feeling, either in *sexualibus*, when I say that I feel so and so, expressing what a man without the female feeling cannot know; or when I accidentally betray that female attire is my talent. Before women, of course, this does not amount to anything; for a woman is greatly flattered when a man understands something of her matters; but this must not be displayed to my own wife. How frightened I once was when my wife said to a friend that I had great taste in ladies' dress! How a haughty, stylish lady was astonished when, as she was about to make a great error in the education of her little daughter, I described to her in writing and verbally all the feminine feelings! To be sure, I lied to her, saying that my knowledge had been gleaned from letters. But her confidence in me is as great as ever; and the child, who was on the road to insanity, is rational and happy. She had confessed all the feminine inclinations as sins; now she knows what, as a girl, she must bear and control by will and religion; and she feels that she is human. Both ladies would laugh heartily, if they knew that I had only drawn on my own sad experience. I must also add that I now have a finer sense of temperature and, besides, a sense of the elasticity of the skin and tension of the intestines, etc., in patients, that was unknown to me before; that in operations and autopsies, poisonous fluids more readily penetrate my (uninjured) skin. Every autopsy causes me pain; examination of a prostitute, or a woman having a discharge, a cancerous odor, or the like, is actually repugnant to me. In all respects I am now under the influence of antipathy and sympathy, from the sense of color to my judgment of a person. Women usually see in each other the periodical sexual disposition; and, therefore, a lady wears a veil, if she is not always accustomed to wear one, and usually she perfumes herself, even though it be only with handkerchief or gloves; for her olfactory sense in relation to her own sex is intense. Odors have an incredible effect on the female organism; thus, for example, the odors of violets and roses quiet me, while others disgust me; and with *ihlang-ihlang* I cannot contain myself for sexual excitement. Contact with a woman seems homogeneous to me; coitus with my wife seems possible to me because she is somewhat masculine, and has a firm skin; and yet it is more an *amor lesbicus*.

"Besides, I always feel passive. Often at night, when I cannot sleep for excitement, it is finally accomplished, *si femora mea distensa habeo, sicut mulier cum viro concumbens*, or if I lie on my side; but an

arm or the bed-clothing must not touch the mammae, or there is no sleep; and there must be no pressure on the abdomen. I sleep best in a chemise and night-robe, and with gloves on; for my hands easily get cold. I am also comfortable in female drawers and petticoats, because they do not touch the genitals. I liked female dresses best when crinoline was worn. Female dresses do not annoy the feminine-feeling man; for he, like every woman, feels them as belonging to his person, and not as something foreign.

" My dearest associate is a lady suffering with neurasthenia, who, since her last confinement, feels like a man, but who, since I explained these feelings to her, coitus abstinent as much as possible, a thing I, as a husband, dare not do. She, by her example, helps me to endure my condition. She has a more perfect memory of the female feelings, and has often given me good advice. Were she a man and I a young girl, I should seek to win her; for her I should be glad to endure the fate of a woman. But her present appearance is quite different from what it formerly was. She is a very elegantly dressed gentleman, notwithstandinging bosom and hair; she also speaks quickly and concisely, and no longer takes pleasure in the things that please me. She has a kind of melancholy dissatisfaction with the world, but she bears her fate worthily and with resignation, finding her comfort only in religion and the fulfillment of duty. At the time of the menses, she almost dies. She no longer likes female society and conversation, and has no liking for delicacies.

" A youthful friend felt like a girl from the very first, but he had inclinations toward the male sex. His sister had the opposite condition; and when the uterus demanded its right, and she saw herself as a loving woman, in spite of her masculinity, she cut the matter short, and committed suicide by drowning.

" Since complete effemimation, the principal changes I have observed in myself are:—

- " 1. The constant feeling of being a woman from top to toe.
- " 2. The constant feeling of having female genitals.
- " 3. The periodicity of the monthly molimen.
- " 4. The regular occurrence of female desire, though not directed to any particular man.
- " 5. The passive female feeling in coitus.
- " 6. After that, the feeling of impregnation.
- " 7. The female feeling in thought of coitus.
- " 8. At the sight of women, the feeling of being of their kind, and the feminine interest in them.
- " 9. At the sight of men, the feminine interest in them.
- " 10. At the sight of children, the same feeling.
- " 11. The changed disposition and much greater patience.
- " 12. The final resignation to my fate, for which I have nothing to thank but positive religion; without it I should have long ago committed suicide.

"To be a man and to be compelled to feel that chaque femme est futée ou elle désire d'être, is hardly to be endured."

The foregoing autobiography, scientifically so important, was accompanied by the following no less interesting letter:—

"SIR: I must next beg your indulgence for troubling you with my communication. I lost all control, and thought of myself only as a monster before which I myself shuddered. Then your work gave me courage again; and I determined to go to the bottom of the matter, and examine my past life, let the result be what it might. It seemed a duty of gratitude to you to tell you the result of my recollection and observation, since I had not seen any description by you of an analogous case; and, finally, I also thought it might perhaps interest you to learn, from the pen of a physician, how such a worthless human, or masculine, being thinks and feels under the weight of the imperative idea of being a woman.

"It is not perfect; but I no longer have the strength to reflect more upon it, and have no desire to go into the matter more deeply. Much is repeated; but I beg you to remember that any mask may be allowed to fall off, particularly when it is not voluntarily worn, but enforced.

"After reading your work, I hope that, if I fulfill my duties as physician, citizen, father, and husband, I may still count myself among human beings who do not deserve merely to be despised.

"Finally, I wished to lay the result of my recollection and reflection before you, in order to show that one thinking and feeling like a woman can still be a physician. I consider it a great injustice to debar woman from Medicine. A woman, through her feeling, gets on the track of many ailments which, in spite of all skill in diagnosis, remain obscure to a man; at least, in the diseases of women and children. If I could have my way, I should have every physician live the life of a woman for three months; then he would have a better understanding and more consideration in matters affecting the half of humanity from which he comes; then he would learn to value the greatness of women, and appreciate the difficulty of their lot."

Remarks: The badly-tainted patient is originally psycho-sexually abnormal, in that, in character and in the sexual act, he feels as a female. This abnormal feeling remained purely a psychical anomaly until three years ago, when, owing to severe neurasthenia, it received overmastering support in imperative bodily sensations of a *transmutatio sexus*, which now dominate consciousness. Then, to the patient's horror, he felt bodily like a woman; and, under the impulse of his imperative feminine sensations, he experienced a complete transformation of his former masculine feeling, thought, and will; in fact, of his whole *vita sexualis*, in the sense of eviration. At the same time, his ego is able to control these abnormal psycho-physical manifestations, and prevent descent to paranoia,—a

remarkable example of imperative feelings and ideas on the basis of neurotic taint, which is of great value for a comprehension of the way in which the psycho-sexual transformation may be accomplished.

IV. Degree: Metamorphosis Sexualis Paranoica.—A final possible stage in this disease-process is the delusion of a transformation of sex. It arises on the basis of sexual neurasthenia that has developed into neurasthenia universalis, resulting in a mental disease,—paranoia.

The following cases show the development of the interesting neuro-psychological process to its height:—

Case 100. K., aged 36, single, servant, received at the clinic on February 26, 1889, is a typical case of paranoia persecutoria, resulting from neurasthenia sexualis, with olfactory hallucinations, sensations, etc. He comes of a predisposed family. Several brothers and sisters were psychopathic. Patient has an hydrocephalic skull, depressed in the region of the right fontanelle; eyes neuropathic. He has always been very sensual; began to masturbate at nineteen; had coitus at twenty-three; begat three illegitimate children. He gave up further sexual intercourse, on account of fear of begetting more children, and of being unable to provide for them. Abstinence proved very painful to him. He also gave up masturbation, and was then troubled with pollutions. A year and a half ago he became sexually neurasthenic, had diurnal pollutions, became thereafter ill and miserable, and, after a time, generally neurasthenic, finally developing paranoia. A year ago he began to have paræsthetic sensations,—as if there were a great coil in the place of his genitals; and then he felt that his scrotum and penis were gone, and that his genitals were changed into those of a female. He felt the growth of his breasts; that his hair was that of a woman; and that feminine garments were on his body. He thought himself a woman. The people in the street gave utterance to corresponding remarks: "Look at the woman! The old blowhard!" In a half dreamy state, he had the feeling as if he played the part of a woman in coitus with a man. During it he had the most lively feelings of pleasure. During his stay at the clinic, a remission of the paranoia occurred, and, at the same time, a marked improvement of the neurasthenia. Then the feelings and ideas due to a developing metamorphosis sexualis disappeared.

A more advanced case of eviration, on the way to a transformatio sexus paranoica, is the following:—

Case 101. Franz St., aged 33; school-teacher; single; probably of tainted family; always neuropathic; emotional, timid, intolerant of alco-

hol; began to masturbate at eighteen. At thirty there were manifestations of neurasthenia sexualis (pollutions with consequent fatigue, which at last began to occur during the day; pain in the region of the sacral plexus, etc.). Gradually, spinal irritation, pressure in the head, and cerebral neurasthenia were added. Since the beginning of 1885 the patient had given up coitus, in which he no longer experienced pleasurable feeling. He masturbated frequently.

In 1888 he began to have delusions of suspicion. He noticed that he was avoided, and that he had unpleasant odors about him (olfactory hallucinations). In this way he explained the altered attitude of people, and their sneezing, coughing, etc. He smelled corpses and foul urine. He recognized the cause of his bad smells in inward pollutions. He recognized these in a feeling he had as if a fluid flowed up from the symphysis toward the breast. Patient soon left the clinic.

In 1889 he was again received in an advanced stage of paranoia *masturbatoria persecutoria* (delusions of physical persecution).

In the beginning of May, 1889, the patient attracted notice, in that he was cross when he was addressed as "mister." He protested against it, because he was a woman. Voices told him this. He noticed that his breasts were growing. Some weeks before, others had touched him in a sensual manner. He heard it said that he was a whore. Of late, dreams of pregnancy. He dreamed that, as a woman, he indulged in coitus. He felt the immissio penis, and, during the hallucinatory act, also a feeling of ejaculation.

Head straight; facial form long and narrow; parietal eminences prominent; genitals normally developed.

The following case, observed in the asylum at Illenau, is a pertinent example of lasting delusional alteration of sexual consciousness:—

Case 102. *Metamorphosis Sexualis Paranoica*.—N., aged 23, single, pianist, was received in the asylum at Illenau in the last part of October, 1865. He came of a family in which there was said to be no hereditary taint; but it was tuberculous (father and brother died of pulmonary tuberculosis). Patient, as a child, was weakly and dull, though especially talented in music. He was always of abnormal character; silent, retiring, unsocial, and sullen. He practiced masturbation after fifteen. After a few years neurasthenic symptoms (palpitation of the heart, lassitude, occasional pressure in the head, etc.), and also hypochondriacal symptoms, were manifested. During the last year he had worked with great difficulty. For about six months neurasthenia had increased. He complained of palpitation of the heart, pressure in the head, and sleeplessness; was very irritable, and seemed to be sexually excited. He declared that he must marry for his health. He fell in love with an

artist, but almost at the same time (September, 1865) he fell ill with paranoia persecutoria (ideas of enemies, derision in the street, poison in food; obstacles were placed on the bridges to keep him from going to his *inamorata*). On account of increasing excitement and conflicts with those about him that he considered inimical to him, he was taken to the asylum. At first he presented the picture of a typical paranoia persecutoria with symptoms of sexual, and later general, neurasthenia, though the delusions of persecution did not rest upon this neurotic foundation. It was only occasionally that the patient heard such sentences as this: "Now the semen will be drawn out of him. Now the bladder will be cut out."

In the course of the years 1866-68, the delusions of persecution became less and less apparent, and were for the most part replaced by erotic ideas. The somatic and mental basis was a lasting and powerful excitation of the sexual sphere. The patient fell in love with every woman he saw, heard voices which told him to approach her, and begged to be allowed to marry, declaring that, if he was not given a wife, he would waste away. With continuance of masturbation, in 1869, signs of future effemimation made themselves manifest. "He would, if he should get a wife, love her only platonically." The patient grows more and more peculiar, lives in a circle of erotic ideas, sees prostitution practiced in the asylum, and now and then hears voices which impute immoral conduct with women to him. For this reason he avoids the society of women, and only associates with them for the sake of music when two witnesses are with him.

In the course of the year 1872, the neurasthenic condition became markedly increased. Now paranoia persecutoria again comes into the foreground, and takes on a clinical coloring from the neurotic basis. Olfactory hallucinations occur. Magnetic influences are at work on him (false interpretation of sensations due to spinal asthenia). With continued and intense sexual excitement and excess in masturbation, the process of effemimation constantly progresses. Only episodically is he a man and inclined toward a woman, complaining that the shameless prostitution of the men in the house makes it impossible for a lady to come to him. He is dying of magnetically poisoned air and unsatisfied love. Without love he cannot live. He is poisoned by lewd poison that affects his sexual desire. The lady that he loves is sunk in the lowest vice. The prostitutes in the house have fortune-chains; that is, chains in which, without moving, a man can indulge in lustful pleasure. He is ready now to satisfy himself with prostitutes. He is possessed of a wonderful ray of thought that emanates from his eyes, which is worth twenty millions. His compositions are worth 500,000 francs. With these indications of delusions of grandeur, there are also those of persecution—the food is poisoned by venereal excrement; he tastes and smells poison, hears infamous accusations, and asks for instruments to close his ears. From

August, 1872, however, the signs of effemimation become more and more frequent. He acts somewhat affected, declaring that he can no longer live among men that drink and smoke. He thinks and feels like a woman. He must thenceforth be treated like a woman and transferred to a female ward. He asks for confections and delicate desserts. Occasionally, on account of tenesmus and cystospasm, he asks to be transferred to a lying-in hospital and treated as a woman very ill in pregnancy. The abnormal magnetism of masculine attendants has an unfavorable effect on him. At times he still feels himself to be a man, but in a way which indicates his abnormally altered sexual feeling. He pleads only for satisfaction by means of masturbation, or for marriage without coitus. Marriage is a sensual institution. The girl that he would take for a wife must be a masturbator. About the end of December, 1872, his personality became completely feminine. From that time he remained a woman. He had always been a woman, but in his babyhood a French Quaker, an artist, had put masculine genitals on him, and by rubbing and distorting his thorax had prevented the development of his breasts. After this he demanded to be transferred to the female department, protection from men that wished to violate him, and asked for female clothing. Eventually he also desired to be given employment in a toy-shop, with crocheting and embroidery work to do, or a place in a dress-making establishment with female work. From the time of the transformatio sexus, the patient begins a new reckoning of time. He conceives his previous personality in memory as that of a cousin.

He always speaks of himself in the third person, and calls himself the Countess V., the dearest friend of the Empress Eugenie; asks for perfumes, corsets, etc. He takes the other men of the ward for girls, tries to raise a head of hair, and demands "Oriental Hair-Remover," in order that no one may doubt his gender. He takes delight in praising onanism, for "she had been an onanist from fifteen, and had never desired any other kind of sexual satisfaction." Occasionally neurasthenic symptoms, olfactory hallucinations, and persecutory delusions are observed. All the events up to the time of December, 1872, belong to the personality of the cousin.

The patient's delusion that he is the Countess V. can no longer be corrected. She proves her identity by the fact that the nurse has examined her, and finds her to be a lady. The countess will not marry, because she hates men. Since he is not provided with female clothing and shoes, he spends the greatest part of the day in bed, acts like an invalid lady of position, affectedly and modestly, and asks for bon-bons and the like. His hair is done up in a knot as well as it allows, and the beard is pulled out. Breasts are made out of biscuits.

In 1874 caries began in the left knee-joint, to which pulmonary tuberculosis was soon added. Death on December 2, 1874. Skull normal. Frontal lobes atrophic. Brain anæmic. Microscopical (Dr.

Schüle): In the superior layer of the frontal lobe, ganglion cells somewhat shrunken; in the adventitia of the vessels, numerous fat-corpuscles; glia unchanged; isolated pigment particles and colloid bodies. The lower layers of the cortex normal. Genitals very large; testicles small, lax, and show no change macroscopically on section.

The delusion of sexual transformation, displayed, in its conditions and phases of development, in the foregoing case, is a manifestation remarkably infrequent in the pathology of the human mind. Besides the foregoing cases, personally observed, I have seen such a case, as an episodical phenomenon, in a lady having contrary sexuality (Case 92 of the sixth edition of this work), one in a girl affected with original paranoia, and another in a lady suffering with original paranoia.

Save for a case briefly reported by Arndt, in his text-book (p. 172), and one quite superficially described by Sérieux ("Recherches Clinique," p. 33), and the two cases known to Esquirol, I cannot recall any cases of delusion of sexual transformation in literature. Arndt's case may be briefly given here, though, like Esquirol's cases, it gives nothing concerning the genesis of the delusion:—

Case 103. A middle-aged woman in the asylum at Greifswald thought she was a man, and acted out her belief. She cut her hair short, and parted it on one side in the military fashion. A sharply-cut profile, a nose somewhat large, and a certain heaviness of all the features gave the face something characteristic, and, in combination with the short hair combed smoothly over the ears, gave the whole head a decidedly masculine appearance. She was tall and lean; her voice low and rough; the larynx angularly prominent; her attitude erect; her gait, like all her movements, heavy, but not awkward. She looked like a man in female dress. Asked how she had come to think she was a man, she would almost always cry excitedly: "Just look at me! Don't I look like a man? I feel like a man, too. I have always felt so, but I only gradually came to understand it clearly. The man who should be my husband is not a real man. I raised my children myself. I always felt somewhat like this, but I came to understand later. Did I not always work like a man? The man who passed for my husband only helped. He did what I planned. From my youth I have been more masculine than feminine. I have always had more liking for the garden and farm than for work in the house and kitchen. But I never understood the reason. Now I know I am a man, and I shall bear myself like one. It is a shame to make me always wear women's clothes."

Case 104. X., aged 26, tall, and of handsome appearance. Since his earliest youth he has loved to wear female attire. As he grew up, he managed it so that, when he was a participant in theatricals, he always had a female part. After an attack of mental excitement, he imagined that he was actually a woman, and tried to convince others of it.

He liked to undress himself, and dress his hair and put on female clothing. In this state he wished to go out on the street. In other respects he was perfectly reasonable. He would spend the whole day arranging his hair and looking at himself in the glass, costuming himself in a night-dress as much like a woman as possible. In walking he imitated women. One day, when Esquirol acted as if about to lift up his dress, he flew into a passion and upbraided him for his want of modesty (Esquirol).

Case 105. Mrs. X., widow. Owing to the death of her husband and loss of fortune, she had been greatly troubled in mind. She became disturbed mentally, and was admitted to the Salpêtrière after attempting suicide.

Mrs. X., lean, thin; constantly maniacal; she believes herself a man, and flies angry if she is addressed as "madam." Once, when male clothing was placed at her disposal, she was beside herself with joy. She died, in 1802, of a consumptive malady; and she expressed her delusion of being a man until shortly before her death (Esquirol).

I have already mentioned the interesting relations existing between the facts of delusional transformation of sex and the so-called insanity of the Scythians.

Marandon ("Annales médico-psychologiques," 1877, p. 161), like others, has erroneously presumed that with the ancient Scythians there was an actual delusion, and that the condition was not merely that of eviration. According to the law of empirical actuality, the delusion, so infrequent to-day, must also have been very infrequent in ancient times. Since it can only be conceived as arising on the basis of a paranoia, there can be no thought of its endemic occurrence; it can only be regarded as a superstitious manifestation of eviration (the result of anger of the goddess), as is also evident from the statements of Hippocrates.

The facts of the so-called Scythian insanity, as well as the facts lately learned about the Pueblo Indians, are also noteworthy anthropologically, in that atrophy of the testes and genitals in general, and approximation to the female type, physically

and mentally, were observed. This is the more remarkable, since, in men who have lost their procreative organs, such a reversal of instinct is quite as unusual as in women, *mutatis mutandis*, after the natural or artificial climacteric.

B. *Homo-Sexual Feeling as an Abnormal Congenital Manifestation.*¹—The essential feature of this strange manifestation of the sexual life is the want of sexual sensibility for the opposite sex, even to the extent of horror, while sexual inclination and impulse toward the same sex are present. At the same time, the genitals are normally developed, the sexual glands perform their functions properly, and the sexual type is completely differentiated.

Feeling, thought, will, and the whole character, in cases of the complete development of the anomaly, correspond with the peculiar sexual instinct, but not with the sex which the individual represents anatomically and physiologically. This abnormal mode of feeling may not infrequently be recognized in the manner, dress, and calling of the individuals, who may go so far as to yield to an impulse to don the distinctive clothing corresponding with the sexual rôle in which they feel themselves to be.

Anthropologically and clinically, this abnormal manifestation presents various degrees of development:—

1. Traces of hetero-sexual, with predominating homo-sexual, instinct (psycho-sexual hermaphroditism).
2. There exists inclination only toward the same sex (homo-sexuality).

¹ Bibliography (besides works mentioned hereafter): Tardieu, Des attentats aux moeurs, 7 édit.; 1878, p. 210.—Hofmann, Lehrb. d. ger. Med., 3 Aufl., pp. 172, 850.—Gley, Revue philosophique, 1884, Nr. 1.—Magnan, Annal. med.-psychol., 1885, p. 458.—Shaw and Ferris, Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1883, April.—Bernhardi, Der Uranismus, Berlin (Volksbuchhandlung), 1882.—Chevalier, De l'inversion de l'instinct sexual, Paris, 1885.—Ritti, Gaz. hebdom. de médecine et de chirurg., 1878, 4. Januar.—Tamassia, Rivista sperim., 1878, pp. 97-117.—Lombroso, Archiv. di Psichiatr., 1881.—Charcot et Magnan, Archiv. de neurologie, 1882, Nr. 7, 12.—Moll, Die conträre Sexualempfindung, Berlin, 1891 (numerous bibliographic references).—Chevalier, Archives de l'anthropologie criminelle, vol. v, No 27; vol. vi, No. 31.—Reuss, "Aberrations du sens générique," Annales d'hygiène publique, 1886.—Saury, Étude clinique sur la folie héréditaire, 1886.—Brouardel, Gaz. des hôpitaux, 1886 and 1887.—Tilier, L'instinct sexuel chez l'homme et chez les animaux, 1889.—Carlier, Les deux prostitutions, 1887.—Lacassagne, art. "Pédérastie," in the Diction. encyclopédique.—Vibert, art. "Pédérastie," in the Diction. méd. et de chirurgie.

3. The entire mental existence is altered to correspond with the abnormal sexual instinct (effemimation and viraginity).

4. The form of the body approaches that which corresponds to the abnormal sexual instinct. However, actual transitions to hermaphrodites never occur, but, on the contrary, completely differentiated genitals; so that, just as in all pathological perversions of the sexual life, the cause must be sought in the brain (androgyny and gynandry).

The first definite communications¹ concerning this enigmatical phenomenon of Nature are made by Caspar ("Ueber Nothzucht und Päderastie," Caspar's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1852, i), who, it is true, classes it with pederasty, but makes the pertinent remark that this anomaly is, in most cases, congenital, and, at the same time, to be regarded as a mental hermaphroditism. There exists here an actual disgust of sexual contact with women, while the imagination is filled with beautiful young men, and with statues and pictures of them. It did not escape Casper that in such cases emissio penis in anum (pederasty) is not the rule, but that, by means of other sexual acts (mutual onanism), sexual satisfaction is sought and obtained.

In his "Clinical Novels" (1863, p. 33) Casper gives the interesting confession of a man showing this perversion of the sexual instinct, and does not hesitate to assert that, aside from vicious imagination and vice, as a result of over-indulgence in normal sexual intercourse, there are numerous cases in which pederasty has its origin in a remarkable, obscure impulse, which is congenital and inexplicable. About the middle of the "sixties," a certain assessor, Ulrichs, himself subject to this perverse instinct, came out and declared, in numerous articles,² that the sexual

¹ Dr. Moll, of Berlin, called my attention to the fact that in Moritz's Magazin f. Erfahrungseelenkunde, vol. viii, Berlin, 1791, there are references to contrary sexual instinct in man. In fact, there two biographies of men are reported who manifested an enthusiastic love for persons of their own sex. In the second case, which is particularly noteworthy, the patient himself explains his aberration by the fact that, as a child, he was caressed only by grown persons, and, as a boy of ten or twelve years, only by his school-fellows. "This, and the want of association with persons of the opposite sex, in me, caused the natural inclination toward the female sex to be entirely diverted to the male sex. I am still quite indifferent to women."

It cannot be determined whether such a case is one of congenital (psycho-sexual hermaphroditism?) or acquired contrary sexual instinct. The oldest case of contrary sexual instinct, that has thus far been proved in Germany, is that of a woman who was married to another, and gratified herself sexually with a leathern priapus. A case of viraginity, historically and legally interesting, derived from the legal proceedings, which took place early in the eighteenth century, is reported by Dr. Müller (Alexandersbad), in Friedrich's Blätter f. ger. Medicin, 1891, part iv.

² "Vindex, Inclusa, Vindicta, Formatrix, Ara spei, Gladius furens, kritische Pfeile," Leipzig (Otto u. Kadler), 1864-1880.

mental life was not connected with the bodily sex ; that there were male individuals that felt like women toward men ("anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa"). He called these people "*urnings*," and demanded nothing less than the legal and social recognition of this sexual love of the urnings as congenital and, therefore, as right ; and the permission of marriage among them. Ulrichs failed, however, to prove that this certainly congenital and paradoxical sexual feeling was physiological, and not pathological.

Griesinger (*Archiv f. Psychiatrie*, i, p. 651) threw the first ray of light on these facts, anthropologically and clinically, by pointing out the marked hereditary taint of the individual, in a case which came under his own observation.

We have Westphal (*Archiv f. Psychiatrie*, ii, p. 73) to thank for the first systematic consideration of the manifestation in question, which he defined as "congenital reversal of the sexual feeling, with consciousness of the abnormality of the manifestation," and designated with the name, since generally accepted, of *contrary sexual instinct*. At the same time, he began a series of cases,¹ which, up to this time, has reached ninety-three, those reported in this monograph not being included.

Westphal leaves it undecided as to whether contrary sexual feeling is a symptom of a neuropathic or of a psychopathic condition, or whether

¹ In male individuals : (1) Casper, Klin. Novellen, p. 36 (Lehrb. d. ger. Med., 7 Aufl., p. 176); (2) Westphal, Archiv f. Psych., II. p. 73; (3) Schminke, *id.*, III, p. 225; (4) Scholz, Vierteljahrsschr. f. ger. Med., xix; (5) Gock, Arch. f. Psych., v., p. 564; (6) Servaes, *id.*, vi, p. 484; (7) Westphal, *id.*, vi, 620; (8, 9, 10) Stark, Zeitsch. f. Psychiatrie, Bd. 31; (11) Liman (Casper's Lehrb. der ger. Med., 6 Aufl., p. 509), p. 291; (12) Legrand du Saulle, Annal. méd.-psychol., 1876, May; (13) Sterz, Jahrb. f. Psychiatrie, III, Heft 3; (14) Krueg, Brau, 1884, Oct.; (15) Charcot et Magnan, Arch. de neurolog., 1882, Nr. 9; (16, 17, 18) Kirn, Zeitschr. f. Psych., Bd. 39, p. 216; (19) Rabow, Erlenmeyer's Centralbl., 1883, Nr. 8; (20) Blumer, Americ. Journ. of Insanity, 1882, July; (21) Savage, Journal of Mental Science, 1884, October; (22) Scholz, Vierteljahrsschr. f. ger. Med., N. F. Bd. 43, Heft. 7; (23) Magnan, Ann. méd. psychol., 1885, p. 461; (24) Chevalier, De l'inversion de l'instinct sexuel, Paris, 1885, p. 129; (25) Morselli, La Riforma medica, iv, March; (26) Leonpacher, Friedrich's Blätter, 1888, H. 4; (27) Holländer, Allg. Wiener Med. Zeitg., 1882; (28) Kreise, Erlenmeyer's Centralblatt, 1888, Nr. 19; (29, 30, 31, 32) v. Krafft, Psychopathia sexualis, 3 Aufl., Beob. 32, 36, 42, 43; (33) Golenko, Russ. Archiv f. Psychiatrie, Bd. ix, H. 3 (v. Rothe, Zeitschr. f. Psychiatrie); (34) v. Krafft, Internationales Centralblatt f. d. Physiol. u. Pathologie der Harn-u. Sexualorgane, Bd. 1, H. 1; (35) Cantarano, La Psichiatria, 1887, v., p. 195; (36) Sérieux, Recherches cliniques sur les anomalies de l'instinct sexuel, Paris, 1888, obs. 13; (37-42) Kiernan, The Medical Standard, 1888, 7 cases; (43-46) Rabow, Zeitschr. f. klin. Medicin, Bd. xvii, Suppl.; (47-51) v. Krafft, Neue Forschungen, Beob. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8; (52-61) v. Krafft, Psychopath. Sexualis, 5 Aufl., Beob. 53, 61, 64, 66, 73, 75, 78, 84, 85, 87; (62-65) v. Krafft, Neue Forschungen, 2 Aufl., Beob. 3, 4, 5, 6; (66, 67) Hammond, Sexual Impotence; (68-71) Garnier, Anomalies sexuelles, 1889, Obs. 227, 228, 229, 230; (72) Müller, Friedrich's Blätter, 1891; (73-87) v. Krafft, Psychopathia Sexualis, 6 Aufl., Beob. 78, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102.

In female individuals : (1) Westphal, Arch. f. Psych., II. p. 73; Gock, *op. cit.*, Nr. 1; (3) Wise, The Alienist and Neurologist, 1883, January; (4) Cantarano, La Psichiatria, 1883, p. 201; (5) Sérieux, *op. cit.*, obs. 14; (6) Kiernan, *op. cit.*

it may occur as an isolated manifestation. He holds fast to the opinion that the condition is congenital.

From the cases published up to 1877, I have designated this peculiar sexual feeling as a functional sign of degeneration, and as a partial manifestation of a neuro-psychopathic state, in most cases hereditary,—a supposition which has found renewed confirmation in a consideration of additional cases. The following peculiarities may be given as the signs of this neuro-psychopathic taint:—

1. The sexual life of individuals thus organized manifests itself, as a rule, abnormally early, and thereafter with abnormal power. Not infrequently still other perverse manifestations are presented besides the abnormal method of sexual satisfaction, which in itself is conditioned by the peculiar sexual feeling.

2. The psychical love manifest in these men is, for the most part, exaggerated and exalted in the same way as their sexual instinct is manifested in consciousness, with a strange and even compelling force.

3. By the side of the functional signs of degeneration attending contrary sexual feeling are found other functional, and in many cases anatomical, evidences of degeneration.

4. Neuroses (hysteria, neurasthenia, epileptoid states, etc.) co-exist. Almost always the existence of temporary or lasting neurasthenia may be proved. As a rule, this is constitutional, having its root in congenital conditions. It is awakened and maintained by masturbation or enforced abstinence.

In male individuals, owing to these practices or to congenital disposition, there is finally neurasthenia sexualis, which manifests itself essentially in irritable weakness of the ejaculation centre. Thus it is explained that, in most of the cases, simply embracing and kissing, or even only the sight of the loved person, induce the act of ejaculation. Frequently this is accompanied by an abnormally powerful feeling of lustful pleasure, which may be so intense as to suggest a feeling of magnetic currents passing through the body.

5. In the majority of cases, psychical anomalies (brilliant endowment in art, especially music, poetry, etc., by the side of

bad intellectual powers or original eccentricity) are present, which may even go so far as pronounced conditions of mental degeneration (dementia, moral insanity).

In many urning, either temporarily or permanently, insanity of a degenerative character (pathological emotional states, periodical insanity, paranoia, etc.) makes its appearance.

6. In almost all cases where an examination of the physical (and mental peculiarities of the ancestors and blood-relations has been possible, neuroses, psychoses, degenerative signs, etc., have been found in the families.¹

Gley
The depth of congenital contrary feeling is shown by the fact that the lustful dream of the male-loving urning has for its content only male individuals; that of the female-loving woman, only female individuals, with corresponding situations.

The observation of Westphal, that the consciousness of one congenitally defective in sexual desires toward the opposite sex is painfully affected by the impulse toward the same sex, is true in only a number of cases. Indeed, in many instances, the consciousness of the abnormality of the condition is wanting. The majority of urning are happy in their perverse sexual feeling and impulse, and unhappy only in so far as social and legal barriers stand in the way of the satisfaction of their instinct toward their own sex.

The study of contrary sexual feeling points directly to anomalies of the cerebral organization of the affected individuals. Gley (*Revue philosoph.*, January, 1884) believes that he is able to solve the riddle by the theory that the individuals have a female brain and male sexual glands; and, further, that pathological brain conditions determine the sexual life, while normally the sexual organs determine the sexual functions of the brain.

One of my patients offered me an interesting theory in

¹ Tarnowsky (*op. cit.*, p. 34) records a case which shows that contrary sexual feeling, as a concomitant manifestation with neurotic degeneration, may also affect the descendants of parents having no neurotic taint. In this instance, lues of the parents played a part, as in a similar case of Scholz (*Vierteljahrsschr. f. ger. Med.*), in which the perversion of the sexual desires stood in causal relation with an arrest of psychical development, caused by traumatism.

explanation of original contrary sexual instinct. He started with the actual bi-sexuality shown by the foetus anatomically up to a certain age. While normally the organs which attain complete development exclusively condition and determine the sexual type, and the influence of the opposite organs, which remain rudimentary, is *nil*, it is conceivable that, under the influence of a factor inimical to the normal development of the brain (hereditary taint, etc.), these rudimentary organs likewise exercise an influence which, under certain circumstances, may be even greater than that of the fully developed organs which determine the external sexual type.

In a similar manner, Kiernan (*Medical Standard*, 1888) and G. Frank Lydston (*Phila. Med. and Surg. Reporter*, 1888) attempt to explain a part of the cases of congenital sexual paranoia. Magnan, too (*Ann. méd. psychol.*, 1885, p. 458), writes, in all earnestness, of the brain of a woman in the body of a man, and *vice versa*.¹

The attempted explanations of congenital urnings are not less superficial; for instance, that of Ulrichs, who, in his "Memnon," 1868, speaks of an "anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa (virili corpori innata)," and thus tries to explain the congenital origin and the female character of his abnormal sexual instinct. The idea of the patient, the subject of Case 124, is original. He supposes that when his father begat him he thought to beget a girl, but, instead of a girl, a boy resulted. One of the strangest explanations of congenital contrary sexual feeling is made by Mantegazza (*op. cit.*, p. 106, 1886).

According to this author, in such individuals there exist anatomical anomalies which, by an error of Nature, consist in a distribution to the rectum of the nerves intended for the genitals; so that only in this situation the lustful sensation is aroused which otherwise results from stimulation of the genitals. But how does this author, in other ways so acute, explain the great majority of cases, where pederasty is abhorred by those affected with contrary sexual feeling? Besides, Nature

¹ This supposition is overthrown by the result of the post-mortem of my case (118), where the brain-weight was 1150 grammes, and of Case 130, where it was 1175 grammes.

never makes such leaps. Mantegazza rests his hypothesis upon the statements of an acquaintance, a celebrated writer, who assured him that he was not sure that he took a greater pleasure in coitus than in defecation! Allowing the correctness of his experience, still it would only prove that the man was sexually abnormal, and that his pleasure in coitus was reduced to a minimum.

An explanation of congenital contrary sexual feeling may perhaps be found in the fact that it represents a peculiarity bred in descendants, but arising in ancestry. The hereditary factor might be an *acquired* abnormal inclination for the same sex in the ancestors (*v. infra*), found fixed as a congenital abnormal manifestation in the descendants. Since, according to experience, acquired physical and mental peculiarities, not simply improvements, but essentially defects, are transmitted, this hypothesis becomes tenable. Since individuals affected with contrary sexual feeling not infrequently beget children,—at least, they are not absolutely impotent (women never are),—a transmission to descendants is possible.

This supposition is decidedly favored by Case 124, in which the eight-year-old daughter of an individual affected with contrary sexual feeling, practiced mutual masturbation—a sexual act—at an age which permits the presumption of contrary sexual feeling. No less significant is the communication made to me by a young man of twenty-six, who belongs to the third group of contrary sexuality. He knew with certainty that his father, who had died some years before, was also subject to contrary sexuality. An informant assured me, at least, that he knew many other men with whom his father had sustained “relations.” Whether, in the case of the father, it was an acquired or a congenital contrary sexual instinct, and to what group he belonged, could not be ascertained.

The foregoing hypothesis seems the more plausible, when it is considered that the first three degrees of congenital contrary sexual instinct correspond exactly with the developmental stages which are discoverable in the development of the acquired anomaly. One, therefore, feels inclined to designate

the various degrees of congenital contrary sexual instinct as various degrees of an hereditarily-induced sexual anomaly, acquired from the progenitors or otherwise developed. Here, too, the law of progressive heredity must be taken into consideration.

The sexual acts, by means of which male urnings seek and find satisfaction, are multifarious. There are individuals, of fine feeling and strength of will, who sometimes satisfy themselves with platonic love, with the risk, however, of becoming nervous (neurasthenic) and insane, as a result of this enforced abstinence. In other instances, for the same reasons which may lead normal individuals to avoid coitus, onanism, *faut de mieux*, is indulged in.

In urnings with nervous systems congenitally irritable, or injured by onanism (irritable weakness of the ejaculation centre), simple embraces or caresses, with or without contact of the genitals, are sufficient to induce ejaculation and consequent satisfaction. In less irritable individuals, the sexual act consists of manustupration by the loved person, or mutual onanism, or imitation of coitus between the thighs. In urnings morally perverse and potent, quoad erectionem, the sexual desire is satisfied by pederasty,—an act, however, which is repugnant to perverted individuals that are not defective morally much in the same way as it is to normal men. The statement of urnings is remarkable, that the sexual act with persons of the same sex, which is adequate for them, gives them a feeling of great satisfaction and accession of strength, while satisfaction by solitary onanism, or by enforced coitus with a woman, affects them in an unfavorable way, making them miserable and increasing their neurasthenic symptoms. The manner of satisfaction of the female urning is little known. In one of my cases, the girl masturbated, and during the act felt herself to be a man; and her fancy created a beloved female person. In another case, the act consisted of practicing onanism on the person loved, and fondling her genitals.

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Amor lesbicus is presumably not infrequent here, for which an enlarged clitoris or an artificial priapus may be used.

As to the frequency¹ of the occurrence of the anomaly, it is difficult to reach a just conclusion, since those affected with it break from their reserve only very infrequently; and in criminal cases the urning with perversion of sexual instinct is usually classed with the person given to pederasty for simply vicious reasons. According to Casper's and Tardieu's, as well as my own, experience, this anomaly is much more frequent than reported cases would lead us to presume.

Viciss. ✓

Ulrichs ("Kritische Pfeile," p. 2, 1880) declares that, on an average, there is one person affected with contrary sexual instinct to every two hundred mature men, or to every eight hundred of the population; and that the percentage among the Magyars and South Slavs is still greater,—statements which may be regarded as untrustworthy. The subject of one of my cases knows personally, at his home (13,000 inhabitants), fourteen urnings. He further declares that he is acquainted with at least eighty in a city of 60,000 inhabitants. It is to be presumed that this man, otherwise worthy of belief, makes no distinction between the congenital and the acquired anomaly.

1. *Psychical Hermaphroditism.*²—The characteristic mark of this degree of inversion of the sexual instinct is that, by the side of the pronounced sexual instinct and desire for the same sex, a desire toward the opposite sex is present; but the latter is much weaker and is manifested episodically only, while the homo-sexuality is primary, and, in time and intensity, forms the most striking feature of the *vita sexualis*.

¹ That inversion of the sexual instinct is not infrequent is proved, among other things, by the circumstance that it is frequently a subject in novels. Chevalier (*op. cit.*) points out in French literature, besides the novels of Balzac, like "La Passion au Desert" (treating of bestiality) and "Sarrazine" (treating of the love of a woman for a eunuch), Diderot's "La Religieuse" (a story of one given to *amor leamicus*); Balzac's "La Fille aux Yeux d'Or" (*amor leamicus*); Th. Gautier's "Mademoiselle de Maupin"; Feydeau's "La Comtesse de Chalis"; Flaubert's "Salammbô," etc. Belot's "Mademoiselle Giraud, Ma Femme" may also be mentioned (now translated into English). It is interesting that the heroines of these (Lesbian) novels appear in the character and rôle of the husband of a lover of the same sex, and that their love is extremely passionate. Moreover, the neuropathic foundation of this sexual perversion does not escape the writers. This theme is treated, in German literature, in "Fridolin's heimliche Ehe," by Wilbrand; in "Brick und Brack oder Licht in Schatten," by Emerich Graf Stadion. The oldest urning's romance is probably that published by Petronius at Rome, under the Empire, under the title *Satyricon*.

² Comp. author's work, "Ueber psychosexuales Zwitterthum," in the *internationalen Centralblatt f. d. Physiologie u. Pathologie der Harn und Sexualorgane*, Bd. 1, Heft 2.

The hetero-sexual instinct may be but rudimentary, manifesting itself simply in unconscious (dream) life; or (episodically, at least) it may be powerfully exhibited.

The sexual instinct toward the opposite sex may be strengthened by the exercise of will and self-control; by moral treatment, and possibly by hypnotic suggestion; by improvement of the constitution and the removal of neuroses (neurasthenia); but especially by abstinence from masturbation. However, there is always the danger that homo-sexual feelings, in that they are the most powerful, may become permanent, and lead to enduring and exclusive contrary sexual instinct. This is especially to be feared as a result of the influences of masturbation (just as in acquired inversion of the sexual instinct) and its neurasthenia and consequent exacerbations; and, further, it is to be found as a consequence of unfavorable experiences in sexual intercourse with persons of the opposite sex (defective feeling of pleasure in coitus, failure in coitus on account of weakness of erection and premature ejaculation, infection). On the other hand, it is possible that æsthetic and ethical sympathy with persons of the opposite sex may favor the development of hetero-sexual desires. Thus it happens that the individual, according to the predominance of favorable or unfavorable influences, experiences now hetero-sexual, now homo-sexual, feeling.

how to
cure it

It seems to me probable that such hermaphrodites from constitutional taint are not infrequent.¹ Since they attract very little attention socially, and since such secrets of married life are only exceptionally brought to the knowledge of the physician, it is at once apparent why this interesting and practically important transitional group to the group of absolute contrary sexuality, has thus far escaped scientific investigation. Many cases of frigiditas uxorius and mariti may possibly depend upon this anomaly. Sexual intercourse with the opposite sex is, in itself, possible. At any rate, in cases of this degree, no horror sexus alterius exists. Here is a fertile field for the application

¹ This idea is supported by the statements of an unmarried young which Dr. Moll, of Berlin, kindly communicated to me. He could report a number of cases of his acquaintance, in which married men at the same time had "relations" with men.

of medical and moral therapeutics (*v. infra*). The differential diagnosis from acquired contrary sexual instinct may present difficulties; for in such cases, as long as the vestiges of a normal sexual instinct are not absolutely lost, the actual symptoms are the same (*v. infra*). In the first degree, the sexual satisfaction of homo-sexual impulses consists in passive and mutual onanism and coitus inter femora.

Case 106. *Psychical Hermaphroditism in a Lady.*—Mrs. M., aged 44, exemplifies the fact that an inverted and a normal sexual instinct may be united in one person, be it in man or woman. The father of this lady was very musical, and very talented as an artist. He took life easily; and to his extraordinary beauty was added a great admiration for the opposite sex. After several apoplectic attacks, he died demented in an asylum. Father's brother was neuro-psychopathic, and when a child was a somnambulist; and all his life he was afflicted with hyperæsthesia sexualis. Thus, although married and the father of married sons, he tried to seduce his niece, Mrs. M., with whom he was wildly in love, when she was eighteen years old. Father's father was very eccentric and a distinguished actor. He first studied theology, but, as a result of partiality for the dramatic muse, he became an actor and singer. He committed excesses in baccho et venere; was a spendthrift and luxurious. He died at forty-nine, of apoplexia cerebri. Mother's father and mother died of tuberculosis of the lungs.

Mrs. M. was one of eleven children, of whom six are still living. Two brothers, who resembled the mother physically, died, at sixteen and twenty, of tuberculosis. A brother suffers with laryngeal phthisis. Four living sisters and Mrs. M. resemble the father physically, and the eldest is unmarried, very nervous, and shy of people. Two younger sisters are married, healthy, and have healthy children. The other is unmarried, and suffers with nervous complaints. Mrs. M. has four children, several of whom are delicate and neuropathic.

The patient can tell nothing of importance concerning her childhood. She learned easily, and was aesthetically and poetically inclined. She was considered a little high-strung, and too much given to novel-reading and sentimentality. Her constitution was neuropathic, and she was extremely sensitive to changes of temperature, sometimes having annoying cutis auserina as a result of slight draughts. It is remarkable that one day, when she was about ten years old, she thought that her mother no longer loved her; and she put matches in her coffee to make herself really sick, that she might thus excite her mother's love for her.

Puberty began, without difficulty, at the age of eleven. Thereafter the menses were regular. Before the time of puberty sexuality mani-

fested itself, and, according to the opinion of the patient, its promptings have been abnormally intense all her life. The first feelings and impulses were decidedly inverted. She conceived a passionate but platonic love for a young lady. She wrote verses and sonnets to her, and was perfectly happy if she could admire "the entrancing charms" of her goddess in the bath, or steal a glimpse of her neck, shoulders, and breast while she was dressing. The wild impulse to touch these physical charms was always overcome. While a young girl, she had actually been in love with Madonnas of Raphael and Guido Reni. In all kinds of weather she would run after pretty girls and ladies for hours at a time, admiring their beauty, losing no opportunity to please them, offering them bouquets, etc. The patient asserted that, until the age of nineteen, she was absolutely without a suspicion of a difference of sex; because she had been educated as in a cloister by a very prudish aunt, who was an old maid. As a result of this great ignorance, the patient became the victim of a man who was passionately in love with her, and who had coitus with her by means of stratagem. She became the wife of this man, bore one child, and lived an "eccentric" sexual life with him. She felt perfectly satisfied with married intercourse. After a few years she became a widow. Since then, women have again been the object of her love, primarily, as the patient thinks, from fear of the results of sexual intercourse with a man.

At twenty-seven, second marriage, without love, to a phthisical husband. Patient was three times confined, and fulfilled her maternal duties. Her physical health failed, and in the later years of this married life she had an increasing aversion for her husband, partly due to a sense of his disease, though, at the same time, there was constantly present an intense desire for sexual indulgence.

Three years after the death of her second husband, the patient discovered the fact that her nine-year-old daughter, by her first husband, was given to masturbation, and that she was failing in physical health. The patient read of this vice, and could not overcome the impulse to indulge in the practice, becoming, in consequence, an onanist. She is unable to bring herself to give the details of this period of her life. She says that she was frightfully excited sexually, and had to send her daughters from home to save them from terrible consequences; but the two boys she was able to keep at home.

Patient became neurasthenic ex masturbatione (spinal irritation, feeling of pressure in head, weariness, lack of mental control), and, at times, had dysthymia and painful tedium vitæ. Her sexual feeling would be directed at one time to women, at another to men. She was able to restrain herself, and suffered much from abstinence, especially because, on account of her neurasthenic troubles, she sought to obtain relief in masturbation, though only in case of great necessity. At the present time, though forty-four years old, and menstruating regularly,

she suffers intensely with a passion for a young man whose presence she cannot avoid on account of the exigencies of occupation.

Patient presents nothing remarkable in external appearance. She is gracefully formed, but the muscular system is not strongly developed. Pelvis is, in all respects, that of a female, but the arms and legs are decidedly large and of masculine form. Ladies' shoes do not fit her, but, being opposed to exciting attention, she forces her feet into female shoes, and they are, therefore, much deformed. Genitals normally developed, and present no other abnormality than descent of the uterus, with hypertrophy of the vaginal portion. On thorough examination it is seen that the patient is essentially homo-sexual, and that the desire for the opposite sex is but episodical and sensual. Thus, at present, she suffers intensely with sexual desires for every man with whom she comes in contact, but it is a more refined and higher pleasure for her to imprint a kiss on the soft, round cheek of a maiden. This pleasure is one she often enjoys, because she is much beloved as the "dear aunt" by all the "sweet creatures"; for she voluntarily does them the most various chivalrous favors, always feeling herself at such times as a man.

Case 107. Contrary Sexual Instinct with Sexual Satisfaction in Hetero-Sexual Intercourse.—Mr. Z., aged 36, Hollander, consulted me, in 1888, on account of an anomaly of his sexual feelings, which had become a matter of anxiety to him in connection with an intended marriage. Patient's father was neuropathic, and suffered with nightmare and night-terrors. Grandfather was mentally unsound; father's brother an idiot. Patient's mother and her family were healthy and normal mentally. The patient had four sisters and one brother, the latter being subject to moral insanity. Three sisters are healthy, and living happy married lives.

As a child, the patient was weak, nervous, and subject to night-terrors, like his father; but he never had any severe sickness except coxitis, as a result of which he limps slightly. Sexual impulses were manifested early. At eight, without any teaching, he began to masturbate. From his fourteenth year, ejaculation. He was mentally well endowed, and his principal interest was in art and literature. He was always weak muscularly, and had no inclination for boyish sports and later for manly occupations. He had a certain interest for female *toilettes*, ornaments, and occupations. From the time of puberty the patient noticed in himself an inexplicable inclination toward male persons. Youths of the lowest classes were especially attractive to him. Cavalrymen especially excited his interest. He experienced a lustful desire to press himself against such individuals from behind. Occasionally, in crowds, it was possible for him to do this; and in such an event an intense feeling of pleasure passed over him. After his twenty-second year, on such occasions, he now and then had an ejaculation. From that time ejaculation occurred when a sympathetic man laid his hand on the patient's thigh. He was now in great anxiety lest he might sometime assault a man sexually.

People of the lower classes, wearing tight, brown trousers, were especially dangerous for him. His greatest pleasure would be: to embrace such a man and press himself on him; but, unfortunately, the morality of his country did not allow such a thing. Pederasty seemed disgusting to him.

It gave him great pleasure to gain a sight of the genitals of males. He was always compelled to look at the genitals of every man he met. In circuses, theatres, etc., only male performers interested him. Patient has never noticed any inclination for women. He does not avoid them, even dances with them on occasion, but he never feels the slightest sensual excitation under such circumstances.

At the age of twenty-eight the patient was neurasthenic as a result of his excessive masturbation.

Then frequent pollutions in sleep occurred, which weakened him very much. It was only occasionally that he dreamed of men when he had pollutions; and never of women. A lascivious dream-picture (pederasty) had occurred but once. He dreamed of dying-scenes, of being attacked by dogs, etc. After these, as before, he suffered with great libido sexualis. Often there came up before him such lascivious thoughts as gloating over the death of animals in the slaughter-house, or allowing himself to be whipped by boys; but he always overcame such desires, and also the impulse to dress in a military uniform.

In order to cure himself of masturbation, and to thoroughly satisfy his libido, he determined to frequent brothels. He first attempted sexual intercourse with a woman when twenty-one, after over-indulgence in wine. The beauty of the female form, and female nudity in general, made no impression on him. However, he was able to enjoy the act of coitus, and thereafter he visited brothels regularly for "purposes of health."

From this time he took great pleasure in hearing men tell stories of their sexual relations with the opposite sex.

Ideas of flagellation would also come to him while in a brothel, but the retention of such fancies was not essential for the performance of coitus. He considered sexual intercourse with prostitutes only a remedy against the desire for masturbation and men,—a kind of safety-valve to prevent compromising himself with some man.]

The patient now wishes to marry, but fears not only that he could have no love for a decent woman, but also that he might be impotent for intercourse with one. Hence his thought and need of medical advice.

The patient is very intelligent, and is, in all respects, of masculine appearance. In dress and manner he presents nothing that would attract attention. Gait, voice, and skeleton,—the pelvis especially,—masculine in character. Genitals of normal development. The normal growth of hair for a male is abundant. The patient's relatives and friends have not the slightest suspicion of his sexual anomalies. In his inverted sexual fancies, he has never felt himself in the rôle of a woman toward a man. For some years he has been entirely free from neurasthenic troubles.

The question as to whether he considered himself a subject of congenital inversion of sexual instinct he could not answer. It seems probable that there was a congenital weak inclination for the opposite sex, with a greater one for the same sex, which, as a result of early masturbation in consequence of the homo-sexual instinct, was still more weakened, but not reduced to *nil*. With the cessation of masturbation, the feeling for women became in a measure more natural, but only in a coarsely sensual way.

Since the patient explained that, for reasons of family and business, it was necessary for him to marry, it was impossible to avoid this delicate question.

Fortunately, the patient limited his inquiries to the question as to his virility as a husband; and it was necessary to reply that he was virile, and that he would probably be so in conjugal intercourse with the wife of his choice,—at least, if she were to be in mental sympathy with him; besides, that he could at all times improve his power by exercising his imagination in the right direction.

The main thing was to strengthen the sexual inclination for the opposite sex, which was defective, but not absolutely wanting. This could be done by avoiding and opposing all homo-sexual feelings and impulses, possibly with the help of the artificial inhibitory influences of hypnotic suggestion (removal of homo-sexual desires by suggestion); by the excitation and exercise of normal sexual desires and impulses; by complete abstinence from masturbation, and eradication of the remnants of the neurasthenic condition of the nervous system by means of hydrotherapy, and possibly general faradization.

I am indebted to a physician, aged thirty, for the following autobiography, which in another respect is noteworthy:—

Case 108. Mental Hermaphroditism; Abortive Contrary Sexual Instinct.—"In my ancestry I am somewhat predisposed hereditarily. My grandfather on my father's side was a high-liver and a speculator. My father was a man of character, but for more than thirty years he has suffered with folie circulaire, without, however, being much hindered by it in business. My mother, like her father before her, suffers with stenocardiac attacks. My mother's father and brother are said to have been sexually hyperæsthetic. My only sister, about nine years older than myself, was twice subject to attacks of eclampsia, and during puberty was religiously exalted, and probably also sexually hyperæsthetic. During many years she had to suffer with a severe hysterical neurosis, but she is now completely well.

"As an only son, and born late, I was the apple of my mother's eye; and I have her indefatigable care to thank that I survived childhood, after having passed through all the possible diseases of children (hydro-

cephalus, measles, croup, small-pox, and, at thirteen, chronic intestinal catarrh that lasted a year). My mother, being herself very religious, raised me, without spoiling me, in a religious way, and implanted in me, as the guiding moral principle, an unyielding devotion to duty, which was further carried to an extreme in me by a teacher whom I still call a friend. Owing to my delicate health, my childhood, in greater part, was spent in bed; and I was thus given to quiet occupations, especially reading; and thus as a boy I came to be—if not *blasé*—premature at least. As early as eight or nine the parts of books that excited me most were those where injuries or operations that had to be endured by beautiful girls or ladies, were described. Thus I was thrown into great excitement by a story in which was pictured a maiden that had run a thorn into her foot, with a boy taking it out for her. Indeed, every time that I looked upon this picture, which was in nowise lascivious, I had an erection. Whenever possible, I went to see chickens killed; and if I had missed that, I looked at the spots of blood, and stroked the warm bodies of the birds, with pleasurable shudders. I would emphasize the fact that I have always been a great lover of animals, and have felt disgust and pity while killing larger animals, and even in the vivisection of frogs.

“The killing of chickens is still a great sexual stimulus for me, and especially holding them, during which I have palpitation of the heart and precordial oppression. It is of interest that my father had a passion for binding together the hands of girls and young women.

“I think that another of my sexual abnormalities is attributable to this strain of cruelty. As I shall clearly describe later, one of my favorite games was that of an improvised doll-theatre, where I prescribed the parts of my companions. Almost always it was a young girl who, at the command of her papa, whom I represented, had to have a painful operation done on her foot. The more the girl cried, the more satisfaction I had. How I came to hit upon the foot as the constant object of operation will be seen from the following: When a very young boy, I happened to see my eldest sister change her stockings. When she hastily hid her feet, my attention was attracted, and immediately the sight of her bare feet to the ankles came to be the ideal of my longing. Naturally, this made my sister very careful; and thus there was occasioned a constant quarrel, which, on my part, was kept up with all the wiles of cunning and flattery, and with even explosions of anger, until my seventeenth year. In other respects my sister was very indifferent. Indeed, her kiss is repugnant to me. *Faute de mieux*, I made use of the feet of servants; masculine feet had no effect on me. My greatest desire would have been to cut the nails, or, *sit venia verbo*, the corns, on the beautiful foot of a woman. My lustful dreams were concerned with these things. Indeed, I applied myself to the study of medicine really in the expectation of gaining an opportunity to satisfy my desires, or cure them.

Thank God, I attained the latter. After undertaking the first dissection of the lower extremity of a female, this unhappy desire was removed from me. I was unhappy because I was always deeply ashamed of this impulse. I think I may spare further details concerning it, since this peculiar enthusiasm, which even inspired me to write verses, has been sufficiently described by others.

"Now, concerning the last phase of my sexual errors: I was about thirteen, and had just begun to mature, when a school-mate, who happened to be our guest, teased me one night by kicking me with his bare feet under the covers. I seized his foot, and immediately became greatly excited, and had a pollution after it,—the first that I had. The boy was peculiarly girlish in form, and was also mentally effeminate. Too, another comrade who had very small and delicate hands and feet, whom I once saw in a bath, caused unusual excitement in me. I thought it a great piece of good fortune to be in bed with either of these, though any nearer sexual intercourse than embracing them never came into my mind. Moreover, I always thrust such thoughts aside with aversion. Some years later, when about sixteen or eighteen, I made the acquaintance of two other boys that awakened my sexual feeling. When I played with either of these, I immediately had an erection. Both were very energetic and lively, but delicately formed and child-like. At the occurrence of puberty I lost interest in both of them, though a warm friendship was preserved. I should never have allowed myself to have indulged in vicious practices with them.

"When I went to the University, I forgot completely these errors of my libido sexualis, and from principle I kept from sexual intercourse until I was twenty-four, in spite of the contempt of my companions. When pollutions became too frequent, and I began to fear cerebral neurasthenia ex abstinentia, I gave myself up to normal sexual indulgence, though somewhat mechanically; and it was, of course, very beneficial to me.

"The especial field of work to which I have devoted myself is responsible for the fact that I am almost impotent with puellis publicis, and also for the fact that the naked form of a woman disgusts rather than excites me. The act always satisfies me the most, if, during it, I can keep the vision of the face before me; but since, on the other hand, the idea that the girl near me is enjoyed by another is unbearable, for years I have found it absolutely necessary for my mental comfort, in spite of the pecuniary sacrifice, to keep a mistress, and, indeed, a virgin. Otherwise the most terrible jealousy made me absolutely incapable of work. I must also mention that, at thirteen, I fell in love platonically for the first time; and since then I have often pined in chaste love. What distinguishes my case from all others is the fact that I have never once masturbated in my life.

"Some weeks ago, in sleep, I was frightened by a dream of a naked

boy, from which I awoke with an erection. In conclusion, I venture to undertake the difficult task of describing my present condition : Medium height, gracefully formed. Skull dolichocephalic, with prominence in the occipital region ; circumference, 59 centimetres ; frontal prominence marked ; glance somewhat neuropathic ; pupils medium ; teeth very defective ; musculature strong and tense ; abundant hair, blonde. Varicocele on the left side ; frenulum too short, which hindered me in coitus. I severed it myself three years ago. Since then ejaculation is retarded, and pleasurable feeling much diminished. Temperament choleric. Quick of comprehension ; good at drawing conclusions ; energetic ; for one hereditarily predisposed, very persevering. I learn languages easily, and have a good ear for music, but otherwise I have no talent for the arts. I am always ambitious to do my duty, but I am constantly troubled with tedium vitæ, and only kept from attempts at suicide by my religion and the thought of my mother. Otherwise I am a typical candidate for suicide. I am ambitious, jealous, have a fear of paralysis ; left-handed. I am filled with socialistic ideas. I like adventures, and I am courageous. I have decided never to marry."

Case 109. *Psychical Hermaphroditism. Autobiography.*—"I was born in 1868. The families of both my parents are healthy ; at any rate, mental disease has never occurred in them. My father was a merchant ; he is now sixty-five years old, and for years has been nervous and especially inclined to be melancholic. Before his marriage, my father is said to have lived fast. My mother is healthy, though not very strong. There are two other healthy children.

"I was very early developed sexually, and in my fourteenth year was so much troubled by pollutions that I was frightened. Under what circumstances they occurred, particularly the nature of the dreams that were connected with them, I am no longer able to state. The fact is, that for years I have only felt myself drawn toward men sexually ; and, with every effort and a terrible struggle, I am still unable to overcome this unnatural impulse that is so repugnant to me. It is said that I had many severe illnesses in my childhood, and that my life was often despaired of. To this was probably due the fact that I was spoiled and made very delicate. I was always much in the house, preferred to play with dolls rather than with soldiers, and I liked to play quietly in the house better than to play noisily in the streets. I entered the Gymnasium at the age of ten. Though I was lazy, I was among the best scholars ; for I learned very easily, and was the favorite of my teacher. From my earliest childhood (seventh year), I took pleasure in little girls. I remember that, even until my thirteenth year, I had formal love-affairs with them, and was jealous of those who associated with them ; that I took pleasure in looking under the petticoats of my sister's friends and the servants ; and that I had erections when touching the persons of my female playmates. I can, however, recall with certainty that boys

attracted and excited me sexually just as early and powerfully. I always took great delight in reading and in the theatre. I had a doll-theatre, with which I played by preference. I knew whole pieces by heart, and copied the actors I saw, taking especially the female parts, in which I was delighted to put on female attire.

"As my sexual life became more pronounced, my inclination for boys won the upper hand. I fell completely in love with my companions, and had lustful feeling if one of them who pleased me touched my body. I became very shy, and refused to take gymnastic and swimming lessons. I thought I was different from my comrades, and did not like to undress before them. I liked to look at the penes of my companions, and easily had erections. I masturbated but once, and that in my youth. When a friend told me that one could have pleasure without women, I likewise tried it; but I found no pleasure in it. At that time, also, a book fell in my hands which warned against the effects of onanism. After that one trial I never did it again. In my fourteenth or fifteenth year, I made the acquaintance of two younger boys who excited me sexually to the highest degree. I was especially in love with one of them. I became sexually excited in his presence, and was restless when I did not have him near me. I was jealous of those who associated with him, and embarrassed in his presence. He had no suspicion of my condition. I felt very unhappy, and often wept gladly, feeling then relieved. Yet I could not understand this feeling, and always felt its irregularity. I was also especially unhappy because my ability to work disappeared all at once. I, who before had learned with ease, suddenly had difficulty; my thoughts were never on the subject. Only by straining every nerve could I get anything through my head. I always had to study aloud, in order to keep my attention on the matter in hand. My memory, which was previously excellent, often left me in the lurch. Nevertheless, I continued to be a good scholar, and I still pass for a talented man; but I have terrible difficulty in learning anything. I exerted all my energy to free myself from this sad condition. Daily I went swimming; I practiced turning, rode much, and practiced fencing, in all of which I enjoyed myself very much. I still like to be on a horse's back, though I know nothing about horses, and have no particular talent for physical exercises. I was never absent from a drinking-party, and I smoked. I was much liked. In *cafés* I associated much with waitresses, and liked to amuse myself with them, without, however, being sexually excited by them. Among my friends and teachers, I passed for a man who was much with women, and spoiled by them. Unfortunately, this was not true.

"At the age of nineteen I went to the University. My first semester was spent at the University of B., and it is still terrible to recall it. My sexual appetite powerfully excited me, and at night, for hours at a time, I ran about looking for men, especially when I was intoxicated.

The next morning I would be crazy about myself. Fortunately, I found no one. In the second semester, I went to M. This was my happiest time. I had pleasant friends, and, for a wonder, took pleasure in women, and was very happy about it. I had a love-affair with a young girl of spoiled character, with whom I spent wild nights. I was extraordinarily virile. I, who had formerly been chaste, also associated with other women, as never before. I felt fresh and well after coitus. I was not charmed so much by the female figure, which was never beautiful to me, as by—I know not what. In short, I knew women whose touch immediately induced erection. This joy and state of delight did not last long. I was so foolish as to take rooms with a friend. We had one sleeping-room. My friend was very talented and amiable, and a favorite with women; and it was by these characteristics that he at first so strongly attracted me. In fact, I love only highly-educated men; uneducated, powerful persons are able to excite me intensely only for the moment, and cannot retain my affections. I soon fell in love with my friend. Then came the terrible time that destroyed my health. I slept in the same room with my friend, and had to see him undress daily; so that it required all my strength to keep from betraying myself. I became nervous, cried easily, and was jealous of those who associated with my friend. I still associated with women; but it was only with difficulty that I could perform coitus, which, like woman, was repugnant to me. The same women who had excited me intensely, no longer had any effect on me. I followed my friend to W., where he met an earlier friend, with whom he associated. I became jealous and sick with love and longing. At the same time, I associated with women again, but seldom, and only with difficulty, indulged in coitus. I became terribly depressed and almost insane. Work was out of the question. I led a foolish, wild life, and spent a great amount of money, almost throwing it away. Then, after six weeks of it, I broke down, and had to visit a water-cure, where I spent many months. There I came to myself again, and soon became much liked; for I can be very gay, and I take great pleasure in the society of educated ladies. In conversation, I prefer married women to younger girls; I am also very gay in the society of gentlemen at the beer-table and bowling-alley.

"At this sanitarium I met a man of twenty-nine, who was apparently constituted like myself. The fellow forced himself upon me, and wanted to embrace and kiss me; but he was very repugnant to me, though he excited me, and his touch caused erection, and even ejaculation. One evening he got me to perform mutual onanism. After it I spent a most frightful, sleepless night; I was terribly disgusted with the whole affair, and thought I should never do such a thing with a man again. All day long I could get no rest. It was terrible to me that, in spite of this, and against my will, this man so excited me sexually; yet, on the other hand, it gave me satisfaction that he was in love with me, and apparently had

to go through struggles similar to my earlier ones. From that time I was successful in keeping him away from me.

"I again went to various Universities, and also visited many water-cures, with temporary, but never permanent, benefit. I fell in love, too, with many friends, but never so deeply as with the friend at M. I no longer had sexual intercourse, neither with women—I was incapable of it—nor with men; for I had no opportunity for it with the latter, and I forced myself to avoid it. I still often met my friend of M.; we are as good friends as ever, and, much to my delight, he no longer excites me. It is usually so; when for a long time I have not seen a person who excites me, the sexual influence disappears.

"I passed my examinations with distinction. During the last year before they took place,—when I was twenty-three,—I began to practice masturbation; for I could find no other way in which to gratify my burdensome sexual appetite. Still, I did it very infrequently; for after it I was always disgusted, and spent a sleepless night. But when I have drunk much, I lose all strength; and then I run about for hours, seeking men, and finally come to onanism, to awake the next day with a dull head and a horror of myself, and go about all day in a melancholy state. As long as I have control of myself, I use all my strength to combat my nature. It is terrible when one can have no pleasure in associating with friends, and every erect soldier or butcher-boy makes one tremble and throb. It is frightful when night comes, and I watch at the window for some one to urinate against a wall across the way, and give me an opportunity to see his genitals. These thoughts are terrible; and besides, there is the consciousness of the immorality and criminality of my state of mind and my longing. I have a repugnance for myself that I cannot describe. I consider my condition abnormal; I cannot think that it is congenital, but I believe that the impulse was bred in me by faulty education. My suffering makes me reckless and egotistical; it takes away all kindness of disposition, and makes me careless about my family. I am moody, and often almost insane; often I am so depressed that I know not what to do, and then am easily moved to tears. And yet I have a horror of sexual intercourse with men. One evening when I came from a drinking-party, drunk and excited and in a half-conscious state, and, full of desire, was wandering about, I met a young man, who got me to perform mutual masturbation. Though he excited me, after the act I was beside myself. To-day, when I go by the place, I am overcome with horror; and lately, when riding by it, without any cause, I fell from my gentle horse, that I know so well,—I was so overcome by the memory of my unworthy deed.

"I love family life and children, and social intercourse; and, with my position in society, I am suited to have a family. But I must give up all that; and yet, I cannot abandon hope of cure. And so I vacillate between hopeful gaiety and frightful hopelessness, and neglect business

and family. Indeed, I do not ask that I may marry and found a family; I wish only to overcome the terrible inclination for the male sex; only to associate quietly with my friends, and to learn to respect myself again.

"No one has any suspicion of my condition; I pass rather for a great *roué*,—a reputation I try to maintain. I often try to have relations with girls, for which I often have opportunity. I have known many who loved me, and who would have sacrificed their honor for me; but I have no love to offer them, and nothing sexual to give. And yet I can love a man. I am excited only by young men,—*i.e.*, aged from seventeen to twenty-five, without full beards, and preferably with no beards at all. I can love only those that are educated, respectable, and amiable. I am, in short, very proud, and quick; I am also enthusiastic, and easily led by persons who please me. These I try to imitate, but I am very sensitive with them, and easily hurt. I put much value on appearances, love beautiful furniture and dress, and assume a distinguished manner and elegant address. I am unhappy in that my neurasthenic condition keeps me from doing and learning what I should like."

Last fall I made the patient's acquaintance. He is destitute of degenerative signs; and of perfectly masculine appearance, even though he is delicately formed and slender. Genitals perfectly normal. Appearance distinguished, with nothing striking. He is much troubled about his sexual perversion, and wishes to be freed from it at any price. In spite of the greatest effort on the part of both physician and patient, only a slight degree of hypnosis, insufficient for suggestive treatment, could be induced.

Case 110. Psychical Hermaphroditism—Mouth-fetichism.—"I am thirty-one years old, and an official in a manufactory. My parents are healthy, and have nothing abnormal about them. My paternal grandfather is said to have had brain disease; my maternal grandmother died melancholic; a cousin of my mother was given to drink; several other blood-relations are abnormal mentally.

"I was four years old when my sexual appetite awoke. A man between twenty and thirty years old, who played with us children, and took us in his arms, excited in me the desire to embrace and kiss him passionately. This desire for sensual kissing on the mouth is characteristic of me, and it still forms the chief charm of my sexual gratification.

"I experienced a similar excitation in about my ninth year. A man who was ugly and dirty, and had a red beard, likewise excited in me this desire for him. Here was manifested, for the first time, a characteristic peculiar to me, which is still present,—*i.e.*, the peculiar stimulus which coarseness—the filthiness of a person in dress and conduct—is to my senses at times.

"While in the Gymnasium, from my eleventh to my fifteenth year, I was affected with a passion for a comrade. In this case, it was also my greatest pleasure to embrace him, and kiss him on the mouth. I was

often seized with a desire for him as intense as that I now have for persons I love. I think, however, that I first had erections in my thirteenth year. During these years, as I have said, I had only the desire to embrace and kiss; *cupiditas videndi vel tangendi aliorum genitalia mihi plane deerat*. I was a perfectly innocent, *näive* boy, and, until my fifteenth year, did not know the meaning of an erection; indeed, I never once ventured to kiss the beloved person; for I felt that it would be doing something strange. I felt no desire to masturbate, and also had the good fortune not to be seduced to it by older comrades. I have never yet masturbated; I feel a certain repugnance for it.

"In my fourteenth and fifteenth years I was seized with a passion for several young persons, some of whom still attract me. Thus I was very much in love with a boy with whom I had never spoken. It was even a delight to meet him on the street.

"That my passions were of a sensual nature is shown by the fact that, when I pressed and caressed the hands of those I loved, I had powerful erections. But it has always been my greatest pleasure *amplecti et os osculari*; I desired nothing else.

"I did not know that what I experienced was sexual love; I only said to myself that it was impossible that I alone felt such stimuli.

"Until my fifteenth year a woman had never excited me; but one evening, when I was alone with our servant-girl in a room, I experienced the same desire that I had for many boys. At first I played with her; and, when I found that she liked to be kissed, I covered her with kisses. I felt such sensual pleasure in it as I now seldom experience. Mouth to mouth, we kissed each other, and after about ten minutes ejaculation occurred. Thus I gratified myself two or three times a week. I soon began a similar relation with our cook, and with other servant-girls. Ejaculation always took place after kissing for about ten minutes.

"In the meantime, I had taken dancing-lessons. There I was first charmed by a nice girl; but this love soon disappeared, and I fell in love with another girl, with whom I never became acquainted, but at the sight of whom I felt an attraction like that of boys, and unlike the purely brutal passion I felt for other girls. At this time my impulse for girls was at its acme; I was pleased by about an equal number of girls and boys. As mentioned above, I gratified my sensuality by kissing the servant-girl and inducing ejaculation. Thus I spent the time from my sixteenth to my eighteenth year. The departure of the servant deprived me of opportunity.

"Then came two or three years during which I had to give up sexual pleasure. In general, girls pleased me less; and, too, now that I had grown older, I was ashamed to surrender myself to the servant-girls.

"It was not possible for me to obtain a mistress; for, notwithstanding my years, I was carefully watched by my parents, and associated but little with young men, and thus had but little independence.

With the diminution in the desire for women, the attractiveness of youths increased.

" Since I had had, since my sixteenth year, frequent pollutions at night with dreams,—in part of women and in part of men,—which weakened and depressed me exceedingly, I desired to make an end of them by means of normal coitus. But scruples and the belief that prostitutes would have no effect on me, kept me from the brothel until my twenty-first year. For two or three years I went through a daily struggle (if there had been male houses of prostitution, no scruples would have hindered me). Finally I visited a brothel. I could not even induce erection; for one reason because the girl, though she was unusually fresh and pretty for a prostitute, did not affect me; but really because she would not kiss me on the mouth. I was very much depressed, and thought I was impotent. Three weeks afterward I visited another prostitute, and she immediately induced erection by her kiss. She was erect and had thick lips, and was much more sensual than the first one. After only three minutes of simple kissing, mouth to mouth, ejaculation was induced,—of course, ante portam. Thus it was only after I had visited prostitutes about seven times that I was successful in coitus.

" At one time I would have no erection at all, because the girl made no impression on me; again I would ejaculate prematurely. The first times I was reluctant penem introducere; and, too, even after I was successful in normal coitus, I found no pleasure in it. Sensual satisfaction comes with kissing on the mouth; for me this is the principal thing, coitus serving only as something secondary to embracing. Coitus, no matter how much the woman might charm me, would be an indifferent matter without kissing; indeed, erection disappears, or does not occur at all, when the woman will not kiss on the mouth. Yet, I cannot kiss every woman, but only such as have faces pleasing to me; a prostitute, the sight of whom is repugnant to me, with any amount of kissing, which then only disgusts me, cannot excite me.

" Thus, during the last four years, I have visited brothels about every ten days or two weeks. Only seldom does coitus fail; for I have learned my peculiarities, and in the choice of a prostitute know immediately whether she will excite me or have no effect. Of late, however, it has again happened that I thought the woman would stimulate me, and yet no erection occurred. This happened when, the day before, I had to repress too forcibly the desire for men.

" At first, when I went to brothels, the sensual pleasure was very slight; only a very few times did I have true lustful feeling (as in kissing previously). Now, on the contrary, for the most part I experience sensual pleasure. The lower houses have a particular charm for me; for of late the coarseness of the women, the dark entrance, the yellow light of the lamps, and all the surroundings, have a peculiar charm for me; probably because my sensuality is unconsciously excited by meet-

ing soldiers, who frequent such places, and who at the same time lend a certain charm to the women. If I but find a woman whose face attracts me, I can have intense lustful pleasure. Besides by prostitutes, my desire can be excited by peasant-girls, servant-girls, working-women, and girls of the lower classes,—in general, by those in common dress. Red cheeks, thick lips, and erect forms please me particularly. I am absolutely indifferent to respectable women and young ladies.

“ My pollutions are usually without lustful pleasure, and often occur with dreams of men, but very seldom—almost never—with dreams of women. As is shown by the last circumstance, in spite of regular coitus, my desire is still for young men. Indeed, I may say that it has only increased, and that very markedly. Though immediately after coitus the girls have no charm for me, yet the kiss of a pleasing woman could immediately induce erection again. For the first few days after coitus, young men seem the most attractive to me.

“ Sexual congress with women does not satisfy all my sensual desire. I have days when I frequently have erections with an intense desire for young men ; then come quieter days, with moments of complete indifference for women and latent desire for men. On the other hand, too great sensual rest makes me melancholy ; viz., when such rest follows moments of repressed excitement. Only, then, when the thought of beloved youths again causes erection, do I feel light-hearted again. Then the rest changes to intense nervousness ; I feel depressed, and sometimes have headache (after repressed erection). This nervousness often increases to ungovernable restlessness, which I then seek to overcome by coitus.

“ Last year an essential change took place in my sexual life, when I dared to enjoy male love for the first time. In spite of pleasurable coitus with women (more correctly, pleasurable kissing with resultant ejaculation), my desire for young men gave me no peace. I determined to go to a brothel much frequented by soldiers, and, in extremity, to buy a soldier for myself. I had the good luck to meet immediately one like myself, who, notwithstanding his much lower station, in character and behavior was not unworthy of me. What I experienced (and still experience) with this young man is something different from what I feel with women. The sensual pleasure is not greater than with prostitutes, whose kisses and embraces excite me extraordinarily ; but I can experience lustful pleasure with him at any time, and for him I have a feeling that is wanting for women. Unfortunately, I have been able to embrace and kiss him only about eight times.

“ Though we have been separated many months, he having been sent to a garrison in Hungary, we have not forgotten each other, and keep up a regular correspondence. In order to possess him, I dared to go to a brothel and there embrace him, being in danger of being betrayed.

"Early in our acquaintance there came a time when I heard nothing more of him; for he did not think he could trust me. During these weeks I endured anxiety and pain that brought me into a state of depression and anxious restlessness, such as I had never before experienced. Scarcely to have found a lover and then to be compelled to lose him, seemed the greatest misfortune to me. When, thanks to my efforts, we met again, my joy was unbounded; indeed, I was so excited that, in his embrace again for the first time, in spite of my sensual lust, I could not induce ejaculation.

"*Usus sexualis in osculis et amplexionibus solis constitit, pene meo ludere ei licebat* (while the touch on it of a woman's hand is unendurable to me, and I never allow it). It is also to be noted that, in the company of my lover, I immediately have an erection; the pressure of his hand, or even his look, is sufficient. Evenings, for hours at a time, I have gone about with him, never tiring of his society for a moment, despite his inferior station. With him I feel happy, and the sexual satisfaction is merely the crowning of our love. Although I had finally found the man like myself, whom I had so long sought, and I could at last enjoy male love, yet I have not become insensitive to women; and I visit brothels when I am too sorely troubled by desire. I had hoped to be able to spend this winter in the city where my lover is; but this is, unfortunately, impossible, and I am now forced to be separated from him for an indefinite period. Nevertheless, we shall try to see each other, if only for a short time, and only once or twice a year; at least, I hope that in the future we may again be together for a longer time. Thus, for this winter, I am again compelled to be without a friend like myself. I had, indeed, resolved, on account of the danger of discovery, never to try to find another urning; but this is impossible. Sexual intercourse with women does not satisfy me, and my desire for young men constantly increases. I am often afraid of myself; afraid that, in asking all prostitutes, as I do, whether they know others like me, I might be discovered. Yet I cannot keep from seeking a youth like myself; indeed, I know that in case of necessity I shall buy a soldier, though I know perfectly well the penalty meted out to one caught in such circumstances.

"I can no longer do without male love; without it I should always be out of harmony with myself. My ideal would be to be associated with a number like myself; but I should be satisfied if I could have unrestrained intercourse with one lover. I could easily dispense with women, if I had regular male satisfaction; but I think that at long intervals I should embrace a woman for the sake of variety, as my nature is absolutely hermaphroditic in a psycho-sexual sense (women I can only desire sensually, but I can love and sensually desire young men). If there were marriage between men, I think I should not avoid a life-long union; while marriage with a woman seems to me something impossible.

For, in the first place, though the woman charmed me, the charm would soon be lost in regular intercourse, and then all sexual indulgence, if not impossible, would certainly be devoid of pleasure for me; and, in the second place, true love for the wife would be wanting—the attraction that I feel with young men I love, and which makes the intercourse that is not simply sensual seem desirable to me. The constant association with a youth physically pleasing and in mental harmony with me, and who could understand all my feelings and share my intellectual opinions and desires, would, it seems to me, be the greatest happiness.

“The young men who please me must be between eighteen and twenty-eight. As I have grown older, the limit of age in those pleasing to me has increased; otherwise, I am pleased with the most various forms. The principal rôle, if not the exclusive one, is played by the face. Blondes excite me more than dark persons; they must have no beard, but merely a small moustache that is not too thick, or none at all. As for the rest, the only thing I can say is, that certain kinds of faces please me. Faces with large, straight noses are excluded, as are also pale cheeks; but there are exceptions. I regard soldiers with favor, and many please me when in uniform who do not affect me when in civil dress. Just as in women certain ordinary articles of dress (like light-colored jackets) please me, so the military costume attracts me. To go to dance-halls—usually beer-halls—where there are many soldiers, and mix with the crowd of soldiers and boys that please me, and try to get a kiss and embrace,—this mingling with them would, of course, be an excitant only of sensuality; intellectually and socially, everything common in speech and conduct is repugnant to me.

“With young men of higher position, my sensual desire is less prominent.

“What I have said of the attractiveness of certain kinds of dress is not to be understood in the sense that they attract me in themselves. This charm only means that the dress may help to strengthen or make prominent the attraction exerted by the face, when, perhaps, the same face in itself would not attract me to the same extent. I may say the same thing, though with a different meaning, of the odor of lighted cigars. In indifferent persons the odor of cigars is rather repugnant than pleasing to me; but exciting in those sexually attractive. The kiss of a prostitute smelling of cigar-smoke, affords greater pleasure (because, even though in part unconsciously, I am reminded of the kiss of a man). Therefore, I took pleasure in kissing my lover just after he had smoked. (It is to be noted that I myself have never smoked a cigar or cigarette, and have never even tried to smoke.) I am tall and thin; my face is masculine; my eyes are restless; and in my whole form I often have something girlish. My health leaves much to be desired. It is much influenced by my sexual anomaly. As previously mentioned, I am very nervous, and I often have paroxysms of onomatomania. At times, I also

have terrible depression and melancholia, when I see the difficulty of gratification corresponding with my male-loving nature ; and when I am greatly excited sexually, and have overcome the desire, owing to impossibility of male gratification. In such conditions, often the depression is associated with absolute lack of sexual desire. In work I am industrious, but often too quick ; for I am inclined to work too rapidly and violently. I have a lively interest in art and literature. Among poets and writers of fiction, I prefer, for the most part, those who describe refined feelings, peculiar passions, and far-fetched impressions ; an artificial or hyper-artificial style pleases me. Likewise in music, it is the nervous, exciting music of a Chopin, a Schumann, a Schubert, or a Wagner, etc., that is in most perfect harmony with me. Everything in art that is not only original, but *bizarre*, attracts me.

"I do not like physical exercise, and do not practice it.

"In character I am kind and compassionate ; and, though I have much to suffer with my anomaly, I am not unhappy because I love young men, but because the satisfaction of such love is considered improper, and because I cannot gratify it without restraint. I cannot regard male love as a vice, though I can well understand why it is considered vicious. But, since this love is regarded as criminal, in gratifying it I am in harmony with myself, but not with our age of the world ; and, therefore, I must, necessarily, be somewhat depressed ; the more, since I have a frank character that hates a lie. The pain of having always to hide it all in myself has induced me to confess my anomaly to a few friends, of whose silence and appreciation I am confident. Nevertheless, my situation often seems sad. On account of the difficulty of gratification and the general abhorrence of male love, I am often a little proud that I have such anomalous feelings. Of course, I shall never marry. This does not seem any misfortune, even though I love family life, and have thus far lived only with my parents. I live in the hope that later I shall have a lover ; I must have one ; without one, the future seems dark and barren, and all the ambitions usually cherished—honor, position, etc.—seem empty and unattractive. If I should not have this hope fulfilled, I know I shall be unable to long devote myself to my business with pleasure, and I shall soon be in a condition to sacrifice everything to obtain male love. I no longer have any moral scruples on account of my anomalous inclination ; I have, in fact, never been troubled because I felt attracted to boys. I am much more inclined to judge morality and immorality in accordance with my feelings than in accordance with fixed principles ; for I have always been given to skepticism, and have never yet studied out a fixed belief for myself. As yet, only what injures others seems to me to be evil and immoral, and that that I would not have inflicted on myself ; and, in this direction, I may say that I try to infringe on the rights of others as little as possible, and that I am capable of great indignation at injustice inflicted on another. But,

why love of men should be something immoral, I cannot understand; purposeless activity of the sexual instinct (if the immoral is to be seen in all that is useless and unnatural) is also found in intercourse with prostitutes, and even in marriage where means to prevent conception are used; and it seems to me that the sexual intercourse of men must be placed on the same level with all sexual congress that has not procreation as an end. But that only sexual gratification that has this purpose is moral, seems to me to be questionable. Certainly, sexual satisfaction that is not directed to procreation is not contrary to nature; and, whether it has not other purposes unknown to us, is uncertain; and, even if it were purposeless, it would not necessarily be despicable (it is not certain that the measure of a moral act is its usefulness).

"I am very certain that present prejudice will disappear, and that when once such individuals experience male-love, the right of unrestricted love will be acknowledged. For the possibility of such recognition one need but recall the Greeks and their friendships, which were nothing but sexual love; and one has only to think that, despite such unnatural vice, practiced by their greatest men in intellectual and æsthetic matters, the Greeks are still regarded as an unattainable example, and held up for imitation.

"I have already thought of having my anomaly cured by hypnotism. If it were to be of any use, which I doubt, yet I should certainly desire to be assured of a lasting love for women. For even though I cannot satisfy myself with men, yet I prefer to feel this capability of inordinate lust and love, even ungratified, to being absolutely without feeling. Thus I still have the hope that I shall find opportunity to satisfy the love I desire, the love that would make me happy; and I should not prefer the suggestive removal of homo-sexual feelings, without the simultaneous substitution of a hetero-sexual equivalent, to my present condition. Finally, I should like to add, in contrast with the statements of urnings in the published biographies, that I, at least, find it very difficult to recognize those like myself. Though I have described my sexual anomaly somewhat in detail, it seems to me that the following notes are important for a better understanding of my condition:—

"Of late I have given up immissio penis, and confined myself to coitus inter femoræ puellæ. Ejaculation occurs earlier than with conjunctio membrorum, and I experience a certain lustful feeling in the penis itself. If this manner of sexual intercourse is quite pleasant to me, it is, perhaps, in part to be referred to the fact that in this kind of sexual indulgence the sex is quite indifferent, and I am, perhaps, unconsciously reminded of masculine embrace. But this memory is absolutely unconscious, and but obscurely felt; for I am not indebted to my imagination for my pleasure, but it is due immediately to kissing the woman's mouth. I feel that the charm which the brothel and prostitutes have for me also begins to fade; but I am sure certain women will

always be able to excite me by their kisses. Still, no woman is, or ever will be, so attractive as to induce me to overcome obstacles in winning her; but even the danger of discovery and disgrace could only with difficulty restrain me from seeking a man's embraces.

"Thus I lately allowed myself to be induced to buy a soldier at a prostitute's house. The lustful pleasure was very great, but the subsequent feeling of satisfaction was especially very exhilarating. The next day I felt similarly strengthened (capable of erection at any moment); and though I have not yet been able to meet the soldier again, the thought that I shall venture to purchase another gives me peace. But I could be perfectly satisfied only in finding one feeling like myself, of my own position and education.

"I have not yet mentioned that the female form (with the exception of the face) and genitals have no attraction for me (to touch the latter with my hand would be disgusting to me); but membrum virile me tangere dum os meum os ejus osculatur, mihi exoptatum esse; indeed, to kiss that of a very pleasing man would not be disgusting to me. Onanism, as has been said, would be quite impossible for me."

Case 111. *Psychical Hermaphroditism*.—Hetero-sexual feeling early interfered with by masturbation, but episodically very intense. Homo-sexual feeling *ab origine* perverse (sexual excitation by men's boots).

Mr. X., of high social position, Russian, aged 28, came to me in September, 1887, in a despairing mood, to consult me on account of a perversion of his vita sexualis, which made life seem almost unbearable to him, and which had repeatedly brought him near to suicide. The patient comes of a family in which neuroses and psychoses have been of frequent occurrence. In the father's family there had been consanguineous marriages for three generations. The father is said to have been a healthy man, and to have lived morally in marriage. However, his father's preference for fine-looking servants seems remarkable to the son. The mother's family is described as eccentric. The mother's grandfather and great-grandfather died melancholic; her sister was insane; a daughter of the grandfather's brother was hysterical, and had nymphomania. Only three of the mother's twelve brothers and sisters married. Of these, one brother was homo-sexual, and always nervous as a result of excessive masturbation.

The patient's mother is said to be a bigot, and of small mental endowment, nervous, irritable, and inclined to melancholia. Patient has a sister and a brother. The brother is frequently melancholy, and, though mature, has never shown the slightest trace of sexual inclinations. The sister is an acknowledged beauty, and much sought by gentlemen. This lady is married, but childless, as reported, owing to the impotence of her husband. She has always been indifferent to the attentions shown her by men, but is charmed by female beauty, and actually in love with some of her female friends.

With respect of himself, the patient asserts that, when four years old, he dreamed of handsome jockeys wearing shining boots. Too, he never dreamed of women when he grew older. His nightly pollutions were always induced by "boot-dreams." From his fourth year he had a peculiar partiality for men, or, more correctly, for lackeys wearing shining boots. At first they only excited his interest, but, with development of his sexual functions, the sight of them caused powerful erections and lustful pleasure. It was only servants' boots that affected him; the same kind of boots on persons of like social station were without effect on him. In a homo-sexual sense, there was no sexual impulse connected with these situations. Even the thought of such a possibility was disgusting to him. At times, however, he had sensually-colored ideas,—like being his servant's servant, and drawing off his boots; but the idea of being stepped on by him, or of having to blacken his boots, was most pleasing. The pride of the aristocrat rose up against such thoughts. In general, these notions about boots were disgusting and painful to him.

Sexual instinct was early and powerfully developed. It first found expression in indulgence in sensual thoughts about boots, and, after puberty, in dreams accompanied by pollutions; otherwise, the mental and physical development was undisturbed. Patient was well endowed mentally,—learned easily, finished his studies, and became an officer. On account of his distinguished, manly appearance and his high position, he was much sought in society.

He characterizes himself as a clever, quiet, strong-willed, but superficial man. He asserts that he is a passionate hunter and rider, and that he has never had any inclination for feminine pursuits. In the society of ladies he has always been reserved; dancing always tired him. He had never had any interest in a lady of high social position. As for women, only the buxom peasant girls, such as are the models of painters in Rome, had interested him. He had, however, never felt any sexual interest in such representatives of the female sex. In the theatre and circus only male performers had excited his interest; but, at the same time, they had caused him no sensual feelings. As for men, only their boots excited him, and, indeed, only when the wearers belonged to the servant class and were handsome men. Men of his own position, wearing never so fine boots, were absolutely indifferent to him.

With reference to his sexual inclinations, the patient is still uncertain whether he feels more inclination toward the opposite sex or toward his own sex. He is inclined to think that originally he had more inclination for women, but that this sympathy was, in any case, very weak. He states with certainty that the sight of a naked man made no impression on him, and that the sight of male genitals was even repugnant to him. In the case of women, this was not exactly the case, but he was not excited sexually even by the most beautiful feminine form. When a

young officer, he was now and then compelled to accompany his comrades to brothels. He was the more easily persuaded to this, since he hoped by this means to be rid of his vile partiality for boots; but he was impotent unless he brought the thought of boots to his aid. Under such circumstances, the act of cohabitation was normally performed, but without pleasurable feeling. Patient felt no impulse to intercourse with women, always requiring some external cause,—*i.e.*, persuasion. Left to himself, his vita sexualis consisted in reveling in ideas about boots, and in corresponding dreams with pollutions. Since more and more there became connected with them the impulse to kiss his servant's boots, to draw them off, etc., the patient determined to use every means to rid himself of this disgusting desire, which deeply wounded his pride. At that time, being in his twentieth year, and in Paris, he recalled a very beautiful peasant girl, who lived in his distant home. He hoped, with her assistance, to free himself of his perverse sexual inclination. He went directly home, and tried to win the girl's favor. It seems that the patient was not naturally homo-sexual. He asserts that at that time he was actually in love with this person, and that her glance, or the touch of her dress, gave him sensual pleasure; and, when she once kissed him, he had a powerful erection. After about a year and a half, the patient succeeded in gaining his desires with this person.

He was potent, but ejaculated tardily (ten to twenty minutes), and never had a pleasurable feeling in the act.

After about a year and a half of sexual intercourse with this girl, his love for her grew cold, because he did not find her so "fine and pure" as he wished. From this time it was necessary for him to call upon ideas about boots for help, which had been latent, in order to be potent in sexual intercourse with her. In proportion as his power failed, these ideas arose spontaneously. Thereafter he had coitus with other women. Now and then, especially when the woman was in sympathy with him, the act took place without any assistance of imagination. It once happened that the patient committed a rape. It is remarkable that on this single occasion he had a pleasurable feeling in the (forced) act. Immediately after the deed he had a feeling of disgust. When, an hour after the forced indulgence, he had coitus with the same woman, with her consent, he experienced no feeling of pleasure.

With decrease of virility,—*i.e.*, when it was preserved only in connection with ideas about boots,—libido for the opposite sex decreased. The patient's slight libido and weak inclination for women are evidenced by the fact that, while he still sustained sexual relations with the peasant girl, he began to masturbate. He learned the vice from "Rousseau's Confessions," the book accidentally falling into his hands. The boot-fancies immediately linked themselves with corresponding impulses. He then had violent erections, masturbated, and ejaculation afforded

him a lively feeling of pleasure, which was denied to him in coitus; and at first he felt himself fresher and brighter, as a result of the masturbation.

In time, however, symptoms of sexual, and, later, of general, neurasthenia, with spinal irritation, appeared. He then at first gave up masturbation, and sought his first love; but she was now more than ever indifferent to him. Since he finally became impotent, even when he called ideas of boots to his assistance, he gave up women entirely, and again practiced masturbation; by which he felt himself protected from the impulse to kiss and blacken servants' boots. At the same time, he continued to feel that his sexual position was a painful one. He again occasionally attempted coitus, and was successful in it as soon as he thought of blackened boots. Too, after continued abstinence from masturbation, he was sometimes successful in coitus without any artificial aid.

The patient says that his sexual needs are intense. If he has not had an ejaculation in a long time, he becomes congestive and psychically much excited, and tormented by repugnant images of boots, so that he is forced to have coitus, or, preferably, to masturbate.

For some time his moral position has been complicated most painfully by the fact that, as the last of a wealthy line of high position, and at the importunate desire of his parents, he must marry. The bride is of rare beauty, and mentally in perfect sympathy with him; but, as a woman, she is as indifferent to him as any other. Ästhetically she satisfies him "as a work of art;" in his eyes, she is an ideal. To honor her in a platonic way would be happiness worth striving for; but to possess her as a wife is a painful thought. He is certain beforehand that with her he will be impotent, save with the help of ideas of boots. To use such means, however, is in opposition to his respect and his moral and æsthetic feeling for the lady. Were he to soil her with such thoughts, she would lose, in his eyes, all her æsthetic value; and then he would become impotent for her, and she would become repugnant to him. The patient considers his position one of despair, and confesses that he has lately been repeatedly near suicide.

He is a man of much intelligence, and decidedly of masculine appearance, with abundant growth of beard, deep voice, and normal genitals. The eye has a neuropathic expression. No signs of degeneration. Symptoms of spinal neurasthenia. It was possible to reassure the patient, and give him hope of his future.

The medical advice consisted in means for combating the neurasthenia, and the interdiction of masturbation and indulgence of the fancy in images of boots, in the hope that, with the removal of the neurasthenia, cohabitation without ideas of boots would become possible; and that, in time, the patient would become morally and physically capable of marriage.

In the latter part of October, 1888, the patient wrote me that he had resolutely resisted masturbation and his imagination. In the interval he had had but one dream about boots, and scarcely a pollution. He had been free from homo-sexual inclinations, but, in spite of this, there was often considerable sexual excitement, without anything like adequate libido for women. In this deplorable situation, he was compelled, by circumstances, to marry in three months.

2. *Homo-Sexual Individuals, or Urnings.*—In distinction from the preceding group of psycho-sexual hermaphrodites, there are here, *ab origine*, sexual desires and inclinations for persons of the same sex exclusively; but, in contrast with the following group, the anomaly is limited to the *vita sexualis*, and does not more deeply and seriously affect the character and mental personality.

The *vita sexualis* of these urnings, *mutatis mutandis*, is entirely like that in normal hetero-sexual love; but, since it is the exact opposite of the natural feeling, it becomes a caricature, and this the more, since these individuals, at the same time, as a rule, are subject to hyperæsthesia sexualis, and, therefore, their love for their own sex is emotional and passionate.

The urning loves and deifies the male object of his affections, just as a man idealizes the woman he loves. He is capable of the greatest sacrifice for him, and experiences the pangs of unfortunate, often unrequited, love; suffers from the unfaithfulness of the beloved object, and is subject to jealousy, etc.

The attention of the male-loving man is given only to male dancers, actors, athletes, statues, etc. The sight of female charms is indifferent to him, if not repulsive. A naked woman is disgusting to him, while the sight of male genitals, hips, etc., affords him infinite pleasure.

The bodily contact of a sympathetic man induces a thrill of delight; and, since such individuals are mostly sexually neurasthenic, congenitally or from onanism or enforced abstinence from sexual intercourse, under such circumstances ejaculation is very easily induced, which, in the most intimate intercourse with women, cannot be induced at all, or only by mechanical means. The sexual act with a man, in many

instances, affords pleasure, and leaves behind a feeling of well-being. Should the urning be able to force himself to coitus, in which, as a rule, disgust has the effect of an inhibitory concept, and makes the act impossible, then his feeling is something like that of a man compelled to take disgusting food or drink. However, experience teaches that not infrequently urnings falling in this group marry, either out of ethical or social considerations.

Such unfortunates are relatively potent, in that in marital intercourse they incite their imagination, and, instead of thinking of their wives, they call up the image of some loved male person. But for them coitus is a great sacrifice, and no pleasure; and it makes them, for days after, nervous and miserable. If such urnings, by means of powerful excitation of their imagination, or under the influence of alcoholic drinks, or by erections induced by an overfilled bladder, etc., are enabled to overcome the inhibitory feelings and ideas, then they are still entirely impotent; while simply the touch of a man may induce powerful erection, and even ejaculation.

Dancing with a woman is unpleasant to an urning, but to dance with a man, especially one with an attractive form, seems to him the greatest of pleasures. The male urning, in so far as he possesses higher culture, is not opposed to non-sexual intercourse with women, when by mind and refinement they make conversation pleasant. It is only of woman in her sexual *rôle* that he has a horror. The homo-sexual woman offers the same manifestations, *mutatis mutandis*. In this degree of sexual degeneration, character and occupation correspond with the sex which the individual represents. The sexual perversion remains isolated, but an anomaly of the mental being of the individual which deeply affects the social existence. In accordance with this, many of these individuals, in the sexual act, feel themselves in the *rôle* which would naturally belong to them in heterosexual intercourse.

However, transitions to group 3 occur, in as much as sometimes the passive *rôle* which corresponds with the homo-sexual manner of feeling, is thought of or desired, or at least forms

the subject of dreams. Moreover, inclinations for occupations and tendencies of taste are manifested, which do not correspond with the sex of the individual. In many cases, one gets the impression that such symptoms are artificial, the result of educational influences; in other cases, that they represent deeper acquired degenerations of the original anomaly, induced by the perverse sexual activity (masturbation), analogous to the signs of progressive degeneration observed in acquired inversion of the sexual instinct.

With regard to the manner of sexual satisfaction, it must be stated that with many male urnings simple embraces are sufficient to induce ejaculation, since they are subject to irritable weakness of the sexual apparatus. In case of sexual hyperesthesia, and where there is paresthesia of the moral sense, great pleasure is afforded by intercourse with persons of the lowest condition. On the same basis, desires to commit pederasty (active, of course) and other similar acts occur, though it is but seldom, and apparently only in cases of moral defect, and by reason of libido nimia in individuals especially passionate, that pederasty is indulged in. The sensual desire of mature urnings, *in contradistinction from old and decrepit debauchees, who prefer boys (and indulge in pederasty by preference), seems never to be directed to immature males.* Only for want of better material, and in case of violent passion, does the urning become dangerous to boys. The manner of sexual satisfaction in female urnings may be mutual and passive masturbation. To them coitus is quite as disgusting, wearisome, and inadequate as it is to the male urning.

Case 112. The following is an extract from a very circumstantial autobiography which a physician affected with contrary sexual instinct has put at my disposal :—

" I am now forty years old, of healthy family,¹ and have always been healthy and considered a model of physical and mental strength and energy. I am of powerful build, but have only a moderate beard, and, with the exception of hair in the axillæ and on the mons veneris,

¹ Later it became known that a near relative died insane, and, further, that eight of his parent's children had died of acute or chronic hydrocephalus at ages ranging from one to fifteen.

my body is hairless. The penis, even soon after birth unusually large, measures, in statu erectionis, 24 centimetres long by 11 centimetres in circumference. I am a skillful rider, athlete, and swimmer, and have passed through two great campaigns as a military surgeon. I never experienced any taste for female attire and vocation. Up to the time of puberty I was shy toward the female sex, and I am yet shy with new acquaintances.

"I have always had a distaste for dancing. In my eighth year an inclination for my own sex made its appearance. I next experienced pleasure in regarding my brother's genitals. I induced my brother to indulge with me in mutual fondling of the genitals, as a result of which I had an erection. Later, in bathing with the school-children, the boys excited a lively interest in me; the girls, none at all. I had so little interest in them that, as late as my fifteenth year, I believed that they also had a penis. In company with boys like myself, I took pleasure in mutual manustupration. At eleven and a half years I was given a strict tutor, and thereafter could steal to my friends but seldom. I learned very easily, but could not get along with my teacher; and when one day he made it too hard for me, I became furious and struck at him with a knife, and would have gladly stabbed him, if he had not fallen into my arms. In my thirteenth year, for a similar cause, I escaped from the teacher, and wandered about for six weeks in the neighboring country.

"I now entered the Gymnasium. At that time I was already sexually developed, and amused myself while bathing with my comrades in the way above mentioned, and later by imitatio coitus between the thighs. I was then thirteen years old. I took absolutely no pleasure with girls. Violent erections caused me to play with my genitals, and I came to take my penis in my mouth, which I succeeded in doing by bending over. This induced ejaculation. I thus learned masturbation. I was much frightened, looked upon myself as a criminal, and confessed to a companion of sixteen. He encouraged and quieted me, and entered into a love-bond with me. We were happy, and satisfied ourselves by mutual onanism. At the same time, I masturbated. After two years the bond was broken; but to this day, when we occasionally meet,—my friend is a high official,—the old fire lights up anew.

"That time with my friend H. was a happy one, the return of which I would gladly buy with my heart's blood. Then life was a pleasure, learning was mere play, and I had a feeling for everything beautiful.

"During this time a physician, a friend of my father's, seduced me by caressing me and practicing masturbation on me on the occasion of a visit, and by explaining the sexual act to me. He advised me never to practice manustupration, since it was injurious to health. He then practiced mutual onanism with me, and explained that this was the only way in which he could perform the sexual function. He had a horror of women, and, therefore, had lived unhappily with his deceased wife.

He gave me a pressing invitation to visit him as often as possible. The physician was a pompous man, and the father of two sons aged fourteen and fifteen respectively, with whom in the following year I entered into love-relations similar to those I had with my friend H.

"I was ashamed of my unfaithfulness to him, but at the same time continued my relations with the physician. He practiced mutual masturbation with me, showed me our spermatozoa under the microscope, and pornographic works and pictures, which, however, did not please me, because I had interest only for male forms. On the occasion of later visits, he asked me to do him a favor which he had never yet enjoyed, and which he very much desired. Since I loved him, I acquiesced in everything. He dilated my anus with instruments, and practiced pederasty on me, and at the same time performed masturbation, so that I experienced pleasure and pain at once. After this discovery I went immediately to my friend H., with the thought that this beloved man would be able to give me still greater pleasure. We practiced pederasty on each other, but were both deceived, and did not repeat it; for passively I had only pain, and actively no pleasure, while mutual onanism gave us both the greatest enjoyment. Thereafter, out of gratitude, I was still frequently at the disposal of the physician only. Up to my fifteenth year I practiced passive or mutual onanism with my friend. Now I was quite grown, and had all kinds of signs made to me by women and girls; but I fled from them as Joseph did from Potiphar's wife. At fifteen I came to the Capital. I had but infrequent opportunity for the satisfaction of my sexual inclination. I reveled in the sight of pictures and statues of male forms, and could not keep from kissing the beloved statues. The fig-leaves on the genitals were my principal annoyance.

"At seventeen I went to the University. There, again, I lived two years with my friend H.

"When I was in my eighteenth year, while in a state of mild intoxication, I was set on to have coitus with a woman. I forced myself to it, but immediately afterward I fled the house, overcome with disgust. Just as after the first active manupruration, I had a feeling as if I had committed a crime. On the occasion of another attempt, while in a sober condition, in spite of every effort of a beautiful naked girl, I could not get an erection; though the mere sight of a boy or the touch of a man's hand on my thigh, would always throw my penis into violent erection. A short time before, my friend H. had had a similar experience. In vain we racked our brains to discover the reason for it. Now I let women alone, and found enjoyment with friends in passive and mutual onanism, among others with both the sons of the physician, who had used them for pederasty after my departure.

"When nineteen years old, I made the acquaintance of two genuine urnings:—

"A., aged 56, of effeminate appearance, beardless, of small endow-

ment mentally, possessing a powerful sexual desire that had been manifested abnormally early, had indulged in urnings' love since his sixth year. Once a month he visited the Capital. I had to sleep with him. He was insatiable in mutual onanism, and made me take part in active and passive pederasty, which was an unpleasant part of the bargain for me."

"B., a merchant, aged 36, of masculine appearance, was as passionate as I was. He knew how to make his manipulations on me such a stimulus that I had to serve him passively in pederasty. He was the only one with whom I ever had any pleasure in passive pederasty. He confessed to me that when he but knew that I was near, he had the most painful erections; and that when I could not serve him, he was compelled to satisfy himself by masturbation.

"While pursuing these love-affairs, I was clinical assistant in hospital, and was considered ambitious and skillful in my work. I naturally sought throughout literature for an explanation of my sexual peculiarity. I found it in part as a crime deserving punishment, while for myself I could only recognize in it the natural satisfaction of my sexual desire. I was aware that this was congenital with me. But feeling myself in opposition to the whole world, often near insanity and suicide, I again sought to satisfy my powerful sexual desire with women. The result was always the same,—either want of sufficient erection, or, when it became possible, to force myself to the act, disgust and horror of its repetition. As a military surgeon, I suffered terribly from the sight and touch of thousands of naked male forms. Fortunately, I formed a love-bond with a lieutenant affected similarly, and passed again a time of happiness. For love of him I consented to pederasty, for which he longed. We loved each other until he lost his life at Sedan. From that time I never gave myself to active or passive pederasty, although I had many love-affairs, and was a person much sought.

"At twenty-three I went to the country as a physician, and was sought and esteemed. I satisfied myself with boys over fourteen. I interested myself in political affairs, and made an enemy of the clergyman, and, being betrayed by one of my lovers, was denounced and compelled to flee. The legal investigation, fortunately, did me no harm. I was able to return, but I was greatly shaken; and I went to the war (1870) as a soldier, in the hope of meeting my death. I returned, however, with many distinctions, much matured; and I found still more pleasure in earnest work in my profession. I hoped that the extinction of my excessive sexual desire was near at hand, exhausted by the great hardships of the campaign.

"Scarcely had I recovered, when the old unbounded desire again appeared, and led to new unbridled satisfaction. Of course, I often thought of it; but my inclination, so revolting to the world, did not seem so to me.

"For a year, by means of the greatest exercise of my will, I abstained; then I went to the Capital to force myself to cohabit with a woman. I, who at the sight of the dirtiest ragamuffin had painful erections, could scarcely induce one with the most beautiful woman. Overcome, I returned home and obtained a young man-servant for my personal service and satisfaction.

"The solitude of life as a country physician, and the longing for children, drove me to marriage; besides, I wished to make an end to gossip, and I hoped finally to triumph over my fatal desire.

"I knew a young girl, of whose respect and love for me I was convinced. Through my esteem and honor for my wife, I was enabled to perform the conjugal duties, and begat four boys. The boyish appearance of my wife was of effectual assistance. I called her my 'Raphael.' I forced into my fancy images of boys, in order to induce erection. If my fancy ceased for a moment, the erection failed. I was unable to sleep with my wife. Within the last few years coitus has become constantly more difficult to attain, and for two years we have given up all attempts. My wife knows my mental condition, and her esteem and love for me may become estranged.

"My sexual inclination for my own sex is unchanged, and, unfortunately, too often forces me to become untrue to my wife. To this day, the sight of a youth of sixteen puts me into violent sexual excitement with painful erections, so that occasionally I am compelled to help myself with manustupration of him and onanism on myself.

"The sufferings I endure are indescribable. *Faute de mieux*, I have my wife practice manustupration on me; but what my wife's hand accomplishes with great effort in half an hour is produced by the hand of a boy in a few seconds. Thus I live, miserable, a slave of the law and of my duty to my wife! I never had pleasure in active or passive pederasty. If I ever practiced or suffered it, it was only from gratitude or desire to please."

The physician to whom I owe the preceding autobiography assures me that he, up to this time, has had sexual intercourse with at least six hundred urnings. There were, indeed, many among them who to-day occupy high and respected positions. Only about ten per cent. of them came later to love women. Another portion did not avoid women, but were more inclined to their own sex; the remainder were exclusively and lastingly urnings.

This physician asserted that among the six hundred he never found abnormal formation of the genitals; but there were, however, frequent approaches to the female form, as well as in-

complete growth of hair, delicate complexion, and higher voice. Development of the mammae was not infrequent. He asserted that from his thirteenth to his fifteenth year he had milk in his mammae, which his friend H. sucked out. Only about ten per cent. of this number showed inclination for female occupations, etc. All his acquaintances were affected with a sexual desire that was abnormally powerful, and made its appearance abnormally early. The vast majority felt themselves as the man in their relations with the other, and satisfied themselves by mutual onanism, or by manustupration on the person of the lover, or by masturbation at his hands. The majority were inclined to active pederasty; but very frequently the law and æsthetic feeling were reasons for the non-performance of the act. Those feeling themselves toward the others as women were few, and the inclination to passive pederasty was very infrequent.

In the beginning of 1887, this physician was arrested for having committed acts of indecency on the persons of two boys under fourteen years. The crime consisted in his having first rubbed mentulam propriam inter femora viri until ejaculatio, and the same procedure cum mentula propria inter femora pueri. At the examination it was recognized that an abnormal instinct was in play, though, at the same time, it was shown that the culprit was not mentally unsound, and not deprived of free will; at least, he had not acted in obedience to an uncontrollable impulse. Therefore, he was sentenced to prison for one year, the mildest possible punishment.

Case 113. Mr. X., Hungarian, merchant, consulted me on account of neurasthenia and sleeplessness, which had existed for years. The investigation of the cause of his trouble led the patient to confess that he had an abnormal sexual instinct for his own sex, that he was very passionate, and that his nervous trouble might well come from that. The following, taken from the history of this intelligent patient, possesses scientific interest:—

" My abnormal sexual instinct reaches back to my childhood. When three years old, I got hold of a journal of fashions. The beautiful pictures of the men I kissed until the paper was torn to tatters, but I paid no attention to the female figures. I did not like to play with boys. I preferred to play with girls, because they always had dolls. I especially liked to cut out dolls' clothes; and to-day, in spite of my thirty-three years, dolls still possess an interest for me. When a boy, for hours I would lurk about available places, in order to get a sight of male genitals. When I succeeded, a strange, dizzy feeling came over me.

Weak, unattractive men or boys made no impression on me. At thirteen I began to masturbate. From my thirteenth till my fifteenth year, I slept with a handsome young man. That was happiness. Hours at a time at night, with erections, I would wait for his return. If in bed he chanced to touch my genitals, it gave me delight. At fourteen I had a school-mate whose instincts were like my own. For hours at a time, during school-hours, we held each other's genitals. Ah, those were happy hours! As often as I could, I lingered in bath-houses. That was always a feast for me. The sight of male genitals induced violent erections. At sixteen I came to the metropolis. Seeing so many handsome men charmed me. In my eighteenth year I attempted coitus with a prostitute, but disgust and fear made it impossible. Other attempts were failures, until my nineteenth year, when I tried again with success; but the act afforded me no pleasure, rather inducing a feeling of disgust. I conquered myself, and was proud of my success at being a man, which I had gradually begun to doubt.

"Subsequent attempts were no longer successful. The disgust was too great. When the woman was undressing, it became necessary, on account of my feeling of repugnance, to put out the light. I now considered myself impotent, consulted physicians, and visited baths and sanitariums to cure my supposed impotence; for I still did not know what to think of it. I took pleasure in the society of ladies, perhaps out of conceit; for I impressed most ladies as being sympathetic and amiable; but I valued in them nothing more than mental and æsthetic qualities. I liked to dance with them; but if one pressed against me in dancing, I experienced a feeling of repugnance, and even disgust, and felt like striking her. If in joke I happened to dance with a gentleman, I always took the part of the lady. I would press and rub against him, and take a perfect delight in it. When I was eighteen, a gentleman who came into the office, said, 'That is a fine youth; in the East he would bring a pound sterling every time!' I puzzled my head over that. Another gentleman liked to joke with me, and steal kisses of me as he was going away, which I would have given him only too gladly. He afterward became my lover. These circumstances excited my attention, and I waited for an opportunity.

"When I was twenty-five years old, it happened that a man who was formerly a Capucine monk became attracted to me. For me he was like a Mephistopheles. Finally he spoke to me. To this day I can almost feel the beating of my heart that he caused me; I almost fainted. He made a rendezvous for that evening at a public house. I went, but at the threshold I turned back, afraid. On the next evening he met me again. He overcame my scruples, and took me to his room. I was scarcely able to walk for excitement. My seducer made me sit on his sofa, and, smiling at me, he fixed his wonderful black eyes on me, and I lost consciousness. This delight, this ideal, divine sense of pleasure that filled my

whole being,—I could write too much about it. I think only an innocent youth, over head and ears in love, who for the first time has his love's longing fulfilled, could be as happy as I was that night. My seducer demanded my life, in joke; but I at first thought him in earnest. I begged him to let me be happy for a time, and then, united to him, I would end my life. It would have been entirely in accordance with the high-flown ideas I entertained at that time. For five years after that, I kept up a relation with the man, who is still so dear to me. Oh, how happy, and yet, often, how unhappy, I was during those years! If I but saw him speak to a handsome young man, I became wildly jealous.

"When twenty-seven, I became engaged to a young lady. Her mind and æsthetic feeling, as well as financial considerations, induced me to think of marriage. At the same time, I am very fond of children, and, whenever I meet even the commonest day-laborer and his wife and a pretty child, I envy the man his good fortune. Thus I made a fool of myself. I managed to get through the time of courtship; when kissing my bride I felt more anxiety and fear than pleasure. On one or two occasions, however, after luxurious dinners, while kissing her passionately, I had erections. How happy I was at that! I saw myself already a father. I twice came near breaking off the engagement. On my marriage-day, when all the guests had assembled, I locked myself in a room, cried like a child, and felt that I could not proceed with the ceremony. At the persuasion of all the relatives, to whom I made the best excuses that occurred to me, I allowed myself to be taken, in ordinary street-costume, to the altar.

"As great good fortune would have it, at the time of the marriage, my wife was menstruating. Oh, how thankful I was for this excuse! I am now convinced that this circumstance is all that made later cohabitation possible. How it later became possible for me to cohabit with my wife, and have a lovely boy, I do not know. He is the comfort of my ruined life. I can only thank God for the happiness of having a child. I was a cheat, so to speak, in the marriage-bed. My wife, whom I respect for her high qualities of character, has no suspicion of my condition, but she often complains of my coldness. With her goodness of heart and simplicity, it was possible for me to make her think that the conjugal duty should be performed but once a month. Since she is in nowise sensual, and I can find excuse in my nervousness, I am successful in keeping up the swindle. Cohabitation is the greatest sacrifice for me. By taking considerable wine, and by making use of the erections which occur in the morning, as the result of an overfilled bladder, it is possible for me to perform coitus once a month; but it affords me no pleasurable feeling, and I am worried and experience an increase of my nervous difficulties all day long after it. The consciousness of having fulfilled my duty toward my wife, whom in all other respects I love, affords me moral consolation and satisfaction. With a man, it is

otherwise. With him I can perform the act several times in a night, always taking the sexual rôle of a man. In this, I experience the greatest pleasure, the purest happiness. I feel myself refreshed and invigorated by it. Of late, my desire for men has somewhat decreased; in fact, I have courage even to avoid a handsome young man that approaches me. Will it last? I fear not. I am absolutely unable to do without male love; if I am compelled to forego it, I become depressed, feel weary and miserable, and have pain and pressure in my head. I have always regarded my pitiable peculiarity as something congenital, and I would feel happy if I had only not married. I pity my good wife. Often the fear seizes me that I cannot endure it with her longer; then thoughts about divorce, suicide, and flight to America come to me."

No one seeing the patient to whom I owe this communication would suspect his condition. His outward appearance is, in all respects, masculine; he has a well-developed, full beard, strong and deep voice, and normal genitals. The cranium is normally formed; signs of degeneration are absolutely wanting, and only an exquisitely nervous eye makes one suspect a neuropathic condition. The vegetative organs perform their functions normally. The patient presents the usual symptoms of a neurasthenia, which may, in all essentials, be ascribed to sexual excesses with persons of his own sex, in a man abnormally passionate; and to the injurious influences of forced, though infrequent, coitus with the wife where *horror feminæ* exists.

The patient declares that he comes from healthy parents, and that he knows of no neuroses or mental disease in his ancestry. His elder brother was married three years. There was a separation, because the husband never had sexual intercourse with his wife. He married a second time. The second wife also complained of neglect on the part of the husband; but she had four children, concerning whose legitimacy no doubt was ever raised. A sister is hysteropathic.

The patient says that, when a young man, he suffered with momentary attacks of dizziness, during which it seemed to him as if he were about to die. He says that he has always been very excitable and emotional, and an enthusiast for the arts, especially poetry and music. He himself designates his character as enigmatical, abnormal, nervous, restless, extravagant, and undecided. He is often exalted without real reason, and then again depressed, even to thoughts of suicide. He may pass through quick and sudden changes,—“religious and frivolous, optimistic and cynical, cowardly and brave, credulous, amiable, and suspicious; inclined to do others harm, and sorrowful to tears over the misfortunes of others; and with this, generous to excess, and then again miserly à la *Harpagon*.” The patient is certainly a tainted individual. He seems to be very well endowed intellectually, and, as he says, to have learned easily, and been among the first at school.

The marriage of this man was not happy. Notwithstanding the

fact that it was but very infrequently that he performed the inadequate and injurious sexual act with his wife, and that he sought and found a substitute in male lovers, he remained neurasthenic. His disease, at times, presents marked exacerbations, even manifesting itself in despairing depression about his matrimonial, sexual, and mental condition, which even extends to violent *tedium vitae*.

His wife became hysteropathic and anaemic, and the patient attributed this to sexual abstinence. Try as he would to force himself, of late years he has not been able to perform coitus, erection failing completely; while, in intercourse with male lovers, he is very potent.

The son of these unfortunate parents, who is now over nine years old, develops well. The patient adds that formerly, in coitus with his wife, he was potent only when he thought of a beloved man. (From the author's "Lehrb. der Psychiatrie.")

Case 114. *Autobiography.* "The writer of this is a congenital urning. If I have not consorted with other urnings, nevertheless, I am fully informed of my condition; for it has been my lot to see almost all literature on the subject. A short time ago, your work, 'Psychopathia Sexualis,' was sent to me. I saw in it that you were working and studying without prejudice in the interest of science and humanity.

"If I cannot tell you much that is new, yet I will speak of a few things which I trust you will receive as one more stone to be used by you in your work; which, I am confident, will, in your hands, aid in saving us.

"When you presume that there is often an hereditary tainted condition, perhaps you are right. My father was subject to spinal disease before my birth; later, he became mentally unsound, and took his own life.

"Another point, which I am inclined to doubt, is the one mentioned by you in another place,—*i.e.*, that onanism practiced from youth may lead to perverse instinct.

"I (merchant, owner of a small business, unmarried) am in the beginning of my thirtieth year. I am apparently healthy, and show scarcely a deviation from the normal masculine type. The first sexual impulses were immediately and exclusively directed to the male sex, and I experienced them from my tenth year. I have masturbated since my twelfth year. Since, in spite of all attempts, coitus with women was always absolutely impossible for me; and since I have never had desire for women—on the contrary, rather aversion; and since my attempts have never resulted in the slightest erection, I have been compelled to satisfy myself by onanism.

"If now I am to confess the manner of my sexual satisfaction, I may say that in my earlier years my fellow-pupils and companions excited me sexually. Now my impulse consists in a desire for boys of about ten, but mostly for youths of from fifteen to twenty years.

"For a long time, strong and healthy cadets, of fine form, have had

a particular charm for me ; and by their handsome uniforms and fine presence they especially excite my desire. I have no opportunity to approach them, or even to enter into distant social intercourse with them ; but I am compelled to satisfy myself with following them in the streets and squares ; or in restaurants, horse-cars or railways, by sitting near them, and, when it is possible to do it unnoticed, under such circumstances, by practicing onanism. My most ardent wish has often been to become the friend, servant, or slave of such a young man.

"I have never even dreamed of direct pederasty ; my desire has always been bodily contact, embrace, manustupration of my genitals by my lover, and, on my part, a kiss on his genitals or podex.

"I often have the desire, however, to represent Sacher-Masoch in his 'Venus in Furs.' There a man makes himself the voluntary slave of a woman, and feels an intense thrill of lustful pleasure, if he is only chastised and humiliated by her. But I naturally feel that I could, under no circumstances, become the slave of a woman, but only of a man ; more correctly, of a young man ; one, however, for whom I should have such an infinite love that I could give myself up entirely to his mercy or cruelty.

"The lustful images that float before my mind in masturbation are those of this or that young man that I have just seen. As a sad and incomplete substitute, I practice this onanism constantly.

"I pass into a lustful dream in this way (and I say all here, because I wish to write only the truth and the whole truth) : I choose a young man that pleases me by his form, and in imagination give myself up to involuntary obedience to him. I imagine that he wishes to humiliate me, and that he commands me, for example, to kiss his feet ; or compels me to smell his socks. For want of the desired actuality, I take my own socks, smell of them, take them into my mouth, rub them over my genitals, and immediately erection and ejaculation, with sensual pleasure, take place.

"Yes, I am so dominated by this mental imagery that I imagine that the young man is my confessor, and, in order to humiliate me, orders me to eat of his excrement. Here again, in want of actuality, I eat of my own excrement, but only in small quantity. Then, with an imperfect feeling of disgust and violent palpitation of the heart, erection and ejaculation take place.

"However, I come to this vile, feverish imagery and the performance of these acts, only when it has not been possible for me for a long time to satisfy myself by onanism in the immediate vicinity of a young man.

"This is for me more natural, because I then have more pleasure, and experience a more perfect physical and mental benefit, even though my ideal of actual and direct satisfaction in mutual understanding were never to be accorded me.

"I almost believe that the above-mentioned disgusting imagery is only the evil result of constant want of normal satisfaction,—*i.e.*, of my normal satisfaction as an urning; and that with a regular satisfaction, body to body, the imagery that becomes almost insane would be less intense, and certainly would not go to such extravagance. Or it is the ultimate result of an attempt at abstinence; for these idiotic, sensual images only come after a long period of it.

"I believe, indeed, that, under other social conditions, I should be capable of great and noble love and self-sacrifice. My thoughts are in no way exclusively carnal or diseased. How often, at the sight of a handsome young man, a deep feeling of impatience seizes me, and I breathe at once the sweet words of Heine :—

"‘Du bist wie eine Blume, so hold, so schön, so rein,’ etc.¹

"And once, when I was compelled to part with a young man who had honored and valued me as his friend and protector, though my love had remained unknown to him, those fine verses by Scheffel kept passing through my mind, especially the last,—*mutatis mutandis* :—

"‘Grau wie der Himmel, steht vor mir die Welt,
Doch wend’ es sich zum Guten oder Bösen,
Du, lieber Freund, in Treuen denk’ ich Dein!
Behüt Dich Gott! es wär’ zu schön gewesen,
Behüt Dich Gott, es hat nicht sollen sein!?’²

"I have never independently revealed my love to a young man, and have never spoiled or injured one morally; but I have, now and then, made the way easy for many. Under such circumstances, nothing is too much trouble, and I obtain victims as only I can.

"When I have an opportunity to have such a beloved friend about me, to educate, protect, and help, if my recognized love find a (natural, unsexual) return, then all my disgusting mental imagery grows less and less intense; then my love becomes almost platonic and ennobled, to sink again into the mire when this worthy satisfaction is removed.

"As for the rest, and without over-estimating myself, I may say that I am not one of the worst of men. Brighter mentally than the average man, I take interest in all that moves humanity. I am amiable, and easily moved to pity, and am incapable of doing any animal, much less a man, an injury; but, on the contrary, do good wherever I can.

"When I have nothing to reproach myself with in my own conscience, and must, at the same time, set myself in opposition to the

¹ "Thou art like any flower, so sweet, so beautiful, so pure," etc.

² "Lowering like the heavens, frowns the world on me,

Yet blest or cursed will be the fate I meet.

With trusting heart, dear friend, I think of thee!

God keep thee, dear! it would have been too sweet!

God keep thee, dear! such happiness was not to be!"

judgment of the world, I suffer very much. Indeed, I have done no one harm, and I consider my love, in its noblest activity, to be quite as holy as that of a normal man ; but, with the unhappy lot which impatience and ignorance cast upon us, I suffer even to the extent of *tedium vitæ*.

"No pen, no tongue can describe all the misery, all the unhappy situations, the constant fear of having this peculiarity recognized, and of being cast from society. The one thought that, as soon as recognized, one's existence would be lost, and he would be cast away from all, is as terrible as any thought can be. Then all the good that one had ever done would be forgotten ; then, in the pride of his great morality, every normal man would be moved to scorn, even though he himself had been never so frivolous in his own love.

"Then what does our misery amount to ? We may, cursing man, end our unhappy lives. Truly, I often long for the quiet of an asylum. My life may end when it will, the quicker the better ; I am ready.

"To refer to one more point : I also believe, like the others that have written to you, that our nervousness is first acquired as a result of our unhappy, unspeakably miserable life among our fellow-creatures.

"And still another : You write, at the conclusion of your work, concerning the repeal of the legal enactments concerned. Indeed, humanity would not be destroyed if they were repealed. In Italy there is no such law, as far as I know ; and Italy is not a wilderness, but a cultivated nation.

"As for myself, compelled as I am to undermine my life by onanism, the law could not touch me ; for I have never sinned against it in a letter. But, at the same time, I suffer under the accursed scorn to which we are subjected. How can the ideas of society be changed, so long as there is a law which strengthens it in its immorality ? The law must, of course, correspond with public opinion ; but it should not be in harmony with the erroneous opinion of ignorance, but only in accord with the ideas of the best and most scientific thinkers,—not with the wish and prejudice of the vulgar. True thinking minds cannot much longer be satisfied with the old idea.

"Pardon me, Professor, if I close without a signature. Do not try to find me. I could tell you nothing more. I give you these lines in the interest of future sufferers. Publish from them, in the interest of science, truth, and justice, what seems to you to be necessary."

Case 115. On a summer evening, at twilight, X. Y., a physician of a city in North Germany, was detected by a watchman while committing a misdemeanor with a countryman in a field. He was practicing masturbation on him, and then *mentulam alius in os suum immisit*. X. escaped legal prosecution by flight. The authorities dismissed the complaint, because there had been no publicity, and because *immissio membra in anum* had not taken place. Among X.'s effects was found an extensive

correspondence of a perverse sexual character, which showed that he had had perverse intercourse for years with all classes of people.

X. came of a neurotic family. His paternal grandfather died by suicide while insane. His father was a weak, peculiar man. One brother masturbated at the age of two. A cousin was sexually perverse, and practiced perverse acts, similar to those of X., while a youth; he became weak-minded, and died of spinal disease. A paternal great-uncle was an hermaphrodite. His mother's sister was insane. His mother is said to have been healthy. X.'s brother is nervous and irascible.

X., likewise, was nervous as a child. The mewing of a cat would create great fear in him; and if one but imitated the voice of a cat, he would cry bitterly, and run to others for protection. Slight physical disturbance caused violent fever. He was a quiet, dreamy child, of excitable imagination, but of slight mental capabilities. He did not indulge much in boyish games; he preferred feminine pursuits. It gave him especial pleasure to curl the hair of the house-maid or of his brother.

At thirteen X. went to an Institute. There he practiced mutual masturbation, seduced his comrades, and, by his cynical conduct, made them unmanageable; so that he had to be taken home. At that time the parents found love-letters with lascivious contents, showing perverse sexuality. From the age of seventeen he studied under the strict surveillance of a professor in a Gymnasium. He made but sad progress in learning. He had only a talent for music.

After finishing his studies, the patient entered the University, at the age of nineteen. There he attracted attention by his cynical character and his association with young persons who were thought to be given to masculine love. He began to be dandified; wore striking cravats, and shirts that were low cut; he forced his feet into narrow shoes, and curled his hair in a remarkable way. This peculiarity disappeared when he left the school, and had returned home.

At the age of twenty-four he was for a long time neurasthenic. From that time until his twenty-ninth year, he was earnest and skillful in his profession; but he avoided the society of the opposite sex, and constantly associated with men of doubtful character.

The patient would not allow a personal examination. In writing, he made the excuse for this that it would be of no use, because his impulse to his own sex had existed from his earliest childhood, and was congenital. He had always had horror feminæ, and had never been inclined to avail himself of the charms of women. Toward men he felt himself in the *rôle* of a man. He recognized his impulse toward his own sex as abnormal, and excused his sexual indulgence as being the result of an abnormal natural condition.

Since his flight X. lives out of Germany, in Southern Italy, and, as I learned from a letter, now, as before, he indulges in perverse love. X. is an earnest, stately man, of masculine features, well-grown beard, and

normally developed genitals. Dr. X. furnished me, a short time ago, with his autobiography, of which the following is worthy of mention:—

“ When, at the age of seven, I entered the private school, I felt very uncomfortable, and found very little sympathy with my companions. Only toward one of them, who was a very handsome child, did I feel attracted, and I loved him wildly. In childish games I always knew how to arrange it so that I could appear in feminine attire; and my greatest pleasure was to form intricate coiffures for our servant-girls. I often regretted that I was not a girl.

“ My sexual instinct awakened when I was thirteen, and from the moment of its appearance was directed toward youthful, strong men. At first I was not really certain that this was abnormal, but consciousness of it came when I saw and heard how my companions were characterized sexually. I began to masturbate at the age of thirteen. At seventeen I left home and went to the Gymnasium of a large Capital, where I was put to board with a married professor of the Gymnasium, with whose son I afterward had sexual relations. It was with him that I first had sexual satisfaction. Thereafter I made the acquaintance of a young artist, who very soon noticed that I was abnormal, and confessed to me that he was in the same condition. I learned from him that this abnormality was very frequent; and this knowledge overcame the trouble that I had had in supposing that I was alone in my abnormality. This young man had an extensive acquaintance with persons in like condition, to which he introduced me. There I became the object of general attention, for on all sides I was declared to be very attractive physically. I soon became insanely loved by an old gentleman; but, not finding him to my taste, I endured him but a short time, and then gave ear to a young and handsome officer who lay at my feet. He was really my first love.

“ After passing my final examination, at the age of nineteen, free from the discipline of school, I made the acquaintance of a great number of people like myself, and among them Karl Ulrichs (Numa Numantinus).

“ When, later, I took up the study of medicine, and associated with many normal youths, I was often in a position where I was compelled to visit public prostitutes. After having consorted to no purpose with various prostitutes, some of whom were very beautiful, the opinion was spread among my acquaintances that I was impotent, and I strengthened this by telling of previous sexual excesses. At that time I had numerous external relations with persons who prized my physical peculiarities, which were considered very beautiful. The result of this was, that I was exciting somebody all the time; and I received such a mass of love-letters that I was often in embarrassment. The acme of this was reached later, when, as a physician, I lived in the hospital. There I moved about like a celebrated person, and the scenes of jealousy that took place, on my

account, almost led to the discovery of the whole thing. Shortly after this, I fell ill with an inflammation of my shoulder-joint, from which I recovered after three months. During this illness I received subcutaneous injections of morphine several times daily, which were suddenly discontinued, and which I practiced thereafter secretly after my recovery. For the purpose of special study, I spent some months in Vienna, before entering into private practice, and there, by means of some recommendations, I gained entrance to various circles of people like myself. I there learned that the abnormality in question, in its various forms, is spread through the lower classes as well as the higher, and that those who are approachable for money are not infrequently met among the higher classes.

" When I established myself in the country, I hoped to cure myself of the morphine habit by means of cocaine; and then I became a victim of cocaine, which, only after three relapses, I was able to rid myself of (about two years ago). In my position, it was impossible for me to find sexual satisfaction, and I noticed with pleasure that the use of cocaine had overcome my desire. When, on the first occasion, at the urgent request of my aunt, I had emancipated myself from cocaine, I traveled for a few weeks, in order to improve my health, the perverse impulses were again awakened in their old strength, and, one evening, while out in the fields by the city amusing myself with a man, I noticed that I had been detected by the authorities and advertised; but that the act of which I was accused was not punishable, in accordance with the opinion expressed by the highest court of the German kingdom. I had, therefore, to be careful; for already the announcement of the crime had been heralded on all sides. I saw that, after this, I would be compelled to leave Germany, and find a new home where neither the law nor public opinion would be opposed to that impulse, which, like all abnormal instincts, could not be overcome by the will. Since I was never deceived for a moment about the matter, in recognizing my impulses as opposed to social usages, I repeatedly attempted to become master of them; but by these efforts they were increased in power. This same observation has been communicated to me by acquaintances. Since I was exclusively drawn toward strong, youthful, and masculine individuals, and they were very seldom inclined to yield to my wishes, I was compelled to buy them. Since my desire was limited to persons of the lower classes, I was always able to find such as were purchasable with money. I hope that the following statements will not awaken your repugnance. At first I intended to omit them; but, for the completeness of this communication; I may include them, since they serve to enrich the clinical material. I am compelled to perform the sexual act in the following way:—

" *Pene juvenis in os recepto, ita ut commovendo ore meo effecerim, ut is quem cupio, semen ejaculaverit, sperma in perinæum exspuo, femora comprimi jubeo et penem meum adversus et intra femora compressa*

immitto. Dum hæc flunt, necesse est, ut juvenis me, quantum potest, amplectatur. Quæ prius me fecisse narravi, eandem mihi afferunt voluptatem, acsi ipse ejaculo. Ejaculationem pene in anum immittendo vel manu terendo assequi, mihi nequaquam amœnum est.

“ Sed inveni, qui penem meum receperint atque ea facientes, quæ supra exposui, effecerint, ut libidines meæ plane sint saturatæ.

“ Concerning my person, I must still mention the following: I am 186 centimetres tall, of masculine appearance, and, with the exception of abnormal irritability of the skin, healthy. My hair and beard are black and thick. My genitals are of medium size and normally formed. I am able, without any trace of fatigue, to perform the sexual act from four to six times in twenty-four hours. My life is very regular. I use alcohol and tobacco very sparingly. I play the piano quite well, and some of my unpretentious compositions have been much applauded. I have lately finished a novel, which, as my first work, has been very favorably criticised by my friends. The story has several problems taken from the life of urnings in the subject-matter.

“ Among the large number of fellow-sufferers that are personally known to me, I have naturally been in a position to make observations concerning the condition and the degrees of abnormality; and, perhaps, the following communications may be of service to you:—

“ The most abnormal thing that I am acquainted with, was the impulse of a gentleman who lived in Berlin. He preferred, above all others, young fellows with unwashed feet, which he would lick passionately. A gentleman in Leipzig was similar to him; who, where it was possible, would linguam in anum immittere, preferring the parts to be uncleansed. Several have assured me that the sight of riding-boots or of parts of military uniforms, induced such excitement in them that ejaculation resulted. A man in Paris compelled a friend ut in os ei mingat.

“ With reference to the degree in which many feel themselves as women, which is with me not the case, two persons in Vienna are examples. They bore feminine names. One is a barber who calls himself ‘ French Laura ’; the other was formerly a butcher, who calls himself ‘ Selcher-Fanny.’ Both of them never missed an opportunity, during the carnival time, to show themselves in very fantastic feminine masks. In Hamburg there is a person that many people believe to be a woman, because he always goes about the house in feminine attire, and only occasionally leaves the house, and always in such clothing. This man wished to stand as godmother at a christening, and, as a result of it, gave rise to great scandal.

“ Feminine timidity, frivolity, obstinacy, and weakness of character, are the rule in such individuals.

“ Several cases of perverse sexuality are known to me where epilepsy and psychoses are present. Hernias are remarkably frequent. In practice many persons come to me to be treated for diseases of the anus,

because of recommendation by friends. I saw two syphilitic and one local chancre, and several fissures; and at present I am treating a gentleman for condylomata of the anus, which form a rounded tumor as large as a fist. One case of primary affection of the soft palate I saw in Vienna, in a young man who was accustomed to frequent mask-balls dressed as a girl, and entice young men; he would then pretend that he was menstruating, and thus induce the others to use him *per os*. The assertion was made that in this way he had deceived fourteen men in one evening. Since, in none of the publications concerning contrary sexuality that I have seen, I have found anything concerning the intercourse of pederasts among themselves, I venture to communicate something concerning it in conclusion:—

“As soon as individuals that are affected with contrary sexuality become acquainted, there is a detailed narration of their experiences, loves, and seductions, as far as the social difference between them allows such entertainment. Only in very few cases is this amusement uncommon with new acquaintances. Among themselves, they call themselves ‘aunts’; in Vienna, ‘sisters’; and two very masculine public prostitutes in Vienna, whom I accidentally became acquainted with, and who lived in a perverse sexual relation with each other, told me that for the corresponding condition in women the name ‘uncle’ was used. Since becoming conscious of my abnormal instinct, I have met thousands of such individuals.

“Almost every large city has some meeting-place, as well as a so-called promenade. In smaller cities there are relatively few ‘aunts,’ though in a small town of 2300 inhabitants I found eight, and in one of 7000 eighteen of whom I was absolutely sure,—to say nothing of those whom I suspected. In my own town of 30,000 inhabitants, I personally know about one hundred and twenty ‘aunts.’ The greater number of them, and I especially, possess the capability of judging another immediately as to whether they are alike or not, which, in the language of the ‘aunts,’ is called ‘reasonable’ or ‘unreasonable.’ My acquaintances are often astounded at the certainty of my judgment. Individuals that are apparently absolutely masculine I recognize as ‘aunts’ at the first sight. On the other hand, I am able to behave myself in such a masculine way that, in circles to which I have been introduced by acquaintances, there is a doubt as to my genuineness. When I am in the mood, I can act exactly like a girl.

“Since the majority of ‘aunts,’ like myself, in no way regret their abnormality, but would be sorry if the condition were to be changed; and, moreover, since the congenital condition, according to my own and all other experience, cannot be influenced; therefore, all our hope rests upon the possibility of a change of the laws with reference to it, so that only rape or the commission of public offense, when this can be proved at the same time, shall be punishable.”

Case 116. *Contrary Sexual Instinct in a Woman.*—S. J., aged 38, governess, came to me for advice about a nervous trouble. Her father was temporarily insane, and died of a brain disease. The patient is an only child, and even when quite young she suffered with feelings of anxiety and painful ideas. She thought, for example, that she would awake in her coffin after it had been closed; that at confession she might forget something, and make a sinful confession. She suffered much with headache. She was always very much excited and apprehensive, but yet she had to see horrible things, like corpses, etc.

Even in her earliest childhood, the patient was excited sexually, and began to masturbate without any teaching. The menses began at fourteen, and were always accompanied by colicky pains, violent sexual excitement, migraine, and depression. After her eighteenth year she learned to repress her impulse to masturbate.

The patient has never felt any inclination toward persons of the opposite sex. If she thought of marriage, it was only because she sought in matrimony a means of being supported. On the other hand, she felt powerfully attracted by girls. At first she regarded this inclination as friendship; but in the depth of her attachment to female friends, and in the longing she constantly felt for them, she recognized that the feeling was something more than friendship.

The patient cannot understand how a girl can love a man, but she can easily see how a man might love a girl. She always has a lively interest in beautiful women and girls, and is powerfully excited at sight of them. Her longing had always been to kiss and embrace such dear creatures. She had never dreamed of a man, but only of girls. Her delight had been to revel in the sight of them. Separation from such female friends had always made her desperate.

The patient, whose appearance is perfectly feminine and very respectable, states that she has never felt herself in any particular rôle with her friends, not even in dreams. Female pelvis; large mammae; no sign of beard.

Case 117. Mrs. R., Russian, aged 35, of high social position, was brought to me, in 1886, by her husband for advice.

Father was a physician, and very neuropathic. Paternal grandfather was healthy and normal, and reached the age of ninety-six. Facts concerning paternal grandmother are wanting. All the children of father's family are said to have been nervous. The patient's mother was nervous, and suffered with asthma. The mother's parents were healthy. One of the mother's sisters had melancholia.

From her tenth year patient has been subject to habitual headache. With the exception of measles, she has had no illness. She was capable, and enjoyed the best of training, having especial talent for music and languages. It became necessary for her to prepare herself for the work of a governess, and during her earlier years she was mentally overworked.

She passed through an attack of melancholia *sine delirio*, of some months' duration, at seventeen. The patient asserts that she has always had sympathy only for her own sex, and found only an æsthetic interest in men. She never had any taste for female work. As a little girl, she preferred to play with boys.

She says she remained well until her twenty-seventh year. Then, without external cause, she became depressed and considered herself a bad, sinful person, had no pleasure in anything, and was sleepless. During this time of illness she was also troubled with imperative conceptions: that she must think of the death of herself and her relatives. Recovery after about five months. She then became a governess, was overworked, but remained well, except for occasional neurasthenic symptoms and spinal irritation.

At twenty-eight she made the acquaintance of a lady five years younger than herself. She fell in love with her, and her love was returned. The love was very sensual, and satisfied by mutual masturbation. "I loved her as a god; her's is a noble soul," she said, when she mentioned this love-bond. It lasted four years, and was ended by the (unfortunate) marriage of her friend.

In 1885, after much emotional strain, the patient became ill with symptoms of hystero-neurasthenia (dyspepsia, spinal irritation, and tonic spasmodic attacks; attacks of hemiopia with migraine and transitory aphasia; pruritus pudendi et ani). In February, 1886, these symptoms disappeared.

In March she became acquainted with her present husband, and married him without taking much time for reflection; for he was rich, much in love with her, and his character was in sympathy with her own.

On April 6th, she read the sentence, "Death misses no one." Like a flash of lightning in a clear sky, the former imperative conceptions of death returned. She was forced to meditate on the most horrible manner of death for herself and those about her, and constantly imagine death-scenes. She lost rest and sleep, and took no pleasure in anything. Her condition improved. Late in May, 1886, she was married, but was still troubled by painful thoughts at that time: that she would bring misfortune on her husband and those about her.

First coitus on June 6, 1886. She was deeply depressed morally by it. She had had no such conception of matrimony. The husband, who really loved his wife, did all he could to quiet her. He consulted physicians, who thought all would be well after pregnancy. The husband was unable to explain the peculiar behavior of his wife. She was friendly toward him, and suffered his caresses. In coitus, which was actually carried out, she was entirely passive, and after the act she was tired, exhausted all day long, nervous, and troubled with spinal irritation.

A bridal tour brought about a meeting with her old friend, who had lived in an unhappy marriage for three years. The two ladies trembled

with joy and excitement as they sank into each other's arms, and became inseparable. The husband saw that this friendly relation was a peculiar one, and hastened their departure. He had an opportunity to ascertain, through the correspondence of his wife with this friend, that the letters interchanged were like those of two lovers.

Mrs. R. became pregnant. During pregnancy the remains of depression and imperative ideas disappeared. In September, during about the ninth week of pregnancy, abortion took place. After that, renewed symptoms of hystero-neurasthenia. In addition to this, there were anteflexio et latero-positio dextra uteri, anaemia, and atonia ventriculi.

At the consultation the patient gave the impression of a very neuropathic, tainted person. The neuropathic expression of the eyes cannot be described. Appearance entirely feminine. With the exception of a very narrow, arched palate, there was no skeletal abnormality. With difficulty the patient could be brought to give the details of her sexual abnormality. She complained that she had married without knowing what marriage between men and women was. She loved her husband dearly for his mental qualities, but marital intercourse was a pain to her; she did it unwillingly, without ever finding any satisfaction in it. Post actum, all day long she was weary and exhausted. Since the abortion and the interdiction of sexual intercourse by the physicians, she had been better; but she thought of the future with horror. She esteemed her husband, and loved him mentally; but she would do anything for him, if he would but avoid her sexually in the future. She hoped to have sensual feeling for him in time. When he played the violin, she seemed to feel the beginning of an inclination for him that was something more than friendship; but it was only transitory, and she could get no assurance for the future in it. Her greatest happiness was in correspondence with her former lover. She felt that this was wrong, but she could not give it up; for to do so made her miserable.

It is remarkable that the anomaly may be long limited to mere perversion of the sexual instinct, and that the impulse to perverse indulgence may make its appearance after some accidental cause,—e.g., seduction, or some neurosis. Such cases might easily be mistaken for acquired contrary sexual instinct (*v. supra*), if, with reference to the sexual feeling, they should not be demonstrated by the history to be original and congenital.

Case 118. Mrs. C., aged 32, wife of an official, a large, not uncomely woman, feminine in appearance, comes of a neuropathic and emotional mother. A brother was psychopathic, and died of drink. Patient was always peculiar, obstinate, silent, quick-tempered, and eccentric. The

brothers and sisters are excitable people. Pulmonary phthisis has been frequent in her family. When only a girl of thirteen, with signs of great sexual excitement, she attracted attention by enthusiastic love for a female friend of her own age. Her education was strict, though the patient secretly read many novels, and wrote innumerable poems. She married at eighteen to free herself from unpleasant circumstances at home.

She says she has always been indifferent toward men. In fact, she avoided balls. Female statues pleased her. Her greatest happiness was to think of marriage with a beloved woman. She was not aware of her sexual peculiarity until marriage, and the thing had remained inexplicable to her. Patient did her marital duty, and bore three children, two of whom were subject to convulsions. She lived pleasantly with her husband, but she esteemed him only for his moral qualities. She gladly avoided coitus. "I should have preferred intercourse with a woman."

Until 1878 she had been neurasthenic. On the occasion of a sojourn at a watering-place, she made the acquaintance of a female urning, whose history I have reported as Case 6, in the *Irrenfreund*, No. 1, 1884.

The patient came home a changed person. Her husband says: "She was no longer a woman, no longer had any love for me and the children, and would have no more of marital approaches. She was inflamed with passionate love for her female friend, and had taste for nothing else." After the husband forbade her lover the house, there was interchange of letters with such expressions in them as "My dove! I live only for you, my soul." There were meetings and frightful excitement when an expected letter did not come. The relation was in nowise platonic. From certain indications it is presumable that mutual masturbation was the means of sensual satisfaction. This relation lasted until 1882, and made the patient decidedly neurasthenic.

She absolutely neglected the house, and her husband hired a woman of sixty years as a house-keeper, and also a governess for the children. The patient fell in love with both, who, at least, allowed caresses, and profited materially through the love of their mistress.

In the latter part of 1883, on account of developing pulmonary tuberculosis, she had to go south. There she became acquainted with a Russian lady of forty years, and fell passionately in love with her; but she did not meet with a return of love in her sense. One day insanity became manifest. She thought the Russian lady a nihilist; that she was magnetized by her; and she presented formal persecutory delusions. She fled, and was caught in an Italian city, and placed in a hospital, where she soon became quiet. Again she followed the lady with her love, felt herself very unhappy, and planned suicide.

When she returned home, she was greatly depressed because she did not have the lady, and was contrary toward her family. A delusive, erotic state of excitement came on about the end of May, 1884. She danced,

shouted, and called herself a man ; demanded her former lovers, and said she was of royal blood. She escaped from the house in male attire, and was taken to the asylum in a state of eroto-maniacal excitement. After a few days the exaltation disappeared. The patient became quiet, and made a despairing attempt at suicide ; and after it she was in great anguish of mind with *tedium vitæ*. The perverse sexual feeling grew less and less noticeable, and the tuberculosis progressed. The patient died of phthisis in the beginning of 1885.

The examination of the brain presented nothing unusual as far as architecture and arrangement of convolutions were concerned. Weight of brain 1150 grammes. Skull slightly asymmetrical. No anatomical signs of degeneration. External and internal genitals without anomaly.

3. *Effemination and Virginity*.—There are various transitions from the foregoing cases to those making up this category, characterized by the degree in which the psychical personality, especially in general manner of feeling and inclinations, is influenced by the abnormal sexual feeling. In this group, fully-developed cases in men are females in feeling ; in women, males. This abnormality of feeling and of development of the character is often apparent in childhood. The boy likes to spend his time with girls, play with dolls, and help his mother about the house ; he likes to cook, sew, knit, and develops taste in female *toilettes*, so that he may even become the adviser of his sisters. As he grows older he eschews smoking, drinking, and manly sports, and, on the contrary, finds pleasure in adornment of person, art, *belles-lettres*, etc., even to the extent of giving himself entirely to the cultivation of the beautiful. Since women possess corresponding inclinations, he prefers to move in the society of women.

If he can assume the rôle of a female at a masquerade, it is his greatest delight. He seeks to please his lover, so to speak, by studiously trying to represent what pleases the female-loving man in the opposite sex,—sweetness, sympathy, taste for æsthetics, poetry, etc. Efforts to approach the female appearance in gait, attitude, and style of dress are frequently seen.

The female urning, even when a little girl, presents the reverse. Her favorite place is the play-ground of boys. She seeks to rival them in their games. The girl will have nothing to do with dolls ; her passion is for playing horse, soldier, and

robber. For female employments there is manifested not merely a lack of taste, but often unskillfulness in them. The *toilette* is neglected, and pleasure found in a coarse, boyish life. Instead of an inclination for the arts, there is manifested an inclination and taste for the sciences. Occasionally there may be attempts to smoke and drink. Perfumes and cosmetics are abhorred. The consciousness of being born a woman, and, therefore, of being compelled to renounce the University, with its gay life, and the army, induces painful reflections.

In the inclinations of the amazon for manly sports, the masculine soul in the female bosom manifests itself; and not less in the show of courage and manly feeling. The female urning loves to wear her hair and have her clothing in the fashion of men; and it is her greatest pleasure, when opportunity offers, to appear in male attire. Her ideals are historical and contemporary feminine personalities distinguished for mind and energy.

With reference to the sexual feeling and instinct of these urnings, so thoroughly permeated in all their mental being, the men, without exception, feel themselves to be females; the women feel themselves to be males. Thus they feel themselves to be antagonistic to persons of their own sex constituted like themselves; for, of course, they are like them in form. But, on the other hand, they are drawn toward those of their own sex that are homo-sexual or sexually normal. The same jealousy which occurs in normal sexual life also occurs here, when rivalry is threatened; and, indeed, since they are, as a rule, hyperæsthetic sexually, this jealousy is often boundless.

In cases of completely-developed contrary sexuality, heterosexual love is looked upon as a thing absolutely incomprehensible; sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex is unthinkable, impossible. Such an attempt brings on the inhibitory concept of disgust or even horror, which makes erection impossible. Only two of my transitional cases to the third category were able, with the help of their imagination, by thinking of themselves as men with reference to the woman, to have cohabitation; but the act, which was inadequate for them, was a great sacrifice, and afforded them no pleasure.

In homo-sexual intercourse the man always feels himself, in the act, as a woman ; the woman, as a man. The means of indulgence, in the case of a man, where there is irritable weakness of the ejaculation centre, are simply *succubus*, or passive *coitus inter femora* ; in other cases, passive masturbation, or *ejaculatio viri dilecti in ore proprio*. Many have a desire for passive pederasty ; occasionally a desire for active pederasty occurs. In one attempt of this kind, the man desisted because of the disgust which seized him when the act reminded him of coitus.

There was never inclination for immature persons (boy-love). Not infrequently there were only platonic desires. The sexual satisfaction of the female probably consists of *amor lesbicus*, or active masturbation.

Case 119. *Autobiography.* "1. *Descent:* I am now in my twenty third year. I have chosen the study of the technical arts as an occupation, and am completely satisfied with it. I had but the mild diseases of children, while the other children, who are now healthy, had to pass through severe illnesses. My parents are both living, and my father is an advocate. He, like my mother, is, as we say, nervously hyper-sensitive. In my father's family there were two other children, who died early.

"2. *My person:* As for my physical peculiarities, I am of robust figure, without being of especially handsome form ; eyes, gray ; hair, blonde ; hair and beard correspond with my sex and years. The mammae and genitals are normally developed. My gait is firm and almost heavy ; my bearing, careless. It is remarkable that the breadth of the pelvis is exactly equal to that of the shoulders.

"I am naturally well endowed mentally. In one of my certificates my talents are, in fact, called 'excellent.' Without any particular desire to excel in them, I passed my examinations with distinction. I have an interest in everything that concerns the well-being of humanity, and in science, art, and industry. With my energy it is comparatively easy to postpone for a time the satisfaction of my desires, which will be described hereafter. Intentionally and consciously, I curse the morality of to-day, which forces those who are abnormal sexually to break laws that are voluntarily established, and regards sexual congress of two persons of the same sex as a matter depending on the choice of the individual, and a matter in which law-makers have a right to interfere. From my studies I have found the most earnest incentives to construct, on the basis of the Darwinian theory, after Carneri's method, a system of morals, which, to be sure, does not harmonize with the prevailing system, but which seeks to elevate and improve mankind in accordance with natural law.

"I think that there are not many marks of hereditary taint in me. There is a certain hyper-sensitiveness. A very intense dream-life is perhaps important. In general, it is occupied with indifferent matters, and never has so-called sensual images as a subject; at most, in this direction, it is concerned only with female attire and putting it on, which for me is a lustful thought. At the same time, until my sixteenth year, it often went to the extent of somnambulism, or, very frequently, as is still often the case, to loud talking in sleep.

� "3. *My inclinations:* The above-mentioned abnormal proclivity is the fundamental factor in my sexual feeling. When I am dressed like a woman, I feel perfectly satisfied. A peculiar feeling of peace and comfort comes over me, which allows me to work mentally with greater ease. My libido for indulgence in sexual intercourse is extremely slight. Too, I have much love and taste for female handiwork, and, without assistance, I learned to crochet and embroider, and I like to do these things in secret. I also like other female employments, like sewing, etc.; so that at home, where I keep my proclivity perfectly concealed, and guard against indulging it by involuntary activity, I have often won the praise of being as good as a servant-girl; which did not make me ashamed, but, on the contrary, filled me with secret pride. I can make nothing out of dancing with women; I liked to dance only with my school-fellows, for which the manner of our instruction in dancing gave opportunity. But in this it gave me pleasure only when I could dance as a lady. A multitude of other desires and dreams, which seem to have something typical about them, I pass over, because they seem exactly similar to those described in 'Psychopathia Sexualis.' In other respects my inclinations are not different from those of my sex. I smoke and drink moderately, love delicacies, and have no pleasure in physical exercises.

"4. *Development:* After this brief description of my personality, I may pass on to an analysis of the developmental history of my abnormality. As soon as I was able, to some extent, to think independently, and I understood the difference between the sexes, it was my secret and fixed desire to be a girl. In fact, I believed I was one. But when in the bath I saw the same genitals on other boys, the impossibility of my thought became apparent. I reduced my wish, and hoped that I was at least an hermaphrodite. And, owing to the fact that I had a certain shyness about looking closely at pictures or descriptions of the genitals, this hope was entertained, notwithstanding the fact that I had abundant opportunity to read writings on the subject, until my studies compelled me to make a closer acquaintance with the matter. During this time I read everything I could get about hermaphroditism, and longed to be in the place of the female who, as the newspapers often reported, had been raised as a male and been restored to her sex by accident. The recognition of my masculinity made an end of this dreaming, and did not fill me with any especial delight. I tried to destroy my sexual glands by

gradual pressure, but pain soon caused me to desist. My longing is still for the external characteristics of the female sex,—for a pretty coiffure, a rounded breast, a slim waist.

"At the age of twelve I first had an opportunity to put on female attire; and I soon came to drape myself, by means of bed-clothes, bed-linen, etc., with female petticoats. When I grew older, it was my greatest delight to put on my sister's dresses secretly, even if it could be but for a few moments, and with constant danger of detection. Later, much to my delight, I had an opportunity to play a female rôle in a love-scene; and it is said that I was not at all bad in the part. When I began to lead an independent life as a student, I immediately obtained female dresses and linen, which I kept in order myself. When at night, safe from discovery, I can put on one article after another, from corset to apron and bracelet, I am perfectly satisfied, and devote myself to some quiet employment, inwardly happy and full of delight in doing it. While dressing, an erection usually occurs, but it is never followed by an ejaculation, and soon disappears. I also try to approximate the female appearance in externals, by arranging my hair appropriately and removing the beard, which I should have preferred to tear out.

"5. *Sexual inclinations:* In passing to the description of my sexual proclivities, I desire, first, to note, in general, that puberty occurred normally, as I judge from the pollutions that occurred, the change of voice, etc. Pollutions still occur regularly once every three weeks, seldom more frequently. With them I never experience any lustful feeling. I have never practiced onanism; until lately I knew nothing more of it than its name, and I had to seek direct information about it, in order to understand it. Any touch on the erect penis is disturbing and painful to me, and without lustful feeling.

"Previously I behaved very shyly toward women, but I now act quietly, and associate with them as with my kind. Direct excitation, in a sexual sense, by a woman, sometimes occurred; but when I try to analyze this, it seems to me that it was never her person, but rather her attire alone, that was effectual. I fell in love with her dress, and the thought of wearing one like it was heavenly. Thus sexual excitation never took place, not even in brothels where I was led by friends, in spite of the sight of the greatest voluptuousness and beauty. But friendly feelings for the female sex were in my heart. I imagined how, dressed as a woman and unrecognized, I could stay with them, associate with them, and take pleasure with them. I prefer the impression made on me by girls whose breasts have not yet fully developed, particularly those wearing the hair short; for such girls are more nearly like me and my aspect. Once I was so fortunate as to find a girl who felt unhappy in her sex. We formed a firm bond of friendship with one another, and we often took delight in the idea of exchanging places. Perhaps it is not inappropriate or unimportant for the characterization, to record the following: Some

months ago, when the story was running through the newspapers of an Hungarian countess who, dressed as a man, had married, and felt like a man, in all earnestness, I thought of offering myself to her, in order to contract an inverted marriage,—she as husband, I as wife. . . . I have never attempted coitus, and have never felt any desire for it. But since I foresaw that the erection necessary with a woman would be wanting, I thought of putting on some of her clothing; and I think that then the expected result would occur.

"As for my behavior toward male persons, first of all, it is to be emphasized that I had the warmest friendships during my school-days. My heart was full of happiness, if I could do some small service for the object of my devotion. I really worshiped him passionately. But, on the slightest occasion, I evinced terrible jealousy; and while my anger lasted I felt as if I could neither live nor die. When reconciliation occurred, for a short time I was the happiest of creatures. I also tried to make friends of boys, whom I bribed with sweetmeats, and whom I should gladly have kissed. Though my love always remained platonic, yet it is abnormal. An expression that I unconsciously made at that time about an elder friend, whom I worshiped, shows that. I said I loved him so that I should have liked to marry him. And even now, when I indulge but little in intercourse, I am easily taken with a handsome man with a fine beard and refined features. Yet I have never met a being feeling like myself, whom I could confide in, and with whom I could live as a female friend. I never attempted to exercise my inclinations directly, and never committed any foolish act of this kind. Finally I ceased to visit museums where nude male figures were displayed; for the erections, which were sure to occur, were exceedingly annoying. I had often secretly wished to sleep with a man, and often found opportunity. I was asked by a rather unattractive elderly man to sleep with him. *Cum eo concubui, ille genitalia mea tetigit;* and though his person was unattractive to me, I was filled with an intense feeling of lust. I felt as if completely surrendered to him; in a word, *I felt like a woman.*

"If I may be permitted to add a concluding word to what I have already said, I wish to state expressly that, though I am conscious of the abnormality of my inclinations, I have no desire to change them; I long only for a time when, more easily and with less danger of discovery, I can give rein to my desires and experience a delight that will harm no one."

Case 120. Miss Z., aged 31, artist, comes for consultation on account of neurasthenic symptoms. She is remarkable for coarse, masculine features, a deep voice, short hair, a masculine style of dress, masculine gait, and self-consciousness. In other respects she is feminine, with well-developed mammae and a female pelvis, and without any indication of beard.

Examination with reference to contrary sexual instinct gives a positive result :—

The patient states that even when a little girl she preferred to play with boys, and particularly "soldier," "merchant," and "robber." She was very wild and unrestrained in these games with boys, but never had any proclivity for dolls or female employment, of which she learned only the most ordinary things (knitting, sewing).

In school she made good progress, being especially interested in mathematics and chemistry. She early had a desire for sculpture, and showed talent for it. Her greatest ambition was to become a real artist. In her dreams of the future, she never thought of marriage. As an artist, she was interested in handsome men, but she was really attracted only by female forms; she saw male forms only "in the distance." She could never endure "trumpery"; "manly dress" was all that pleased her. The ordinary society of girls was repugnant to her, because their talk about *toilettes*, ornaments, and love-affairs with men, seemed stale and tiresome to her. On the other hand, since her childhood she had had enthusiastic friendships with certain girls; at the age of ten she was in love with a girl companion, and wrote her name everywhere. Since then she had had numerous female friends, with whom she had indulged in passionate kissing. She pleased the girls, as a rule, because of her masculine bearing. She wrote poems to her female friends, and could have done anything out of love for them. To her it was very remarkable that she was embarrassed before girls, especially when they were friends. She could not undress before them. The more she loved a friend, the more modest she was before her.

At the present time she has such a relation. She kisses and embraces her Laura, walks by her window, and suffers all the pangs of jealousy, particularly when she sees her conversing with men. Her only wish is to live always with this female friend.

The patient states, however, that twice in her life men have made an impression on her. She thinks that if she had been really sought, there would have been a marriage; for she is very fond of family life and children. If a man wished to possess her, it would be necessary for him to win her; she herself would prefer to win a female friend. She thinks woman is more beautiful and ideal than man. In her infrequent erotic dreams, the subject had always been a female. She had never dreamed of men. She does not think that she could now love a man; for men are false, and she herself is nervous and anaemic.

She considers herself a woman in all respects, but regrets that she is not a man. Even at the age of four it had been her greatest pleasure to put on boys' clothes. She certainly had a masculine character, and, too, had never wept. Her greatest passion was for riding, gymnastics, fencing, and driving. She suffered much because no one about her understood her. It seemed silly to her to talk about feminine things.

Many of her acquaintances had thought that she should really have been a man.

The patient says that she was never sensual. In embracing female friends, she had often experienced a peculiar lustful feeling. Embracing and kissing had been her only manner of expressing her friendship.

The patient states that she comes of a nervous father, and an insane mother who, as a young girl, had been passionately in love with her own brother, and had tried to induce him to flee with her to America. The patient's brother is a very eccentric, peculiar man.

The patient presents no external degenerative signs; head regular. She says the menses began at fourteen, and that they have been regular, but always painful.

Case 121. "In order to designate at once my unhappy diseased condition with its correct name, I will state at the beginning that it bears all the marks of what, in your work, 'Psychopathia Sexualis,' you have named *effemimation*.

"I am now thirty-eight years old, and, thanks to my abnormality, I look back on a life that has been full of indescribable suffering; so that I am often astonished to think what capacity for suffering a man has. Of late consciousness of the suffering I have endured has become the source of a kind of self-respect, which, in itself, makes my life, in a measure, endurable.

"But I shall now endeavor to describe my condition with all truth. I am physically healthy, and, as far as I can remember, have never had any severe illness. I come of a healthy family. But my parents are both of a very excitable nature, my father being of the so-called choleric, and my mother of the sanguine, temperament; she has a strong tendency to mild melancholia. She is a lively woman, loved for her good-heartedness and active benevolence; but she is still very dependent and deficient in self-confidence. All these peculiarities were marked in her father. I mention this fact, because I am told that I resemble them both; and as far as the last two peculiarities are concerned, I can myself acknowledge the resemblance. But when I made attempts, by means of my inner strength and by thinking of my own power, to rend the bond that, with magic force, draws me to men, there was always a residuum left that I could not eradicate. As far as I can remember, I have always had this elementary longing for a male lover. To be sure, its first expressions were of a coarse, sensual nature. I do not know whether I was yet ten years old, when, while lying in bed in the day-time, I suddenly discovered how, by pressure on my genitals, I induced a new and intoxicating feeling, while fancying that a man of my acquaintance performed sensual manipulations on me. It was only many years afterward that I learned that this was onanism. At first I was so frightened and so depressed by the inexplicableness of my longing, that I then made my first attempt at

suicide. If I had only put it into execution! For since then there has been such frequent violent agitation of mind and body that my heart has been bound as with a chain, and made cold. I may say at once that, up to the present time, onanism has not loosened me from its clutches; it has overcome all attempts and efforts to escape, and my desire to resist it is almost destroyed. Three or four times I have given it up for a month at a time, usually under the influence of mental excitement.

"When about thirteen, I had my first love. To-day it seems as if my greatest wish then was to kiss my school-fellow's fresh, rosy lips. It was a passion full of romantic dreams. At the age of fifteen or sixteen it became more violent, when I first experienced the insane pangs of a jealousy which is more terrible than that of natural love can be. This second period of my life lasted for years, though I spent but a few days with the object of my passion; and then we did not see each other for fifteen years. Gradually my feeling cooled, and I then fell passionately in love several times with other men, who, with the exception of one, were about my own age.

"My love—if you will kindly allow this expression for a feeling condemned by the majority of mankind—has never been returned; I have never had intercourse with a man in any way that would not bear the light of day; never has any one shown even extraordinary interest in me, though one of my friends discovered my secret longing; and yet I have had a burning desire for masculine love. In this longing my feelings seem to me to be entirely those of a loving woman; and I notice, with horror, that my sensual ideas grow more and more like those of a woman. During the periods when I am free from any particular love, my longing degenerates so that, in my onanistic manipulations, I conjure up only coarse, sensual ideas. But I am still finally able to overcome these. My efforts to repress the love, however, are absolutely vain. At the present time I am again suffering with such an exaggerated state of feeling that has existed for months; and I have pondered so much over its peculiarities that I think I can describe my feelings truthfully. In this way I have made the peculiar observation that I have never loved a bearded man. From this it might easily be presumed that I am given to so-called boy-love; but that is not the case. For, to the sensual charm, on closer association, a mental interest is added. With this begins the mental pain. I am seized with such a passionate longing that I am willing to sacrifice myself, in a way. I excite confidence in myself; and from this mutual feeling a heart-felt friendship might be engendered, if deep down in my soul were not sleeping the demon which impels me to the closest of relationships, which is allowed only between human beings of opposite sex. My whole being, every fibre of my body, longs for it, and I am consumed by a hot, glowing passion. I wonder that here I can again describe in unfeeling words the feelings that coursed through my whole being. Of course, by the struggle of years, I have been forced to learn

to conceal my inclination, and smile when torn by pain. For, in never having my love returned, I have learned to know all the sufferings of love. Jealousy—insane, blinding jealousy—of any and every body who casts but a friendly glance at the object of my secret love!

“I have emphasized the mental element, in order to show how deeply rooted my abnormal impulse is. I have never felt the slightest touch of sensual love for the opposite sex. The idea of being forced to associate sensually with women is repugnant to me. At times I have suffered enough on being assured of the love of young girls. Like every young man, I have had abundant opportunity to enjoy the modern social pleasures, dancing among them. I like to dance; but if I could dance with men, as a girl, I should be really happy.

“I wish once more to remark that my love is entirely sensual. How could I otherwise explain the fact that the pressure of my lover's hand, often merely his glance, causes palpitation and erection! I have done everything to eradicate this love from my—let us say ‘heart.’ I have tried to still it by means of onanism; to drag it in the mire, in order to raise myself above it. (About ten years ago, during such a time of love, I avoided onanism, and felt that my feeling of love elevated me.) I still entertain the delusion that if the object of my love were to tell me he loved me, that he loved me, and only me, I should willingly give up sensual gratification to repose in faithful arms. But that is certainly a self-deception.

“Honored sir, I have a responsible occupation, and I think I can give the assurance that my abnormal inclination has never, even in a hair's breadth, caused me to deviate from the duty imposed on me. Aside from this abnormality, I am not insane, and I might ultimately become contented; but I have, particularly of late years, suffered too much not to look on the future with painful feeling. For the future will certainly not bring fulfillment of the desire which constantly glows under the ashes,—the desire to possess a lover who understands and returns my love. Such a relation would make me truly happy. I have thought much about the origin of my abnormality, particularly because I think I am forced to assume that it was not inherited. I believe that onanism has changed the inborn feeling into a burning passion. I might long ago have put an end to my misery, since I have no fear of death, and since in religion—which, strange to say, has not departed from my impure heart—I find no warning against suicide. But the consciousness that I am not alone responsible, and that a worm has nipped my whole life in the bud,—a certain comfort that has sprung up of late out of indescribable suffering,—leads me to see whether comparative happiness in life cannot be obtained on an entirely new basis: something which fills the whole heart. I think I could be happy under the influence of quiet family life. But I dare not conceal from you the fact that the thought of married life with a wife is terrible to me, and that I make the

attempt of a change of life with a bleeding heart; for thus I absolutely abandon the hope that is always awake; namely, the delusion that fate may yet bring me the desired happiness.

"This delusion is so deeply rooted in me that I think nothing but hypnotic suggestion could help me. If you could advise me, you would make me unspeakably happy. Of course, your strictest injunction would be to abandon onanism. How gladly I would follow it! But if I were not to have direct physical, some mechanical, means at hand to help me, I should certainly be unable to free myself from this vice; and this the more, because I fear that, by long years of habit, my nature has become accustomed to it. Of course, I have not escaped the effects of it, even though they are not so terrible as they are often pictured. I suffer with mild nervousness, am, indeed, weakened, and have periodical disturbance of digestion; but I can still endure hard work, and take a certain pleasure in it, when it is not too great. I am depressed, but I can be happy, and, fortunately, I take pleasure in my calling, and am interested in various things, particularly music, art, and *belles-lettres*. I have never indulged in female pursuits.

"As may be seen from the foregoing, I like to associate with men, especially with those who are handsome; but I have never had intimate relations with them. A wide gulf separates me from them!"

"*Postscript:* I feared that in the foregoing I had not described my sexual life with sufficient exactness. It consists only in onanism; but in it I abandon myself to almost all the repugnant acts that are comprehended under coitus inter femora, ejaculatio in ore, etc.

"My rôle is passive. When I am seized by a passion, the ideas change, and become entirely a desire to be impregnated. The struggle against such a passion is so terrible, because my mind is also implicated. I long for the closest, the most complete union that can be conceived as existing between two men,—always together, common interests, unlimited confidence, sexual union. I think that natural love is different from this only in its degree of warmth; it does not reach the boiling-point of our passion. Just now I am fighting the battle over again; with force I stifle the insane passion that has so long enthralled me. All night long I walk about, followed by the image of him I love; for love of whom I would give up all I possess. How sad it is that the noblest feeling given to man—friendship—is sullied by common sensual feeling!"

"I wish once more to state that I cannot come to the determination to transform my sexual life by means of sexual intercourse with the opposite sex. The thought of such intercourse fills me with repugnance and disgust."

Case 122. "I write, as well as I can, the history of my suffering, actuated only by the desire, by this autobiography, to clear up to some

extent the misunderstanding and errors concerning 'contrary sexual instinct' which are still so widely prevalent.

"I am thirty-seven years old, and come of healthy parents, both of whom were very nervous. I only mention this, because I have often had the thought that my contrary sexual instinct came by way of inheritance; but this is nothing more than vague. Of my grandparents, whom I did not know, the only remarkable thing I can mention is, that my maternal grandfather was known as a great Don Juan.

"I was rather a weak child, and during my first two years suffered severely with fits, as a result of which my understanding and memory may have suffered; for I learn but slowly things which do not particularly interest me, and easily forget them. I may also mention that, during the time before I was born, my mother was subject to violent mental excitement, and was often frightened. From my third year I have been perfectly well, and have escaped severe illness. Only when a boy, from the age of twelve to sixteen, I had peculiar, indescribable nervous sensations, which made themselves felt in my head and finger-tips, and in which it seemed to me as if my whole being were about to cease. For many years, however, these attacks have ceased to occur. I am rather a powerful man, with abundant growth of hair, and in all respects masculine.

"Even when a boy of six years, I came independently to masturbate, and, until my nineteenth year, I practiced the vice quite persistently; and even now, *faute de mieux*, I quite frequently resort to it, notwithstanding the fact that I understand the vileness of the passion, and always feel somewhat weakened after it. But sexual intercourse with a man does not affect me in the least; on the contrary, it gives me a feeling of being strengthened. I began school at the age of seven, and soon experienced an intense feeling of sympathy for my companions, which, however, made no other impression on me. In the Gymnasium, at the age of fourteen, my companions explained to me the sexual life of man, which, up to that time, was absolutely unknown to me; but I was not much interested in the matter. At this time I also practiced mutual onanism with two or three friends who had seduced me into it; and it had an extraordinary charm for me. I was still perfectly unconscious of the perversity of my sexual instinct, and considered my vices as sins of youth, like those committed by all boys of the same age. Interest in the female sex I thought would come in time. Thus I became nineteen years old. During the following years I fell insanely in love three times,—once with a very handsome actor, then with a bank employé, and with one of my friends, the last two being men who were nothing less than beautiful, and calculated to excite sensual feeling. But this love was merely platonic, and occasionally found expression in glowing poetry. It was, perhaps, the most perfect period of my life; for I regarded everything with pure, innocent eyes. In my twenty-first year

I gradually began to notice that I was not constituted exactly like my comrades; for I found no pleasure in masculine pursuits. I had but little liking for smoking, drinking, and card-playing, and I was frightened to death by a brothel. I have never been in one; I was always able to avoid visiting one on some pretext or other. But I now began to think about myself; I often felt terribly lonesome, miserable, and unhappy, and longed for a friend constituted like myself, without, however, ever thinking that there could be other men like me. At twenty-two I made the acquaintance of a young man who finally explained to me contrary sexual instinct and the individuals affected with it. He, being also an urning, was in love with me. It was as if scales had fallen from my eyes; and I bless the day this explanation came to me. From that time I saw the world with different eyes; I saw that many others were given the same fate; and I began to learn to content myself with this lot as well as I could. Unfortunately, I did not succeed very well, and I am still often seized with bitterness and a deep hatred of the modern ideas which treat us poor urnings with such terrible harshness. For what is our fate? In most cases we are not understood, and are derided and despised; and even when all goes well, and we are understood, we are still pitied like invalids or the insane,—and pity was always sickening to me. I now began to play a part, in order to deceive my fellow-men as to my state of mind; and it always gave me great satisfaction to succeed in this. I made the acquaintance of several men like myself, with whom I established relations, which, however, never lasted long; for I was very fearful and cautious; but, at the same time, I was very particular and easily wearied.

"I have always absolutely despised pederasty as something unworthy a man, and I only wish that all those like me would do the same; but, unfortunately, with many this is not the case. If all like me thought as I do, then the contempt and scoffing of men that feel differently would be a still greater injustice to us than it now is.

"Toward the man I love I feel completely like a woman, and, therefore, in the sexual act I am quite passive. In general, my whole sensibility and feeling are feminine. I am vain, coquettish, fond of ornament, and like to please others. I love to dress myself beautifully, and, in cases where I wish to please, I even make use of the arts of the toilet, in which I am quite skilled.

"While I have but little interest in politics, I am passionately fond of music and an inspired follower of Richard Wagner. I have noticed this preference in the majority of us; I find that this music is perfectly in accord with our nature.

"I play the violin quite well; I like reading, and read much, but I have little interest in anything else. Everything else in life is quite indifferent to me, owing to the deep resignation that more and more takes possession of me.

"Even though I should have reason to be satisfied with my fate, in that I have an assured position in a technical employment in a large city of Germany, still I take no pleasure in my calling. I should be best suited if, independent and free, I could travel about with a handsome lover, and live for music and literature, particularly for the theatre, which seems to me to be one of the greatest pleasures. A connection with a court theatre I think of as being very acceptable.

"The only position or calling that seems really desirable to me is that of a great artist,—singer, actor, painter, or sculptor; and it seems to me that it would be even finer to be born to the throne of a king,—a wish that is in harmony with my pronounced desire for power. (If there is really such a thing as transmigration of souls, a subject I have studied much, and which seems to me to clear up much, I must have lived at one time as an emperor, or ruler of some kind.) But a man must be born to all this; and since I am not, I am without ambition for so-called social honors and distinctions.

"As to my tastes, I must mention a painful dissension there is in them. Handsome, intellectual young men of at least twenty years, who must be of my own social station, seem to me to be suited rather for platonic love; but with them I satisfy myself completely with a straightforward, though ideal, friendship, which seldom goes beyond a few kisses. But I can be excited sensually only by coarse, powerful men that are at least of my own age, and mentally and socially beneath me. The reason for this strange phenomenon may be that my pronounced feeling of shame and my innate apprehensiveness, with my cautious disposition, have the effect of an inhibitory idea with men of my own social position; so that with them it is with difficulty and seldom that I can induce sexual excitement in myself. That this diversity is painful to me is owing to the fact that I am always afraid to discover myself to these simple men, below me in station, who may often be bought with money. But I cannot imagine anything worse than a scandal, which would at once drive me to suicide. For I can think of nothing more terrible than, through some slight act of carelessness or the enmity of any man, suddenly to be branded before the world, and to be powerless to avert it. But what is it that we do that is so different from what normally constituted men can do, at least, quite as frequently without embarrassment, and without shame? That we do not feel as the crowd feels is not our fault, but a cruel trick of Nature.

"Innumerable times I have puzzled my brain to know whether science, or any of her free and unprejudiced devotees, could think of any way in which to give us step-children of Nature a more endurable position before the law and mankind. But I have always reached the same sad conclusion, that when one enters the lists in behalf of anything, he must first know thoroughly, and be able to explain, that for which he contends. And who is to-day able to perfectly explain and define con-

trary sexual instinct? Yet there must be some correct explanation of it; there must be some way in which the mass of mankind can be brought to a milder and more reasonable judgment of it; and, first of all, there must be some way to show that contrary sexual instinct should not be regarded as meaning the same as pederasty, as the majority of men—I may say all—regard it. By such an act a man might erect for himself an immortal monument in the gratitude of thousands of men of present and future generations; for there have been, are, and will ever be, urnings, and in greater number than perhaps has been suspected.

"In Wilbrand's work, 'Fridolin's Secret Marriage,' I find a very plausible theory given in explanation of this matter; for I myself have repeatedly had opportunity to observe that all urnings do not love men with the same intensity, but that there are innumerable sub-varieties,—from the most feminine man to the man of contrary sexuality who is equally sensitive to female charms. This may also account for the so-called difference between congenital and acquired contrary sexual instinct, which, in my inadequate opinion, does not exist. Yet, in all the fifty-five individuals I have become acquainted with in the three years since I came to understand this matter, I have met the same peculiarities of temperament, disposition, and character. Almost all of them are more or less idealists: they smoke but little, or not at all; they are bigoted, vain, desirous of admiration, and superstitious; and, unfortunately, I must confess that they combine more the defects and the reverse sides of both sexes than their good qualities. For woman in a sexual *rôle* I experience a feeling of true horror, which I could never overcome, even with the help of my extremely lively imagination. I have never attempted it, because I am thoroughly convinced of the fruitlessness of such an attempt, that seems to me unnatural and sinful.

"In purely social and friendly relations, I like to associate with ladies and girls, and I am gladly welcomed in ladies' society; for I am much interested in the fashions for ladies, and know how to talk of such things with great skill. When I wish to, I can be very gay and amiable; but my faculty for conversation is, for the most part, only assumed, and it always tires me. I have always had great skill in female work, and shown interest in it. As a child, and up to my thirteenth year, I was passionately fond of playing with dolls, whose clothes I made myself; and it still affords me much pleasure to work at beautiful embroidery, which, unfortunately, I can do only in secret. I have the same preference for knick-knacks, photographs, flowers, sweetmeats, toilet-articles, and such feminine things; and my room, which I arranged and decorated myself, is like the over-crowded boudoir of a lady.

"As particularly remarkable, I wish still to mention that I have never suffered with pollutions. I dream very much, and intensely, almost every night; occasionally I have lascivious dreams, which have only men as subjects, but I always wake out of them before it comes to

ejaculation. In reality I am not very passionate sexually, and I have periods lasting from four to six weeks, in which I have almost no sexual desire. Unfortunately, these periods are infrequent, and they are usually followed by an awakening of my intense sexual desire that is only the more violent; which, when it is unsatisfied, causes intense physical and mental suffering. I then become moody, depressed, sensitive, irritable, and retiring; peculiarities, however, which, with the first opportunity I have for sexual gratification, again disappear. I must mention, also, that often, on the slightest occasion, my mood may change several times during the day; it is like April weather.

"I dance well, and like to; but I love dancing only for its rhythmical movement, and because of my partiality for music.

"In conclusion, I wish to speak of something that always arouses repugnance in me. We are usually considered diseased, and that is absolutely incorrect. For in every disease there is a means of cure or amelioration; but no power in the world can take from an urning his perverse natural constitution. Even suggestion, which has been used with so much apparent success, cannot induce any enduring change in the mental life of an urning. In us, effect is mistaken for cause. We are considered diseased, because in time the majority of us really become ill. I am almost convinced that two-thirds of us, in later life, when we really live so long, have a mental defect of one kind or another; and this is only too easily explained. For, what strength of will and nerves is required for one to constantly dissimulate, lie, and play the hypocrite all his life! How often in the society of normal men, when the conversation turns to contrary sexual instinct, must one agree with the words of abuse and contempt, while every one of them wounds the heart. On the other hand, there are always the tiresome and indecent jokes and talk about women, etc., that must be heard; and which to-day, in so-called 'good society,' are popular—and to show interest and give attention to them! Daily and hourly to see so many handsome men to whom one cannot reveal himself; to be compelled to go without a friend, intercourse with whom we desire so much; and besides, constantly the fearful anxiety of betraying one's self before the eyes of the world, and then standing covered with ignominy and shame! It is really no wonder that the majority of us are incapable of real work; for we need all our strength of will and power of endurance for the struggle with our own fate. How injurious it is to our nerves constantly to be compelled to shut up all these thoughts and feelings in our hearts; where our lively fancy, feeding on it all, plays all the more intensely, so that we go about with a burning fire within us that only too often threatens to consume us! Happy are those of us that are never denied the strength to lead such a life; but those, too, are happy that have passed beyond it."

Case 123. *Autobiography.* "In what follows, you will find the description of the character, as well as the mental and sexual disposition,

of an urning,—*i.e.*, of an individual who, in spite of his masculine form, feels as a woman, whose senses women do not excite, and whose sexual desires are constantly directed toward men.

“Convinced that the enigma of our existence can be solved, or, at least, illuminated, only by the unprejudiced thought of scientific men, I describe my life only with the aim of perhaps clearing up this cruel error of Nature, and possibly doing a kindness to people like me to come in later generations; for there will be urnings as long as men are born, just as it is a fact that they have existed in every age. With the progress of science in our epoch, men will see in me and those like me not objects of hatred, but objects of pity, which deserve not the odium, but the compassion, of their more fortunate brothers. I shall be as brief as possible in my communication, and also objective; and, with reference to my caustic, often cynical, style, I may note that, above all, I shall be honest, and, therefore, not avoid strong expressions; for they are most happily suited to the subject in hand.

“I am in my thirty-fifth year; a merchant, with a fair income; somewhat above average height, slim, weak of muscle, with full beard, and quite ordinary face, and, at first sight, in nowise different from ordinary men. On the other hand, my gait is feminine, and particularly mincing in fast walking; the movements are awkward and displeasing, indicative of a want of manly feeling. The voice is neither feminine nor shrill, but rather a baritone.

“This is my external appearance.

“I do not smoke or drink, and can neither whistle, ride, do gymnastic feats, fence, nor shoot. I have absolutely no interest in horses or dogs, and have never had a gun or sword in my hand. In inner feeling and sexual desire, I am completely a woman. Without thorough education,—I passed through but few classes in the Gymnasium,—I am yet intelligent, like to read well-written, improving books, and have good judgment; but I allow myself to be carried away by the feelings of the moment, and I am easily influenced by any one who knows my weakness and how to make use of it. Constantly making resolves, I have never the energy to carry them out; like a woman, I am moody and nervous, often irritated without reason, and sometimes mean. Toward persons that do not please me, I am arrogant, unjust, and often shamefully insulting.

“In all my conduct I am superficial, and often frivolous, and I have no deep moral feeling. I have little consideration for parents and brothers and sisters. I am not egotistic, but, on occasion, self-sacrificing. I cannot withstand tears, and can—like a woman—be won by amiability and entreaty.

“In my earliest years I avoided playing soldier, gymnastics, or the rough games of my manly comrades, and ran about with little girls, with whom I was much more in sympathy than with boys. I was retiring,

bashful, and often blushing. When no more than twelve or thirteen years old, the close-fitting uniform of a handsome soldier gave me the most peculiar feeling ; and while, during the next few years, my comrades were always talking about girls, and even engaged in love-affairs, I could, for hours at a time, run after a well-built man with well-rounded hips, and feast my eyes on the sight.

"Without thinking much of these impressions, so different from the feelings of my comrades, I began to masturbate, always during the act thinking of a heroic, handsome form; and this continued until my seventeenth year, when I learned from a companion constituted like myself a true explanation of my condition. Since that time I have been with girls eight or ten times; but, in order to have an erection, it was always necessary to think of a handsome man of my acquaintance. And I am thoroughly convinced that to-day, even with the help of imagination, I should be unable to have intercourse with a girl.

"Shortly after my discovery I preferred to associate with mature, powerful urnings; for at this time I had neither mind nor opportunity to associate with real men. Since this my taste has changed entirely, and men, real men, of twenty-five or thirty-five years, with supple, powerful forms, are the only ones that ravish my senses, and charm me as if I were a woman. Circumstances have allowed me, during these years, to make about a dozen male acquaintances that would serve my purpose for a gulden or two a visit. If I am alone in a room with a handsome youth, my greatest pleasure is membrum ejus vel maxime si magnum atque crassum est, manibus capere et apprehendere et premere, turgentem nates femoraque tangere atque totum corpus manibus contrectare et, si conceditur, os faciem atque totum corpus, immovero nates, ardentibus osculis obtegere. Quodsi membrum magnum purumque est, dominusque ejus mihi placet, ardente libidine mentulam ejus in os meum receptam complures horas sugere possum, neque autem delector, si semen in os meum ejaculatur, cum maxima eorum qui "urnings" nominantur pars hac re non modo delectatur, sed etiam semen nonnunquam devorat.

"The most intense delight, however, is experienced when I find a real man, qui membrum meum in os recepit et erectionem in ore suo concedit.

"Improbable as it sounds, I am yet able to find some coarse fellows who will allow themselves to be used for this purpose. They learn the thing while in military service, for urnings know that under such circumstances they can be made to do the most for money; and when the fellows are once trained, circumstances often compel them, in spite of their passion for the opposite sex, to continue the practice.

"With certain exceptions, urnings make no impression on me, because everything feminine is repugnant to me. At the same time, there are some that know how to give me the most intense pleasure, just as a real man can; and I prefer to consort with them, for the reason that sometimes

they return my passionate caresses. In *tête-à-tête* with such a person, I throw all check from my excited senses, and give my animal passions free rein, oscular, premo, amplector eum, linguam meam in os ejus immitto ; ore cupiditate tremente ejus labrum superius sugo, faciem meam ad ejus nates adpono et odore voluptari e natibus emanente voluptate obstupescor. Real men, in close-fitting uniform, make the deepest impression on me ; and if I have an opportunity to embrace and kiss such a ravishing fellow, ejaculation takes place at once,—a weakness which I attribute to my frequent masturbation. In my earlier years I practiced it very frequently, almost every time I saw a man pleasing to me, whose image I kept before my eye during the act. For this my taste is in nowise difficult to please—like that a servant-girl might have in finding her ideal in a dragoon guard. A handsome face is a pleasant supplement, inflaming my sensual desire, but in no respect an essential. The requisite remains : vir inferiore corporis parte robusta et bene formosa, turgidis femoribus durisque natibus, while the upper portion of the body may be slim. Corpulence disgusts me. A sensual mouth with pretty teeth affects me more intensely ; and if the person has also a membrum pulchrum magnum et æqualiter formatum, all my demands—the most far-reaching—are fulfilled.

“ When I was younger, with men that pleased me and excited my passions intensely, ejaculation took place from five to eight times in a night, and now it occurs from four to six times ; for I am unusually strong sensually, and, as an example, even the clinking of a hussar’s sword may excite me. At the same time, I have a very lively fancy, and spend most of my leisure hours thinking of handsome men with strong limbs ; and I would be delighted to look on when a powerful fellow, using force, magna mentula præditus me præsente puellam futuat ; mihi persuasum est, fore ut hoc aspectu sensus mei vehementissima perturbatione afficiantur et dum futuit corpus adolescentis pulchri tangam et, si liceat, ascendam in eum dum cum puella concubitus atque idem cum eo faciam et membrum meum in ejus anum immittam. The accomplishment of these cynical ideas—with which my mind is often filled—is hindered only by my limited means ; otherwise, I should long ago have had the reality.

“ Soldiers have the greatest charm for me, but I have also a weakness for butchers, fakirs, drivers, circus-riders, and boat-captains ; and all these must be supple and powerfully built. Urnings I hate in intimate relation, and for the majority of them I have an inexplicable and unjust aversion. I have never had but one urning for an intimate friend. On the other hand, the most affectionate and enduring ties bind me to men of my own age, in whose company I delight, but with whom I have no sexual relations, and who have no idea of my condition.

“ Talk on politics and economics, like every other earnest subject, I hate ; though I gossip with considerable sense and peculiar pleasure about the theatre. At operas I see myself on the stage, feel myself applauded

by the public, and would prefer to sing as a passive heroine, or in the dramatic rôle of a woman.

"The most interesting subject of conversation for me, and those like me, is, however, always—men; for us this is inexhaustible. Their secret charms are described in the most minute details, mentulæ aestimantur, quanta sint magnitudine, quanta, crassitudine; de forma earum atque rigiditate conferimus, alter ab altero cognoscit cuius senen celerius, cuius tardius ejaculetur. I may add that, of my four brothers, one gave himself to the service of urnings, without himself being one; and all four are ladies' men, and indulge in sexual excesses. The genitals of the men of our family are, without exception, unusually developed.

"In conclusion, I repeat the words with which I began these lines. I could not choose my expressions, because my object in the foregoing has been to afford material for the study of the urning's existence, and absolute truth was essential. I beg the numerous cynics to keep this circumstance in mind."

In October, 1890, the writer of the foregoing lines presented himself to me. In all essentials his appearance corresponded with his description. Genitals large, with abundant growth of hair. His parents had been well nervously. One brother had shot himself on account of nervous trouble; three others were intensely nervous. The patient came to me in a state of despair. He could not endure such a life any longer; for he had been admonished about intercourse with men that could be bought; and with his extreme sensual nature he was unable to abstain. Too, he could not understand how he could be made to love women, and enjoy the nobler joys of life. He had had love for men since his thirteenth year.

He felt in all respects like a woman, and longed to be won by men that were not urnings. When he was with an urning, it was just as if two girls were together. He would prefer being sexless to living longer as he was. Would not castration help him?

An attempt at hypnosis with the highly excited patient induced only a very slight degree of lethargy.

Case 124. B., waiter, aged 42, single, was sent to me by his physician, with whom he was in love, as one who was suffering from contrary sexual feeling. B. very willingly, and in a decent manner, gave a history of his past life, especially of his sexual life, and was glad at least to have an authoritative opinion concerning his sexual condition, which had always appeared to him abnormal.

B. knew nothing to report of his grandparents. His father had been a passionate, excitable man, a drinker, and always very sensual. After he had begotten twenty-four children by one wife, he was divorced from her; and after that his landlady became three times pregnant by him. His mother was healthy.

Of the twenty-three children, but six were living; several were

nervous, but not sexually abnormal, with the exception of one sister, who always sought men.

B. asserts that from childhood he was sickly. At eight his sexual life began. He masturbated, and became possessed of the idea *penem aliorum puerorum in os arrigere*, which gave him the greatest pleasure. At twelve he began to fall in love with men, usually with those between thirty and forty, with moustaches. Even at that time his sexual desire was greatly developed, and he had erections and pollutions. From that time, indeed, he masturbated daily, and during the act thought of a beloved man. Yet his greatest delight had been *penem viri in os arrigere*. During the act he had ejaculation, with an intense feeling of pleasure. Only about twelve times had he had this pleasure. He had never felt disgust with the penis of another sympathetic man; quite the contrary. He had never accepted proffers of pederasty; actively or passively, it was very disgusting to him. In the perverse sexual act he had always thought of himself in the *rôle* of a woman. His passion for men in sympathy with him had been unbounded. He would have done everything for a lover; even at the sight of him he would tremble with excitement and joy.

At nineteen he often allowed himself to be taken by his comrades to houses of prostitution. He never had pleasure in coitus, and only in the moment of ejaculation felt satisfaction. In order to get an erection with a woman, it was always necessary, in the act, for him to think of a beloved man. He would always have preferred to have the woman allow *immissio penis in os*, which, however, was always denied him. *Faute de mieux*, he had practiced coitus, and, indeed, twice became a father. The last child, a girl of eight, had already begun to practice masturbation and mutual onanism, which troubled him very much as a father. He wished to know whether there was any remedy for it.

The patient asserted that he always felt himself toward men in a feminine *rôle* (also in sexual intercourse). He had always thought that his sexual perversion had resulted from his father's wishing to beget a girl when he begat him. His brothers and sisters had always joked him on account of his feminine manners. Sweeping and house-cleaning had always been pleasant occupations for him. His activities in this direction had often been wondered at, and he was considered more skillful than a girl. Whenever he could, he dressed like a woman. At the carnival he appeared at the dances masked as a female. He was very successful at coquetry on such occasions, because he had a feminine nature.

He had never had real pleasure in drinking, smoking, or in masculine occupations or pleasures; but, on the other hand, he loved to sew, and as a child had often been scolded for his playing with dolls. His interest at the circus or theatre was confined to men. Frequently he could not overcome the impulse to hang around water-closets, in order to get sight of male genitals.

Feminine charms had never pleased him. Coitus had been possible only when he thought of a beloved man. Nocturnal pollutions were always induced by lascivious dreams of men.

In spite of much sexual excess, B. had never suffered from neurasthenia sexualis, and, besides, there was not a symptom of neurasthenia discoverable in him.

Patient is delicate, and his whiskers and moustache, which made their appearance in his twenty-eighth year, are thin. Externally, with the exception of a weaving gait, he presents nothing which would point to his feminine nature. He asserts that he has often been joked about his feminine gait. His conduct is in all respects decent. His genitals are large, well developed, and normal in all respects, and the growth of genital hair is abundant; the pelvis is masculine. The head is rachitic, somewhat hydrocephalic, with prominence of the parietal bones. The face is remarkably small. The patient says that he is irritable and easily angered.

Case 125. On May 1, 1880, G., Ph.D., and a writer, was brought to the clinic for mental diseases, at Graz, by the public authorities. While on his return from Italy, G. found a soldier in Graz who gave himself up to him for hire, but ultimately denounced G. to the police, because G. had openly confessed his love for men. The authorities considered his mental condition doubtful, and sent him to alienists for examination. To the physicians G. related, with cynical openness, that years before, in M., he had had just such an affair with the police, and was in prison fourteen days. In the South there was no danger from such people; it was only in Germany and Austria that the thing was regarded as an evil.

G. is fifty years old, tall, powerful, and has a humerous expression, and a cynical, coquettish manner; the eye has a neuropathic, swimming expression; the teeth of the under jaw stand far back from those of the upper jaw. The cranium is normal, the voice masculine, and the beard abundant. The genitals are well formed, though the testicles are somewhat small. With the exception of slight emphysema of the lungs and external fistula in ano, there are no remarkable anomalies of the vegetative organs. G.'s father was subject to periodical insanity. His mother was a high-strung person, and she had an insane sister. Of the children, four died in childhood.

With the exception of serofulosis, G. asserts that he was healthy. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; at twenty-five, he had hæmoptysis, and went to Italy, where he has since lived, with slight interruption, by writing and by giving private lessons. G. says that he often has congestions, and also some spinal irritation,—*i.e.*, pain in his back,—but otherwise he has a genial disposition; only he is not much of a financier; and at the same time, like all old prostitutes, he has a very good appetite. Further, he states, with great satisfaction and remarkable



cynicism, that he has congenital contrary sexual instinct. When only five years old, it was his greatest pleasure to get sight of a penis, and he hung about appropriate places, in order to enjoy that pleasure. Even before puberty he practiced masturbation. At the time of puberty he noticed an inward feeling for friends. An obscure impulse pointed out to him the way his love would take. He was actually impelled to kiss young men, and now and then to caress their genitals. When twenty-six years old, he first began to have sexual intercourse with men, toward whom he felt like a woman. Even as a child, it was his greatest delight to put on female attire. He was often chastised by his father because, in the effort to satisfy this impulse, he put on his sister's clothing. If he happened to see a *ballet*, only the male dancers interested him. Since he could remember, he had had a horror feminæ. If he happened to visit a brothel, it was only to see young men. He was, indeed, a rival of prostitutes. If he saw a young man, he just looked at his eyes; in case these pleased him, then came the mouth—whether it was well formed for kissing; then he would look at the genitals—whether they were well developed. G. pointed, with great feeling of self-satisfaction, to his poetical works, and tried to make it appear that persons with natures like his were poetically endowed. He gave as examples Voltaire, Frederick the Great, Eugene of Savoy, and Plato, as well as numerous distinguished men of the present, who, according to his opinion, were urnings. His greatest pleasure was to have a sympathetic young man read his verses to him. During the last summer he had had such a lover. When he had to part with him, he was quite undone, and he did not eat or sleep until gradually he had regained his former condition. He said that the love of urnings was a passionate, inner fire. According to his statement, in Naples the *effeminelli* lived in a quarter together, just as in Paris the *grisettes* live with their lovers. They sacrifice themselves for their lovers, and care for the household, just as the *grisettes* do. On the other hand, an urning repels an urning, "just as one prostitute does another—that is the curse."

The need of intercourse with males occurs about once a week with G. He is happy in his peculiar sexuality, which he, it is true, considers peculiar, but which he will not regard as abnormal or wrong. He thinks that nothing remains for him and those like him but to raise what is unnatural in themselves to the supernatural. He looks upon the love of urnings as the higher, the ideal, as godlike, an abstract love. When shown that such a love is far from the purpose of Nature and the preservation of the race, he expresses the pessimistic thought that the world should die out, and the earth turn round its axis without men, who were on it only for trouble. As reason and explanation of his unnatural sexual feeling, G. refers to Plato, "who certainly was no beast." Plato expressed allegorically the idea that men were originally balls. The gods had divided these into two hemispheres. For the most part,

man is suited to woman, but sometimes man to man. In the latter case, the impulse to union is quite as powerful as in the former, and they strengthen each other in the same way. G. further relates that his dreams, when they were erotic, never had women, but only men, for their subjects. Male-love was the only kind that could satisfy him. He considered it disgusting for one human being to be prodding about in the abdomen of another with his penis, since he had heard that in this disgusting fashion coitus was usually carried out. He had never had the curiosity to inform himself concerning the female genitals; the subject was disgusting to him. The indulgence of his sexual appetite he did not consider a vice, but the result of a natural impulse which compelled him to it. It conduced to self-preservation. Onanism was a poor substitute, and, moreover, injurious, while urning-love was morally elevating and conducive to physical well-being.

With moral indignation, which in contrast with his cynicism in other directions appeared ridiculous, he protested against the classification of urnings with those who indulged in pederasty. He looked on the podex with disgust, as it was a secreting organ. The intercourse of urnings always took place in front, and was combined onanism.

This was the extent of G.'s disclosures, whose mental condition was certainly congenitally abnormal. As proof of this, may be cited his cynicism; his incredible frivolity in his application of his vices to religion, in which direction we cannot follow him without overstepping the bounds set by scientific inquiry; his perverse philosophical ideas with reference to his sexual perversion; his perverse manner of looking at the world; his ethical defect in all directions; his vagabondage; and his perverse mind and exterior. G. makes the impression of an original paranoiac. (Personal case. *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie.*)

Case 126. Taylor had occasion to examine a certain Eliza Edwards, aged 24. It was discovered that she was of masculine sex. E. had worn female clothing from her fourteenth year, and also been an actress. The hair was worn long after the manner of females, and parted in the middle. The form of the face was feminine, but otherwise the body was masculine. The beard was carefully pulled out. The masculine, well-developed genitals were fixed in an upward position by an artful bandage. The condition of the anus indicated passive pederasty.

Case 127. An official of middle age, who for some years had been happy in family life, and was married to a virtuous woman, presented a peculiar manifestation of contrary sexual feeling.

One day, through the indiscretion of a prostitute, the following scandal became public: About once a week X. would appear in a house of prostitution, and there dress himself up as a woman, always requiring, as a part of his costume, a coiffure. When his toilet was completed, he would lie down on the bed, and have the prostitute perform manustupration. But he very much preferred to have a male person (a servant of

the house). This man's father was hereditarily tainted, had been insane several times, and was afflicted with hyperæsthesia and paræsthesia sexualis.

Case 128. C. R., maid-servant, aged 26, suffered from the time of her development with original paranoia and hysteria. As a result of her delusions, her life had been somewhat romantic, and in 1884, in Switzerland, where she had gone as a result of delusions of persecution, she came under the observation of the authorities. On this occasion, it was ascertained that R. was affected with contrary sexual instinct.

Concerning her parents and relatives there is no information at hand. R. asserted that, with the exception of an inflammation of the lungs at the age of sixteen, she had never been severely ill.

First menstruation at fifteen, without any difficulties; thereafter it was very often irregular and abnormally excessive. The patient declared that she never had had inclinations toward the opposite sex, and had never allowed the approach of a man. She never could understand how her friends could describe the beauty and amiability of men. But it was charming and inspiring for her to imprint a kiss on the lips of a beloved female friend. She had a love for girls that was incomprehensible to her. She had passionately loved and kissed some of her female friends, and she would have given up her life for them. Her greatest delight would have been to have constantly lived with such a friend and absolutely possessed her.

In this she felt toward the beloved girl like a man. Even as a little child, she had an inclination only for the play of boys, and she loved to hear shooting and military music, was always much excited by them, and would gladly have gone as a soldier. The chase and war have been her ideals. In the theatre only feminine performers interested her. She knew very well that the whole of this inclination was unwomanly, but she could not help it. It had always been a great pleasure for her to go about in male clothing, and in the same way she had always preferred masculine work, and had shown unusual skill in it; while with reference to feminine occupations, especially handiwork, she had to say the contrary. The patient had also a weakness for smoking and spirits. On account of persecutory delusions, in order to rid herself of her persecutions, the patient had often gone about in male attire, and played the part of a man. She did this with such (congenital) skill that, as a rule, she was able to deceive people concerning her sex.

It is authoritatively established that in 1884, for a long time, the patient went about in male attire, now in the garments of a civilian, now in the uniform of a lieutenant; and in August of the same year, dressed as a male servant, she fled to Switzerland as a result of delusions of persecution. There she found service in a merchant's family, and fell in love with the daughter of the house, "the beautiful Anna," who, on her side, not recognizing the sex of R., fell in love with the handsome young man.

Concerning this episode the patient makes the following characteristic statement: "I was madly in love with Anna. I don't know how it came about, and I cannot put myself right concerning this impulse. In this fatal love lies the reason why I played the rôle of a man so long. I have never yet felt any love for a man, and I believe that my love is for the female and not the male sex. I can in nowise understand my condition."

From Switzerland R. wrote letters home to her friend, Amelia, which were produced at the examination. They are letters showing passionate love, which goes beyond the bounds of friendship. She apostrophizes her friend, "My flower, sun of my heart, longing of my soul." She was her greatest happiness on earth; her heart was hers. And in her letters to her friend's parents she wrote: "You, too, should watch your flower, for, if she should die, you also would be unable to endure life."

For the purpose of investigating her mental condition, R. remained for some time in an asylum. On one occasion, when Anna was allowed to pay R. a visit, there was no end of passionate embraces and kisses. The visitor acknowledged freely that they had before secretly embraced and kissed in the same way.

R. is a tall, slim, stately person, of feminine form in all respects, but with masculine features. Cranium regular; no anatomical signs of degeneration. Genitals normal and indicative of virginity. All the circumstances indicate that she has only indulged in platonic love. Glance and appearance are indicative of a neuropathic person. Severe hysteria, occasional cataleptoid attacks, with visionary and delirious states. The patient is very easily brought into a state of somnambulism by hypnotic influence, and in this condition is susceptible to all possible suggestions. (Personal case. *Friedreich's Blätter*, 1886, Heft 1.)

4. *Androgyny and Gynandry*.—Forming direct transitions from the foregoing groups are those individuals of contrary sexuality in whom not only the character and all the feelings are in accord with the abnormal sexual instinct, but also the skeletal form, the features, voice, etc.; so that the individual approaches the opposite sex anthropologically, and in more than a psychical and psycho-sexual way. This anthropological form of the cerebral anomaly apparently represents a very high degree of degeneration; but that this variation is based on an entirely different ground than the teratological manifestation of hermaphroditism, in an anatomical sense, is clearly shown by the fact that thus far, in the domain of contrary sexuality, no transitions to hermaphroditic malformation of the genitals have been observed. The genitals of these persons always prove to be fully differentiated

sexually, though not infrequently there are present anatomical signs of degeneration (epispadiasis, etc.), in the sense of arrests of development in organs that are otherwise well differentiated.

There is yet wanting a sufficient record of cases belonging to this interesting group of women in masculine attire with masculine genitals, and men in feminine dress with the sexual organs of the female. Every experienced observer of his fellow-men remembers masculine persons that were very remarkable for their womanish character and type (wide hips, form rounded by abundant development of adipose tissue, absence or insufficient development of beard, feminine features, delicate complexion, falsetto voice, etc.); and, on the other hand, women that, by reason of build, pelvis, gait, attitude, heavy and decidedly masculine features, rough and deep voice, etc., had little to remind one of femininity.

We have already met some indications of such an anthropological transformation in foregoing groups, as in Case 106, where the woman had the feet of a man; and in Case 112, where there was development of mammae and production of milk during puberty.

In persons belonging to the fourth group, and in certain ones in the third, forming transitions to the fourth, there seems to be a feeling of shame (sexual) toward persons of the same sex, and not toward those of the opposite sex.

Case 129. *Androgyny.* Mr. v. H., aged 30, single; of neuropathic mother. Nervous and mental diseases are said not to have occurred in the patient's family, and his only brother is said to be mentally and physically completely normal. The patient developed tardily physically, and, therefore, spent much of his time at the sea-shore and climatic resorts. From childhood he was of neuropathic constitution, and, according to the statements of his relatives, unlike other boys. His disinclination for masculine pursuits and his preference for feminine amusements were early remarked. Thus he avoided all boyish games and gymnastic exercises, while doll-play and feminine occupations were particularly pleasing to him. Thereafter he developed well physically, and escaped severe illnesses, but he remained mentally abnormal, incapable of an earnest aim in life, and decidedly feminine in thought and feeling.

In his seventeenth year pollutions occurred, became more frequent, and finally took place during the day; so that the patient grew weak, and

manifested various nervous disturbances. Symptoms of neurasthenia spinalis made their appearance, and have lasted up to the last few years, but they have become milder with the decrease in the number of pollutions. Onanism is denied, but is very probable. An indolent, effeminate, dreamy habit of thought has become more and more noticeable ever since puberty. All efforts to induce the patient to take up an earnest pursuit in life were vain. His intellectual functions, though formally quite undisturbed, were never equal to the motive of an independent character, and the higher ideals of life. He remained dependent, an overgrown child; and nothing more clearly indicated his original abnormal condition than an actual incapability to take care of money, and his own confession that he had no ability to use money reasonably; that as soon as he had money he wasted it for curios, toilet-articles, and the like.

Incapable as he was of a reasonable use of money, the patient was no more capable of leading a social existence; indeed, he was incapable of gaining an insight into its significance and value.

He learned very poorly, spending his time in *toilettes* and artistic nothings, particularly in painting, for which he evinced a certain capability; but in this direction he accomplished nothing, since he was wanting in perseverance. He could not be brought to take up any earnest thought; he had a mind only for externals, was always distracted, and serious things quickly wearied him. Preposterous acts, senseless journeys, waste of money, and debts repeatedly occur throughout the course of his later life; and even for these positive faults in his life he was wanting in understanding. He was self-willed and intractable, and never did well as soon as an attempt was made to put him on his feet and point out to him his own interests.

With these manifestations of an original abnormal and defective mind, there were notable indications of perverse sexual feeling, which were also indicated in the somatic habitus of the patient. Sexually, the patient felt like a woman toward men, and had inclinations toward people of his own sex, with indifference, if not actual disinclination, for females.

In his twenty-second year it is asserted that he had sexual intercourse with women, and was able to perform the act of cohabitation normally; but, partly on account of increase of neurasthenic symptoms which was occasional after coitus, and partly on account of fear of infection,—but really by reason of a want of satisfaction,—he soon ceased to indulge in such intercourse. Concerning his abnormal sexual condition, he is not quite clear; he is conscious of an inclination toward the male sex, but confesses, only in a shame-faced way, that he has certain pleasurable feelings of friendship for masculine individuals, which, however, are not accompanied by any sensual feelings. The female sex he does not exactly abhor; he could even bring himself to marry a woman who could have an attraction for him, by means of similarity in artistic tastes, if he could but be freed from conjugal duties, which were unpleasant to him,

and the performance of which made him tired and weak. He denied having had sexual intercourse with men, but his blushing and embarrassment, and, still more, an occurrence in N., where the patient, some time before, provoked a scandal by attempting to have sexual intercourse with youths, gave him the lie.

Too, his external appearance, habitus, form, gestures, manners, and dress are remarkable, and decidedly recall the feminine form and characteristics. The patient, however, is over middle height, but thorax and pelvis are decidedly of feminine form. The body is rich in fat; the skin is well cared for, delicate, and soft. This impression of a woman in masculine dress is further increased by a thin growth of hair on the face, which is shaven, with the exception of a small moustache; by the mincing gait; the shy, effeminate manner; the feminine features; the swimming, neuropathic expression of the eyes; the traces of powder and paint; the curtailed cut of the clothing, with the bosom-like prominence of the upper garments; the fringed, feminine cravat; and the hair brushed down smoothly from the brow to the temples. The physical examination makes undoubted the feminine form of the body. The external genitals are well developed, though the left testicle has remained in the canal; the growth of hair on the mons veneris is thin, and the latter is unusually rich in fat and prominent. The voice is high, and without masculine timbre.

Too, the occupation and manner of thought of v. H. are decidedly feminine. He has a boudoir and a well-supplied toilet-table, with which he spends many hours in all kinds of arts for beautifying himself. He abhors the chase, practice with arms, and such masculine pursuits, and calls himself an *aesthete*; speaks with preference of his paintings and attempts at poetry. He is interested in feminine occupations, which—*e.g.*, embroidery—he engages in, and calls his greatest pleasure. He could spend his life in an artistic and æsthetic circle of ladies and gentlemen, in conversation, music, and æsthetics. His conversation is preferably about feminine things,—fashions, needlework, cooking, and household work.

The patient is well nourished, but anaemic. He is of neuropathic constitution, and presents symptoms of neurasthenia, which are maintained by a bad manner of life, lying abed, living in-doors, and effeminateness. He complains of occasional pain and pressure in the head, and habitual obstipation. He is easily frightened; complains of occasional lassitude and fatigue, and drawing pains in the extremities, in the direction of the lumbo-abdominal nerves. After pollutions, and regularly after eating, he feels tired and relaxed; he is sensitive to pressure over the spinous processes of the dorsal vertebræ, as also to pressure along accessible nerves. He feels peculiar sympathies and antipathies for certain persons, and, when he meets people for whom he has an antipathy, he falls into a condition of peculiar fear and confusion. His pollutions, though now they occur but seldom, are pathological, in that they occur by day, and are unaccompanied by any sensual excitement.

Opinion: 1. Mr. v. H., according to all observations and reports, is mentally an abnormal and defective person, and that, in fact, *ab origine*. His contrary sexual instinct represents a part of his abnormal physical and mental condition.

2. This condition, in that it is congenital, is incurable. There exists defective organization of the highest cerebral centres, which renders him incapable of leading an independent life, and of obtaining a position in life. His perverse sexual instinct prevents him from exercising normal sexual functions; and this is attended by all the social consequences of such an anomaly, and the danger of satisfaction of perverse impulses arising out of his abnormal organization, with consequent social and legal conflicts. Fear of the latter, however, cannot be great, since the (perverse) sexual impulse of the patient is weak.

3. Mr. v. H., in the legal sense of the word, is not irresponsible, and neither fit for, or in need of, treatment in a hospital for the insane. It is possible for him—though but an overgrown child, and incapable of personal independence—to live in society, though under the care and guidance of normal individuals. Too, to a certain extent, it is possible for him to respect the laws and restrictions of society, and to judge his own acts; but, with respect of possible sexual errors and conflicts with criminal laws, it must be emphasized that his sexual instinct is abnormal, having its origin in organic pathological conditions; and this circumstance should eventually be used in his favor. On account of his notorious lack of independence, he cannot be discharged from parental care or guardianship, inasmuch as otherwise he would be ruined financially.

4. Mr. v. H. is also physically ill. He presents signs of slight anaemia and of neurasthenia spinalis. A rational regulation of his manner of life and a tonic regimen, and, if possible, hydro-therapeutic treatment, seem necessary. The suspicion that this trouble has its origin in early masturbation should be entertained, and the possibility of the existence of spermatorrhœa, that is of importance etiologically and therapeutically, lies near. (Personal case. *Zeitschr. f. Psychiatrie.*)

Case 130. Miss X., aged 38, consulted me, late in the fall of 1881, on account of severe spinal irritation and obstinate sleeplessness, in combating which she had become addicted to morphine and chloral. Her mother and sister were nervous sufferers, but the rest of the family were healthy. The trouble dated from a fall on her back in 1872, at which time the patient was terribly frightened, though, when a girl, she had been subject to muscular cramps and hysterical symptoms. Following this shock, a neurasthenic and hysterical neurosis developed, with predominating spinal irritation and sleeplessness. Episodically, hysterical paraplegia, lasting as long as eight months, and hysterical hallucinatory delirium, with convulsive attacks, occurred. In the course of this, symptoms of morphinism were added. A stay of some months in the hospital relieved the latter, and considerably improved the neurasthenic neurosis, in the

treatment of which general faradization exerted a remarkably favorable influence.

Even at the first meeting, the patient produced a remarkable impression by reason of her attire, features, and conduct. She wore a gentleman's hat, her hair closely cut, eye-glasses, a gentleman's cravat, a coat-like outer garment of masculine cut that reached well down over her gown, and boots with high heels. She had coarse, somewhat masculine features; a harsh, deep voice; and made rather the impression of a man in female attire than that of a lady, if one but overlooked the bosom and the decidedly feminine form of the pelvis. During the long time that she was observed, there were never signs of erotocism. When questioned concerning her attire, she would only respond that the style she chose suited her better. Gradually it was ascertained from her that, even when she was a small girl, she had had a preference for horses and masculine pursuits, and never any interest in feminine occupations. Later she developed a particular pleasure in reading, and prepared herself to be a teacher. Dancing had never pleased her; it had always seemed silly to her. Too, the *ballet* had never interested her. Her greatest pleasure had always been in the circus. Until her sickness, in 1872, she had neither had inclination for persons of the opposite nor for those of her own sex. From that time she had, what was remarkable to herself, a peculiar friendship for females, particularly for young ladies; and she had a desire, and satisfied it, to wear hats and coats of masculine style. Since 1869, besides, she had worn her hair short, and parted it on the side, as men do. She asserts that she was never sensually excited in the company of men, but that her friendship and self-sacrifice for sympathetic ladies was unbounded; while from that time she also experienced repugnance for gentlemen and their society.

Her relatives report that, before 1872, the patient had a proposal of marriage, which she refused; and that when she returned from a sojourn at a watering-place, in 1874, she was sexually changed, and occasionally showed that she did not regard herself as a female.

Since that time she would associate only with ladies, and has had a kind of love-relation with one or another, and made remarks which indicated that she looked upon herself as a man. This predilection for women was decidedly more than mere friendship, since it expressed itself in tears, jealousy, etc.

When, in 1874, she was stopping at a watering-place, a young lady, who took her for a man in disguise, fell in love with her. When this lady married, later, the patient was for a long time depressed, and spoke of unfaithfulness. Moreover, since her sickness, her relatives were struck by her desire for masculine attire, her masculine conduct, and disinclination for feminine pursuits; while previously, at least sexually, she had presented nothing unusual.

Further investigations showed that the patient had a love-relation,

which was not purely platonic, with the lady described in Case 118; and that she wrote her affectionate letters like those of a lover to his beloved. In 1887 I again saw the patient in a sanitarium, where she had been placed on account of hystero-epileptic attacks, spinal irritation, and morphinism. The contrary sexual feeling existed unchanged, and only by the most careful watching was the patient kept from improper advances toward her fellow-patients.

Her condition remained quite unchanged until 1889. Then the patient began to fail, and she died of "exhaustion," in August, 1889. The autopsy showed, in the vegetative organs, amyloid degeneration of the kidneys, fibroma of the uterus, and cyst of the left ovary. The frontal bone was much thickened, uneven on the inner surface, with numerous exostoses; dura adherent to vault of cranium. Long diameter of skull, 175 millimetres; lateral diameter, 148 millimetres; weight of the oedematous, but not atrophied, brain, 1175 grammes. The meninges delicate, easily removed. Cortex pale. Convolutions broad, not numerous, regularly arranged. Nothing abnormal in cerebellum and great ganglia.

Case 131. *Gynandry*.¹ History: On November 4, 1889, the step-father of a certain Count Sandor V. complained that the latter had swindled him out of 800f., under the pretense of requiring a bond as secretary of a stock company. It was ascertained that Sandor had entered into matrimonial contracts and escaped from the nuptials in the spring of 1889; and, more than this, that this ostensible Count Sandor was no man at all, but a woman in male attire,—Sarolta (Charlotte), Countess V.

S. was arrested, and, on account of deception and forgery of public documents, brought to examination. At the first hearing S. confessed that she was born on Sept. 6, 1866; that she was a female, Catholic, single, and worked as an authoress under the name of Count Sandor V.

From the autobiography of this man-woman I have gleaned the following remarkable facts that have been independently confirmed:—

S. comes of an ancient, noble, and highly-respected family of Hungary, in which there have been eccentricity and family peculiarities. A sister of the maternal grandmother was hysterical, a somnambulist, and lay seventeen years in bed, on account of fancied paralysis. A second great-aunt spent seven years in bed, on account of a fancied fatal illness, and at the same time gave balls. A third had the whim that a certain table in her *salon* was bewitched. If anything were laid on this table, she would become greatly excited and cry, "Bewitched! bewitched!" and run with the object into a room which she called the "Black Chamber," and the key of which she never let out of her hands. After the death of this lady, there were found in this chamber a number of shawls, ornaments,

¹ Comp. the expert medical opinion of this case, by Dr. Birnbacher, in Friedreich's Blätter f. ger. Med., 1891, H. 1.

bank-notes, etc. A fourth great-aunt, during two years, remained in her room, and neither washed herself nor combed her hair; she again made her appearance. All these ladies were, notwithstanding their eccentricities, finely educated, and amiable.

S.'s mother was nervous, and could not bear the light.

From her father's family it is said she had a trace too strong of the family. The male members of her family gave itself up almost entirely to spiritual exercises; the blood-relations on the father's side shot themselves. The majority of her male relatives are unusually talented; the females are decidedly narrow and domestic. S.'s father had a high position, which, however, on account of his eccentricity and extravagance (he wasted over a million and a half), he lost.

Among many foolish things that her father encouraged in her was the fact that he brought her up as a boy, called her Sandor, allowed her to ride, drive, and hunt, admiring her muscular energy.

On the other hand, this foolish father allowed his second son to go about in female attire, and had him brought up as a girl. This farce ceased in his fifteenth year, when the son was sent to a higher school.

Sarolta-Sandor remained under her father's influence till her twelfth year, and then came under the care of her eccentric maternal grandmother, in Dresden, by whom, when the masculine play became too obvious, she was placed in an Institute, and made to wear female attire.

At thirteen she had a love-relation with an English girl, to whom she represented herself as a boy, and ran away with her.

Sarolta returned to her mother, who, however, could do nothing, and was compelled to allow her daughter to again become Sandor, wear male clothes, and, at least once a year, to fall in love with persons of her own sex.

At the same time, S. received a careful education, and made long journeys with her father,—of course, always as a young gentleman. She early became independent, and visited *cafés*, even those of doubtful character, and, indeed, boasted one day that in a brothel she had had a girl sitting on each knee. S. was often intoxicated, had a passion for masculine sports, and was a very skillful fencer.

She felt herself drawn particularly toward actresses, or others of similar position, and, if possible, toward those who were not very young. She asserts that she never had any inclination for a young man, and that she has felt, from year to year, an increasing dislike for young men.

"I preferred to go into the society of ladies with ugly, ill-favored men, so that none of them could put me in the shade. If I noticed that any of the men awakened the sympathies of the ladies, I felt jealous. I preferred ladies who were bright and pretty; I could not endure them if they were fat or much inclined toward men. It delighted me if the passion of a lady was disclosed under a poetic veil. All immodesty in a woman was disgusting to me. I had an indescribable aversion for female

attire,—indeed, for everything feminine,—but only in as far as it concerned me; for, on the other hand, I was all enthusiasm for the beautiful sex."

During the last ten years S. had lived almost constantly away from her relatives, in the guise of a man. She had had many *liaisons* with ladies, traveled much, spent much, and made debts.

At the same time, she carried on literary work, and was a valued collaborator on two noted journals of the Capital.

Her passion for ladies was very changeable; constancy in love was entirely wanting.

Only once did such a *liaison* last three years. It was years before that S., at Castle G., made the acquaintance of Emma E., who was ten years older than herself. She fell in love with her, made a marriage-contract with her, and they lived together, as man and wife, for three years at the Capital.

A new love, which S. regarded as a fate, caused her to sever her matrimonial relations with E. The latter would not have it so. Only with the greatest sacrifice was S. able to purchase her freedom from E., who, it is reported, still looks upon herself as a divorced wife, and regards herself as the Countess V.! That S. also had the power to excite passion in other women is shown by the fact that when she (before her marriage with E.) had grown tired of a Miss D., after having spent thousands of gulden on her, she was threatened with shooting by D. if she should become untrue.

It was in the summer of 1887, while at a watering-place, that S. made the acquaintance of a distinguished official's family. Immediately she fell in love with the daughter, Marie, and her love was returned.

Her mother and cousin tried in vain to break up this affair. During the winter, the lovers corresponded zealously. In April, 1888, Count S. paid her a visit, and in May, 1889, attained her wish; in that Marie—who, in the meantime, had given up a position as teacher—became her bride in the presence of a friend of her lover, the ceremony being performed in an arbor, by a false priest, in Hungary. S., with her friend, forged the marriage-certificate. The pair lived happily, and, without the interference of the step-father, this false marriage, probably, would have lasted much longer. It is remarkable that, during the comparatively long existence of the relation, S. was able to deceive completely the family of her bride with regard to her true sex.

S. was a passionate smoker, and in all respects her tastes and passions were masculine. Her letters and even legal documents reached her under the address of "Count S." She often spoke of having to drill. From remarks of the father-in-law, it seems that S. (and she afterward confessed it) knew how to imitate a scrotum with handkerchiefs or gloves stuffed in the trousers. The father-in-law also, on one occasion, noticed something like an erected member on his future son-in-law (probably a

priapus). She also occasionally remarked that she was obliged to wear a suspensory bandage while riding. The fact is, S. wore a bandage around the body, possibly as a means of retaining a priapus.

Though S. often had herself shaved *pro forma*, the servants in the hotel where she lived were convinced that she was a woman, because the chambermaids found traces of menstrual blood on her linen (which S. explained, however, as haemorrhoidal); and, on the occasion of a bath which S. was accustomed to take, they claimed to have convinced themselves of her real sex by looking through the key-hole.

The family of Marie make it seem probable that she for a long time was deceived with regard to the true sex of her false bridegroom. The following passage in a letter from Marie to S., August 26, 1889, speaks in favor of the incredible simplicity and innocence of this unfortunate girl: "I don't like children any more, but if I had a little Bezerl or Patscherl by my Sandi,—ah, what happiness, Sandi mine!"

A large number of manuscripts allow conclusions to be drawn concerning S.'s mental individuality. The chirography possesses the character of firmness and certainty. The characters are genuinely masculine. The same peculiarities repeat themselves everywhere in their contents,—wild, unbridled passion; hatred and resistance to all that opposes the heart thirsting for love; poetical love, which is not marred by one ignoble blot; enthusiasm for the beautiful and noble; appreciation of science and the arts.

Her writings betray a wonderfully wide range of reading in classics of all languages, in citations from poets and prose writers of all lands. The evidence of those qualified to judge literary work shows that S.'s poetical and literary ability is by no means small. The letters and writings concerning the relation with Marie are psychologically worthy of notice.

S. speaks of the happiness there was for her when by M.'s side, and expresses boundless longing to see her beloved, if only for a moment. After such a happiness, she could have but one wish,—to exchange her cell for the grave. The bitterest thing was the knowledge that now Marie, too, hated her. Hot tears, enough to drown herself in, she had shed over her lost happiness. Whole quires of paper are given up to the apotheosis of this love, and reminiscences of the time of the first love and acquaintance.

S. complained of her heart, that would allow no reason to direct it; she expressed emotions which were such as only could be felt,—not simulated. Then, again, there were outbreaks of most silly passion, with the declaration that she could not live without Marie. "Thy dear, sweet voice; the voice whose tone perchance would raise me from the dead; that has been for me like the warm breath of Paradise! Thy presence alone were enough to alleviate my mental and moral anguish. It was a magnetic stream; it was a peculiar power your being exercised over

mine, which I cannot quite define; and, therefore, I cling to that ever-true definition: I love you because I love you. In the night of sorrow I had but one star,—the star of Marie's love. That star has lost its light; now there remains but its shimmer,—the sweet, sad memory which even lights with its soft ray the deepening night of death,—a ray of hope."

This writing ends with the apostrophe: "Gentlemen, you learned in the law, psychologists and pathologists, do me justice! Love led me to take the step I took; all my deeds were conditioned by it. God put it in my heart.

"If He created me so, and not otherwise, am I then guilty; or is it the eternal, incomprehensible way of fate? I relied on God, that one day my emancipation would come; for my thought was only love itself, which is the foundation, the guiding principle, of His teaching and His kingdom.

"O God, Thou All-pitying, Almighty One! Thou seest my distress; Thou knowest how I suffer. Incline Thyself to me; extend Thy helping hand to me, deserted by all the world. Only God is just. How beautifully does Victor Hugo describe this in his '*Legendes du Siècle*'! How sad do Mendelssohn's words sound to me: 'Nightly in dreams I see thee'!"

Though S. knew that none of her writings reached her lover, she did not grow tired writing of her pain and delight in love, in page after page of deification of Marie. And to induce one more pure flood of tears, on one still, clear summer evening, when the lake was aglow with the setting sun like molten gold, and the bells of St. Anna and Maria-Wörth, blending in harmonious melancholy, gave tidings of rest and peace, she wrote: "For that poor soul, for this poor heart that beat for thee till the last breath."

Personal Examination: The first meeting which the experts had with S. was, in a measure, a time of embarrassment to both sides; for them, because perhaps S.'s somewhat dazzling and forced masculine carriage impressed them; for her, because she thought she was to be marked with the stigma of moral insanity. She had a pleasant and intelligent face, which, in spite of a certain delicacy of features and diminutiveness of all its parts, gave a decidedly masculine impression, had it not been for the absence of a moustache. It was even difficult for the experts to realize that they were concerned with a woman, despite the fact of female attire and constant association; while, on the other hand, intercourse with the man Sandor was much more free, natural, and apparently correct. The culprit also felt this. She immediately became more open, more communicative, more free, as soon as she was treated like a man.

In spite of her inclination for the female sex, which had been present from her earliest years, she asserts that in her thirteenth year she first felt a trace of sexual feeling, which expressed itself in kisses,

embraces, and caresses, with sensual pleasure, and this on the occasion of her elopement with the red-haired English girl from the Dresden Institute. At that time feminine forms exclusively appeared to her in dream-pictures, and ever since, in sensual dreams, she has felt herself in the situation of a man, and occasionally, also, at such times, experienced ejaculation.

She knows nothing of solitary or mutual onanism. Such a thing seemed very disgusting to her, and not conducive to manliness. She had, also, never allowed herself to be touched ad genitalia by others, because it would have revealed her great secret. The menses began at seventeen, but were always scanty, and without pain. It was plain to be seen that S. had a horror of speaking of menstruation; that it was a thing repugnant to her masculine consciousness and feeling. She recognized the abnormality of her sexual inclinations, but had no desire to have them changed, since in this perverse feeling she felt both well and happy. The idea of sexual intercourse with men disgusted her, and she also thought it would be impossible.

Her modesty was so great that she would prefer to sleep among men rather than among women. Thus, when it was necessary for her to answer the calls of nature or to change her linen, it was necessary for her to ask her companion in the cell to turn her face to the window, that she might not see her.

When occasionally S. came in contact with this companion,—a woman from the lower walks of life,—she experienced a sexual excitement that made her blush. Indeed, without being asked, S. related that she was overcome with actual fear when, in her cell, she was compelled to force herself into the unusual female attire. Her only comfort was, that she was at least allowed to keep a shirt. Remarkable, and what also speaks for the significance of olfactory sensations in her *vita sexualis*, is her statement that, on the occasions of Marie's absence, she had sought those places on which Marie's head was accustomed to repose, and smelled of them, in order to experience the delight of inhaling the odor of her hair. Among women, those who are beautiful, or voluptuous, or quite young do not particularly interest her. The physical charms of women she makes subordinate. As by magnetic attraction, she feels herself drawn to those between twenty-four and thirty. She found her sexual satisfaction exclusively in corpora feminæ (never in her own person), in the form of manustupration of the beloved woman, or cunnilingus. Occasionally she availed herself of a stocking stuffed with oakum as a *priapus*. These admissions were made only unwillingly by S., and with apparent shame; just as in her writings, immodesty or cynicism are never found.

She is religious, has a lively interest in all that is noble and beautiful,—men excepted.—and is very sensitive to the opinion others may entertain of her morality.

She deeply regrets that in her passion she made Marie unhappy, and regards her sexual feelings as perverse, and such a love of one woman for another, among normal individuals, as morally reprehensible. She has great literary talent and an extraordinary memory. Her only weakness is her great frivolity and her incapability to manage money and property reasonably. But she is conscious of this weakness, and does not care to talk about it.

She is 153 centimetres tall, of delicate skeleton, thin, but remarkably muscular on the breast and thighs. Her gait in female attire is awkward. Her movements are powerful, not unpleasing, though they are somewhat masculine, and lacking in grace. She greets one with a firm pressure of the hand. Her whole carriage is decided, firm, and somewhat self-conscious. Her glance is intelligent; mien somewhat diffident. Feet and hands remarkably small, having remained in an infantile stage of development. Extensor surfaces of the extremities remarkably well covered with hair, while there is not the slightest trace of beard, in spite of all shaving experiments. The hips do not correspond in any way with those of a female. Waist is wanting. The pelvis is so slim, and so little prominent, that a line drawn from the axilla to the corresponding knee is straight,—not curved inward by a waist, or outward by the pelvis. The skull is slightly oxycephalic, and in all its measurements falls below the average of the female skull by at least one centimetre.

The circumference of the head is 52 centimetres; the occipital half-circumference, 24 centimetres; the line from ear to ear, over the vertex, 23 centimetres; the anterior half-circumference, 28.5 centimetres; the line from glabella to occiput, 30 centimetres; the ear-chin line, 26.5 centimetres; long diameter, 17 centimetres; greatest lateral diameter, 13 centimetres; diameter at auditory meati, 12 centimetres; zygomatic diameter, 11.2 centimetres. The upper jaw projects strikingly, its alveolar process projecting beyond the under jaw about 0.5 centimetre. The position of the teeth is not fully normal; the right upper canine has not developed. Mouth remarkably small. Ears prominent; lobes not differentiated, passing over into the skin of the cheek. Hard palate narrow and high; voice rough and deep; mammae fairly developed, soft, and without secretion. Mons veneris covered with thick, dark hair. Genitals completely feminine, without trace of hermaphroditic appearance, but at the stage of development of those of a ten-year-old girl. The labia majora touch each other almost completely; labia minora have a cock's-comb-like form, and project under the labia majora. The clitoris is small, and very sensitive. Frenulum delicate; perineum very narrow; introitus vaginæ narrow; mucous membrane normal. Hymen wanting (probably congenitally); likewise, the carunculæ myrtiformes. Vagina so narrow that the insertion of a membrum virile would be impossible, and it is also very sensitive; certainly coitus had not taken place. Uterus is felt,

through the rectum, to be about the size of a walnut, immovable, and retroflected.

The pelvis appears generally narrowed (dwarf-pelvis), and of decidedly masculine type. The distance between anterior superior spines is 22.5 centimetres (instead of 26.3 centimetres). Distance between the crests of the ilii, 26.5 centimetres (instead of 29.3 centimetres); between the trochanters, 27.7 centimetres (31); the external conjugate diameter, 17.2 centimetres (19 to 20); therefore, presumably, the internal conjugate would be 7.7 centimetres (10.8). On account of narrowness of the pelvis, the direction of the thighs is not convergent, as in a woman, but straight.

The opinion given showed that in S. there was a congenitally abnormal inversion of the sexual instinct, which, indeed, expressed itself, anthropologically, in anomalies of development of the body, depending upon great hereditary taint; further, that the criminal acts of S. had their foundation in her abnormal and irresistible sexuality.

S.'s characteristic expressions—"God put love in my heart. If He created me so, and not otherwise, am I, then, guilty; or is it the eternal, incomprehensible way of fate?"—are really justified.

The court granted pardon. The "countess in male attire," as she was called in the newspapers, returned to her home, and again gave herself out as Count Sandor. Her only distress is her lost happiness with her beloved Marie.

A married woman, in Brandon, Wisconsin, whose case is reported by Dr. Kiernan (*The Medical Standard*, 1888, November and December), was more fortunate. She eloped, in 1883, with a young girl, married her, and lived with her as husband undisturbed.

An interesting "historical" example of androgyny is a case reported by Spitzka (*Chicago Medical Review*, August 20, 1881). It was that of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, who lived in the reign of Queen Anne. He was apparently affected with moral insanity; was terribly licentious, and, in spite of his high position, could not keep himself from going about in the streets in female attire, coqueting with all the allurements of a prostitute.

In a picture of him that has been preserved, his narrow brow, asymmetrical face, feminine features, and sensual mouth at once attract attention. It is certain that he never actually regarded himself as a woman.

Moreover, in individuals afflicted with contrary sexual instinct, in themselves, the perverse sexual feeling and inclination may be complicated with other perverse manifestations. Thus here, with reference to the activity of the instinct, there

may be acts quite analogous to acts indulged in by individuals in perverse satisfaction of the instinct, but who, at the same time, have a natural inclination toward persons of the opposite sex.

Owing to the circumstance that abnormally increased sexuality is almost a regular accompaniment of contrary sexual feeling, acts of lustful cruelty in the satisfaction of libido are easily possible. A remarkable example of this is the case of Zastrow (Casper-Liman, 7. Auflage, Bd. i, p. 190; ii, p. 487), who bit one of his victims (a boy), tore his prepuce, slit the anus, and strangled the child.

Z. came of a psychopathic grandfather and melancholic mother. His brother indulged in abnormal sexual pleasures, and committed suicide.

Z. was a congenital urning, and in habitus and occupation masculine. There was phimosis. Mentally, he was a weak, perverse, unsocial man. He had horror feminæ, and, in his dreams, he felt himself like a woman toward a man. He was painfully conscious of his want of normal sexual feeling and his perverse instinct, and sought satisfaction in mutual onanism, with frequent desire for pederasty.

Similar sadistic feelings of this kind, in those afflicted with contrary sexual instinct, are found in some of the foregoing histories (comp. Cases 107 and 108 of this edition, and Case 96 of the sixth edition). But masochism also occurs (comp. Case 43, sixth edition ; Cases 111 and 114 of this edition ; and Case 3, in the first edition of "Neue Forschungen").

As examples of perverse sexual satisfaction dependent on contrary sexual instinct, may be mentioned the Greek, who, as Athenäus reports, was in love with a statue of Cupid, and defiled it, in the temple of Delphi ; and besides the monstrous cases reported by Tardieu ("Attentats," p. 272), the terrible one reported by Lombroso ("L'uomo delinquente," p. 200), of a certain Artusio, who wounded a boy in the abdomen, and abused him sexually *by means of the incisions*.

Cases 86, 110, and 111, also, show that fetichism may also occur with contrary sexual instinct.

DIAGNOSIS, PROGNOSIS, AND THERAPY OF CONTRARY SEXUAL INSTINCT.

While up to this time contrary sexual instinct has had but an anthropological, clinical, and forensic interest for science, now, as a result of the latest investigations, there is some thought of therapy in this incurable condition, which so heavily burdens its victims, socially, morally, and mentally.

A preparatory step for the application of therapeutic measures is the exact differentiation of the acquired from the congenital cases; and among the latter, again, the assignment of the concrete case to its proper position in the categories that have been established empirically.

The diagnostic differentiation of the acquired from the congenital condition is made without difficulty in the early stages of the anomaly.

If sexual inversion has already taken place, then the history of the development of the case will throw light upon it.

The important decision, prognostically, as to whether the contrary sexual instinct is congenital or acquired, can only be made in such cases by means of the most minute details of the history.

The establishment of the fact that contrary sexual instinct existed before indulgence in masturbation is of great importance with reference to deciding whether the anomaly is congenital or not. In this, however, a difficulty arises, owing to the possibility of imperfect localization of past events (illusions of memory).

For the presumption of acquired contrary sexual instinct, it is important to prove the existence of hetero-sexual instinct before the beginning of solitary or mutual onanism.

In general, the acquired cases are characterized in that:—

1. The homo-sexual instinct appears secondarily, and always may be referred to influences (masturbative neurasthenia, mental) which disturbed normal sexual satisfaction. It is, however, probable that here, in spite of powerful sensual libido, the feeling and inclination for the opposite sex are weak *ab origine*, especially in a spiritual and æsthetic sense.

2. The homo-sexual instinct, as long as *inversio sexualis* has not taken place, is looked upon, by the individual affected, as vicious and abnormal, and yielded to only *faute de mieux*.

3. The hetero-sexual instinct long remains predominant, and the impossibility of its satisfaction gives pain. It weakens in proportion as the homo-sexual feeling gains in strength.

On the other hand, in congenital cases (*a*) the homo-sexual instinct is the one that occurs primarily, and becomes dominant in the *vita sexualis*. It appears as the natural manner of satisfaction, and also dominates the dream-life of the individual. (*b*) The hetero-sexual instinct fails completely, or, if it should make its appearance during the life of the individual (psycho-sexual hermaphroditism), it is still but an episodical phenomenon which has no root in the mental constitution of the individual, and is essentially but a means of satisfaction of sexual desire.

The differentiation of the above groups of congenital contrary sexuality from one another, and from the cases in which the anomaly is acquired, will, after the foregoing, present no difficulties.

The prognosis of the cases of acquired contrary sexual instinct is, at all events, much more favorable than that of the congenital cases. In the former, the occurrence of effemimation—the mental inversion of the individual, in the sense of perverse sexual feeling—is the limit beyond which there is no longer hope of benefit from therapy. In the congenital cases, the various categories established in this book form as many stages of psycho-sexual taint, and benefit is *probable* only within the category of the psychical hermaphrodites, though *possible* (*vide* the case of Schrenk-Notzing) in that of the urnings.

The prophylaxis of these conditions becomes thus the more important,—for the congenital cases, prohibition of the reproduction of such unfortunates; for the acquired cases, protection from the injurious influences which experience teaches may lead to the fatal inversion of the sexual instinct.

Numerous predisposed individuals meet this sad fate, because parents and teachers have no suspicion of the danger which masturbation brings in its train to such children.

In many schools and academies masturbation and vice are actually cultivated. At present much too little attention is given to the mental and moral peculiarities of the pupils. If only the tasks are done, nothing more is asked. That many pupils are thus ruined in body and soul is never considered. In obedience to affected prudery, the *vita sexualis* is veiled from the developing youth, and not the slightest attention given to the excitations of his sexual instinct. How few family physicians are ever called in, during the years of development of children, to give advice to their patients that are often so greatly predisposed!

It is thought that all must be left to Nature; in the meantime, Nature rises in her power, and leads the helpless, unprotected innocent into dangerous by-paths.

A more detailed treatment of this prophylactic side of the subject is impossible here.¹

To parents and teachers, the experiences detailed in this work, and numerous scientific works on masturbation, give suggestions.

The lines of treatment, when contrary sexual instinct exists, are the following:—

1. Prevention of onanism, and removal of other influences injurious to the *vita sexualis*.
2. Cure of the neurosis (*neurasthenia sexualis* and *universalis*) arising out of the unhygienic conditions of the *vita sexualis*.
3. Mental treatment, in the sense of combating homosexual, and encouraging hetero-sexual, feelings and impulses.

The most important part of the treatment lies in fulfilling the third indication, particularly with reference to onanism.

Only in very few cases, where acquired contrary sexual

¹ With reference to prophylaxis, the following words, which were written to me by the subject of Case 88 of the sixth edition, are noteworthy: "If it were only possible that—not as among the Spartans, where the weaklings were allowed to perish for the sake of perfect selection, in accordance with the Darwinian idea—our contrary sexual instincts might be recognized early in youth; and if it were only possible that, at this time of life, the worst of all diseases could be cured by suggestion! Probably cure could be more easily effected in youth than later."

instinct has not progressed far, can the fulfillment of 1 and 2 be sufficient, as the following case, fully reported by the author in the *Irrenfreund*, 1884, No. 1, proves:—

Case 132. Count Z., aged 51, of psychopathic mother, was early sent to a military school, and there was taught onanism. He developed well, and had normal sexual feelings, but, as a result of masturbation, he became somewhat neurasthenic in his seventeenth year. He enjoyed intercourse with women, was married at twenty-five, but after a year more became neurasthenic, and absolutely lost his inclination for women. In its place came contrary sexual instinct. Involved in an accusation for high treason, he was sent to prison for two years, and then to Siberia for five years. In these seven years, under the influence of continued masturbation, neurasthenia and contrary sexual instinct constantly increased. With his freedom restored at the age of thirty-five, the patient began to visit all kinds of health-resorts on account of his great neurasthenia; and this has since been his occupation. In all these years his abnormal sexual feeling has not changed in any way. For the most part, he lived away from his wife, whom, it is true, he esteemed for her mental qualities; though he avoided her, as he did every other woman. His contrary sexual feeling is purely platonic. "Friendship," sweet embraces, and kisses sufficed him. Pollutions, which occasionally occurred, were induced by lascivious dreams which had for subject persons of his own sex. Also, during the day, the most beautiful woman had no charm for him, while simply the sight of handsome men induced erection and ejaculation. Only athletes and male dancers in the circus and *ballet* interested him. At times of greater excitability, even masculine statues gave him erections. Now and again he resumed his old vice of masturbation. This man of æsthetic culture had a horror of pederasty.

He felt, always, that his perverse sexual feeling was something abnormal, without, however, in his apparently much weakened libido and virility, feeling unhappy.

The examination gave the usual findings of neurasthenia. Development, manner, and attire presented nothing remarkable. Electrical massage was unusually successful. After a few sittings the patient was mentally and physically much better. After twenty sittings libido was again awakened, not in the same way, but normally, as the patient had felt until his twenty-fifth year. Lascivious dreams were concerned only with women; and one day the patient joyfully gave the information that he had had coitus, and that he had had the same natural feeling in it that he had had twenty-six years before. He then began to live with his wife again, and hoped that he was lastingly freed from neurasthenia and contrary sexual instinct. His hope was fulfilled for the six years during which I was able to keep the patient under observation.

As a rule, physical treatment, even though it be re-inforced morally by good advice with reference to the avoidance of masturbation, the repression of homo-sexual feelings and impulses, and the encouragement of hetero-sexual desires, will not prove sufficient, even in cases of acquired contrary sexual instinct.

Here a method of mental treatment—hypnotic suggestion—is all that can bring benefit.

The following case is interesting; and it is an example of successful auto-suggestion that gives encouragement for the milder forms of the anomaly:—

Case 133. *Autobiography of a Psychical Hermaphrodite. Successful Struggle against Homo-sexual Inclinations made by the Patient himself.*—"My father once had a stroke, but has recovered save for paralysis of the face. My mother was very anaemic and melancholic. Both suffered severely with haemorrhoids, and my father ascribed to this trouble the lumbar pain with which he suffered from time to time after his marriage.

"I am, if I may so express myself, a passive character. When a child, I indulged in all kinds of fancies, religious as well as others. I suffered with incontinence of urine, and it is said that in sleep I handled my genitals, so that my father fastened my hands to the bed! (I was then a mere child, and had not masturbated.) I was always very shy and embarrassed in social intercourse. When about fourteen or fifteen years old, I was seduced into onanism. The impulse and desire for women, occurring in connection with the awakening sexual feeling, were, in reality, only of a platonic nature; I was also without the society of ladies. When about eighteen, I attempted to satisfy my sexual desire in the natural way, more in obedience to a feeling of curiosity than from inner longing. Since that time, without having experienced any real inclination for women, as often as possible I have satisfied my desire by means of sexual intercourse.

"Soon after puberty I became very anaemic, and appeared much older than I really was. Then came melancholic and peculiar ideas. It was a delight to me to fancy myself humiliated in the extreme. It may be of interest to add that, at that time, I was troubled with religious doubts, and only later found the courage to rise above religions. I fell in love with young men. At first I opposed these ideas; later they became so powerful that I became a genuine urning. Women seemed to me to be human beings of the second class. I was in a state of despair. My sickened soul was filled with tedium vitæ and thoughts inimical to humanity. One day I read: 'What will it come to?' And ere I knew it, I was a socialist; but an ideal one. Life again had value for me, for I had

an ideal,—the joyous struggle for the social elevation of the proletariat. This caused a powerful revolution in me. As in my best years (from the age of sixteen to seventeen), I took interest in art, particularly in dramatic art. I am, at the present time, writing a play and a story, and I am occupied with the grandest thoughts. I read a remark of Schlegel's concerning Sophocles, who was indebted to his physical exercise for his energy and creative power, and to music for his artistic proportions. In another place I read: 'The dramatist must, above all things, be mentally intact.' This depressed me; for my contrary sexual feelings could not arise in a perfectly normal mind.

"I thought of having myself treated hypnotically; but shame held me back. Then I said to myself that I was a weakling, indeed, to have so little confidence in myself, and began in earnest to combat my abnormal desires. At the same time, I struggled against my nervousness by leading the proper kind of a life. I rowed, fenced, and was much in the open air; and I was delighted when, at last, I awoke and seemed to be an entirely different man. When I thought of the time from my twentieth to my twenty-sixth year, it seemed to me that, during those years, a strange and depressive being had been dwelling within me.

"I was astonished that the handsomest rider or the trimmest waiter excited in me almost no interest; even the muscular masons had no effect on me. I was disgusted when I thought that, at one time, such men had seemed handsome to me. My self-respect increased; I am good-natured, but my character is entirely active. Since my twentieth year my appearance has steadily improved. My appearance now corresponds perfectly with my years. There were recurrences of my abnormal inclinations, to be sure; but I struggled against them energetically. I satisfy my libido only by means of natural intercourse, and I hope that, by continuing to lead a proper life, my pleasure in natural coitus will increase."

As a rule, only suggestion coming from a second person, and that by means of hypnosis, promises any success. In such cases, the object of post-hypnotic suggestion is to remove the impulse to masturbation and homo-sexual feelings and impulses, and to encourage hetero-sexual feelings with a sense of virility. A prerequisite is, of course, the possibility to induce hypnosis of sufficient intensity. It is, unfortunately, in these very cases of neurasthenia that this is impossible, since they are often excited, embarrassed, and in no condition to concentrate their thoughts.

Thus, in a case reported by me in the *International. Centralblatt für die Physiologie und Pathologie der Harn- und*

Sexualorgane, Bd. i, Heft 2, p. 58, it was impossible for me to induce hypnosis, though the patient desired it, and did everything to make it successful. By reason of the great benefit that can be given to such unfortunates, and with Ladame's case in view (*v. infra*), in the future, in all such cases, everything should be done to bring about hypnosis,—the only means of salvation. The result, in the three following cases, was satisfactory :—

Case 134. Contrary Sexual Instinct Acquired through Masturbation.—Mr. X., merchant, aged 29. Father's parents healthy. Nothing nervous in father's family. Father was an irritable, peevish old man. One brother of the father was a man-about-town, and died unmarried. Mother died in third confinement, when the patient was six years old; she had a deep, rough, masculine voice, and coarse appearance. Of the children, one brother is irritable, "melancholic," and indifferent to women.

When a child patient had scarlet fever with delirium. Until his fourteenth year he was light-hearted and social, but, after that, quiet, solitary, and "melancholic." The first trace of sexual feeling appeared in his tenth or eleventh year, and at that time he learned masturbation from other boys, and practiced mutual onanism with them. At the age of thirteen or fourteen, ejaculation for the first time. Patient has felt no evil results of onanism until the last three months.

In school he learned easily, but was troubled with headaches. After the age of twenty, pollutions, in spite of daily practice of onanism. With pollutions, "procreative" dreams, as man and wife might perform the act, occurred. In his seventeenth year he was seduced into mutual onanism by a man having a love for men. He found satisfaction in this, inasmuch as he was always very passionate sexually. It was a long time before the patient again sought new opportunities for intercourse with males. He did it simply to rid himself of semen. He felt no friendship or love for the person with whom he had intercourse. He felt satisfaction only when he played the passive rôle,—when manustupration was practiced on him. When the act was once completed, he had no respect for the individual. If it happened that, later, he came to respect the man, then he ceased to indulge in the act with him. Later it became indifferent to him whether he masturbated or had masturbation practiced on him. When he himself practiced onanism, he always thought of pleasing men practicing onanism on him during the act. He preferred a hard, rough hand.

The patient thought that, had he not been led astray, he would have arrived at a natural mode of satisfaction of his sexual desires. He

never felt love for his own sex, though he had pleased himself with the thought of loving men. At first he had had sensual inclinations toward the opposite sex. He had taken pleasure in dancing, and he had been pleased with women, but he had taken more pleasure in the figure than the face. Too, he had had erections at the sight of women that pleased him. He had never attempted coitus, for fear of infection; whether he was potent or not with women, he did not know. He thought he could be so no longer, because his feeling for women had grown cold, especially during late years.

While previously, in his sensual dreams, he had had ideas of both men and women, of late years he had dreamed only of approaches to men; he could not remember that he had dreamed, in late years, of sensual relations with a woman. At the theatre, as well as in the circus and *ballet*, the feminine figure had always interested him. In museums masculine and feminine statues had affected him equally.

Patient is a great smoker, a beer-drinker, loves male society, and is a gymnast and skater. Anything dandified was repugnant to him, and he had never felt any desire to please men; he would even have preferred to please women.

He now felt his position to be painful, because onanism had obtained the upper hand. Masturbation, that had previously been practiced without evil effects, now began to disclose its bad results.

Since July, 1889, he had suffered with neuralgia of the testicles. The pain occurred particularly at night; and at night there was also trembling (increased reflex excitability).

Sleep was not refreshing, and he would wake up with pain in the testicles. He was inclined, now, to indulge more frequently in onanism. He was afraid of the consequences of the habit. He hoped that his sexual life might still be turned into normal channels. Now, he thought of the future; he had a relation with a girl, who was attractive to him, and the thought to possess her as a wife was pleasing.

For five days he had abstained from onanism, but he could scarcely believe that he would be able, with his own strength, to overcome the habit. Of late he had been very much depressed, having lost all desire for work, and become tired of life.

Patient is tall, powerful, well nourished, and has a thick growth of beard. Skull and skeleton normal. Knee-jerks very prompt; deep reflexes in upper extremities much increased. Pupils dilated, equal, and act promptly. Carotids of equal calibre; hyperæsthesia urethræ; cords and testicles not sensitive; genitals normal.

The patient was calmed, and given hope for the future, provided that he give up onanism and attempt to transfer his sexual desires from persons of his own sex to females.

Hip-baths (24° to 20° R.); ext. secal. conut. aquos., 0.5; antipyrin, 1.0 (*pro die*); pot. brom., 4.0 (evenings), were ordered.

December 13th. To-day the patient came, in a disturbed condition of mind, complaining that, unaided, he was unable to resist the impulse to masturbate, and he asked for help.

A trial of hypnosis induced a condition of deep lethargy in the patient. He was given the following suggestions :—

1. I can not, must not, and will not masturbate again.
2. I abhor the love for my own sex, and shall never again think men handsome.
3. I shall and will become well again, fall in love with a virtuous woman, be happy, and make her happy.

December 14th. While out walking to-day, patient saw a handsome man, and felt himself powerfully drawn toward him.

From this time there were hypnotic sittings every second day, with the above suggestions.

December 18th (fourth sitting), somnambulism occurred ; the impulse to onanism and interest in men disappear.

At the eighth sitting "complete virility" was added to the above suggestions. The patient feels himself morally elevated and physically strengthened. The neuralgia of the testicles has disappeared. He now found that he was without sexual feeling.

He now believed himself free from masturbation and contrary sexual inclination.

After the eleventh sitting he thought that further help was unnecessary. He wished to go home, and marry. He felt well and potent. Early in January, 1890, treatment ceased.

In March, 1890, the patient wrote : "I have since had several occasions on which it has been necessary for me to use all my moral strength in order to overcome my habit, and, thank God, I have been successful in freeing myself from this vice. Several times I have had opportunity for sexual intercourse, and I have found pleasure in it. I look calmly on my happy future."

Case 135. Acquired Contrary Sexual Instinct. Marked Improvement under Hypnotic Treatment.—Mr. P., born in 1863, official in a manufactory. He comes of a highly respected patrician family of Middle Germany, in which nervousness and insanity have been of frequent occurrence.

His great-grandfather on the father's side and his sister died insane ; the grandmother died of apoplexy ; father's brother died insane, and a daughter of the latter died of cerebral tuberculosis. The maternal grandmother was melancholic for years ; maternal grandfather, insane. A maternal uncle took his life in an attack of insanity. The patient's father is very nervous. An elder brother is very neurasthenic, and has anomalies of the *vita sexualis* ; another is the subject of Case 155 ; a third is eccentric in conduct, and is said to be subject to fixed ideas. A sister suffers with convulsions, and another died of them when a little child.

The patient is constitutionally predisposed; for he was early very peculiar, irritable, irascible, and impressed those around him as being abnormal.

His *vita sexualis* appeared very early and in great intensity, and was satisfied, without any seductions, in onanism. From his sixteenth year the prematurely developed boy visited brothels of the Capital, using his permissions to go out on Sundays and holidays for that purpose. He took pleasure in coitus, but during the week he satisfied himself with onanism. After his twentieth year, when he became independent, the patient indulged with prostitutes excessively, and fell ill with neurasthenia sexualis, becoming relatively impotent and unsatisfied in coitus, owing to weakness of erection and premature ejaculation. His sexual libido became more powerful than ever, and was satisfied in onanism. Early in 1888 the patient made the acquaintance of a young man. "By his pleasing face, his attractive manner, and his beautiful form, he conquered me entirely. I wished to speak to him, and was happy at mere sight of him. I was completely in love with him. With this, my love for women was extinguished. Any man could excite me to such an extent that, for some moments, I would feel my memory fail, and I would stammer.

"Soon after this I made the acquaintance of a gentleman who was likewise very attractive, and who had a decided influence on my future life. He was male-loving. I confessed to him that I no longer felt anything but aversion for the female sex, and that I was attracted to men.

"When I once asked my companion how he brought it about that soldiers would surrender themselves to him, he answered that the principal thing was skill; almost any of them could be brought to it. Late in 1888, thinking of these words, I was attracted by an officer's servant, and was intensely excited by him, but ejaculation never occurred. Since I saw that the soldier would surrender himself without trouble, I approached him. *Alium quondam militem in cubiculum allectum rogavi ut veste exuta tecum in lectum coneumberet. Rogatus fecit quæ volui et alter alterius penem trivit.*

"Though after this success I misused many persons, I was never really in love, so to speak, with but one. He was a very handsome young fellow of seventeen. His voice was so attractive to me, and his manner was so delicately proper, that I cannot forget him. In my dreams I thought only of handsome young men, and often for whole nights I could not sleep, owing to sensual feeling."

Early in 1889 the patient's conduct awakened a suspicion of male-love. A threatening communication frightened him, and plunged him in deep depression, so that he contemplated suicide. At the advice of the family physician, he came to the Capital. Since the patient was unable to overcome his habitual desires by his own will, hypnotic treatment was undertaken. It induced but mild lethargy, and, in opposition to the seduction of former lovers, it had but little effect.

At that time the patient was wanting in earnest desire. There was some improvement in matters, in the face of the disgrace to relatives and the prospect of a legal examination that was actually threatening. The patient determined to attempt a cure with the author.

I found him to be a delicate, pale, very neurasthenic man, much depressed, and despairing about the future. He was without degenerative signs. He realized his perverted situation, and seemed to be willing to do anything in order to become again a decent, moral man.

He regretted exceedingly his sexual perversion, which he regarded as abnormal, but also as having been acquired. He made no attempt to conceal the fact that he could not control himself with young men, and likewise he would not say that he could abstain from onanism, to which, *faute de mieux*, he was driven. Only a powerful, imperious will could keep him from it.

Thus far his male-love had consisted exclusively of mutual onanism. Erections occurred only when touching men he loved; ejaculation resulted early, but simple embrace was not sufficient. He had never felt himself in any particular sexual rôle toward a man. Genitals and vegetative organs normal.

In addition to treatment directed to his neurasthenia, on April 8, 1890, hypnotic suggestion was begun. Hypnosis was easily induced by simply looking at him, with verbal suggestion. After a half-minute the patient passed into deep lethargy, with a cataleptiform state of the muscles. The awakening was brought about by suggesting it at counting three. Post-hypnotic suggestions were always successful. The intra-hypnotic suggestions were :—

1. The interdiction of onanism.
2. The command that male-love should be felt to be disgraceful and despicable, and that it should be impossible.
3. The command to regard only women as beautiful; to approach them, to dream of them, and to have libido and erection at sight of them.

The sittings occurred daily. On April 14th, the patient announced, with thankfulness and a kind of moral satisfaction, that he had had pleasure in coitus, and had ejaculated tardily. On April 16th, he felt free from inclination to masturbate, attracted to women, and perfectly indifferent to men. He dreamed of female charms and coitus with women. May 1st, the patient seemed and felt himself to be normal sexually. He has become a different man mentally, full of courage and self-confidence. He has coitus with complete satisfaction, and thinks that he is insured against relapse.

In a later letter Mr. P. writes: "As was only to be expected, I find myself lastingly freed from my errors. All that remains to remind me of my unhappy time are the dreams, which, though they are infrequent, come from my past, which I have no power to banish, and

which sometimes, indeed, pleasantly occupy my thoughts. But by my own will I yet hope soon to succeed in freeing myself absolutely from them. Should I ever become weak again, the ideas you have impressed on me would, I am sure, make an energetic resistance, and I should not succumb."

On October 20, 1890, P. wrote me: "I am completely cured of onanism, and I have no pleasure in male-love. Yet complete virility does not seem to have been re-established, notwithstanding the fact that I lead a virtuous life. Nevertheless, I feel satisfied."

Case 136. *Acquired Contrary Sexual Instinct.*—Mr. Z., aged 32, divorced. He comes of a hysteropathic mother. Maternal grandmother suffered with hysteria, and her brothers and sisters were neurotic. One brother is an urning. Z. was but poorly endowed mentally, and did not learn easily. No sickness besides scarlatina. When thirteen, he was taught to masturbate by companions in a school. Sexually, he was hyperæsthetic, and, at seventeen, began to indulge in coitus, with full pleasure and power. For reasons of position and money, he married at twenty-six. The marriage was very unhappy. After a year Mrs. Z. became incapable of coitus, by reason of uterine disease. Z. satisfied his inordinate desires with other women, *faute de mieux*, by masturbation. Besides, he gave himself up to play, led an absolutely dissolute life, became exceedingly neurasthenic, and sought to strengthen his weakened nerves by drinking great quantities of wine and brandy. To his essential cerebral asthenia were added peripheral alcoholic cramps and globus, and he became very emotional. His libido nimia continued unabated. On account of his disgust of prostitutes and fear of infection, satisfaction by coitus was exceptional. For the most part, the patient helped himself with onanism.

Four years ago he noticed weakening of erection and decrease of libido for women. He began to feel himself drawn toward men, and his lascivious dreams were no longer concerned with women, but with men.

Three years ago, while being rubbed by a bath-attendant, he became powerfully excited sexually (the attendant also had an erection, to patient's surprise). He could not keep from embracing and kissing the attendant, and allowing him to perform masturbation on him, the attendant doing it most willingly. From this time this mode of sexual indulgence was all that he cared for. Women became a matter of entire indifference to him; he devoted himself exclusively to men. With them he practiced mutual masturbation, and had a longing to sleep with them. He abhorred pederasty. He was entirely satisfied until (August, 1890) an anonymous letter, warning him to be careful, brought him to his senses. He was much frightened, had hysterical attacks, and became much depressed. He was embarrassed before men, seemed like a pariah in society, contemplated suicide, and finally confessed to a priest, who comforted him. He now fell into a religious state (equivalent), and, out

of remorse and to cure himself of his abnormal sexual inclinations, wished to go into a cloister. While in this state, my "Psychopathia Sexualis" fell into his hands. He was frightened and filled with shame, but found a comfort in it, inasmuch as he concluded that he must have some malady. His first thought was to rehabilitate himself sexually in his own eyes. He overcame all disinclination, and visited a brothel. At first he was not successful, on account of great excitement, but he finally succeeded.

Since, however, his contrary sexual inclinations were not overcome, in spite of all his efforts to put them down, he finally came to me, asking for assistance. He felt himself to be terribly unfortunate, and very near to despair and suicide. He saw destruction before him, and would be saved at any price.

His confession was interrupted by numerous hysterical attacks. Comforting and encouraging words about his future had a calming influence.

Physically, patient presented a slightly retreating brow, with no other anatomical signs of degeneration. Spinal irritation, exaggerated deep reflexes, and a sense of pressure in the head pointed to a neurasthenic condition. No genital anomalies, though there was hyperesthesia urethræ. Men distressed; attitude relaxed; mind distracted and vacillating.

Hip-baths, massage, ergot with antipyrin and pot. brom., ordered, with interdiction of onanism, intercourse with men, and lascivious thoughts of them.

After a few days the patient came complaining that he was not equal to the task. He said his will was too weak. In this precarious situation, it seemed that nothing but hypnotic treatment could bring improvement.

September 11, 1889. First sitting. Bernheim's method used, in order to induce lethargy as quickly as possible.

Suggestions:—

1. I abhor onanism, and will not masturbate again.
2. I regard the inclination for men disgusting,—horrible; and I shall never think men handsome and enticing.
3. Women alone I find enticing. Once a week I shall cohabit, with full pleasure and power.

The patient received these suggestions, and repeated them in a drawling tone.

The sittings took place every second day. After the fifteenth, it was possible to induce the somnambulic stage of hypnosis with any post-hypnotic suggestions desired.

The patient improved morally and mentally, but symptoms of cerebral neurasthenia troubled him still, and, now and then, dreams of men occurred; and there were, also, in the waking state, inclinations toward men, which depressed him exceedingly.

Treatment until September 24th. Result: Free from onanism; no longer excitable to men, though impressionable to women. Normal coitus once in eight days. Hysterical symptoms absent; neurasthenic symptoms much ameliorated.

On October 6th the patient reported by letter that he was feeling well, and expressed his gratitude for his salvation; he felt as if given a new life.

December 9, 1889, patient again came for treatment. Of late he had had lascivious dreams of men twice, but had experienced no inclination toward men in the waking state. He had also resisted the impulse to masturbate, though, while living alone in the country, he had had no opportunity for coitus. He had inclinations only for the opposite sex, and, as a rule, dreamed only of females. Returned to the city, he had indulged in coitus with pleasure. The patient felt himself morally rehabilitated, being almost free from neurasthenic symptoms; and, after three more hypnotic sittings, he declared himself perfectly well, and confident that he would not relapse. Such a relapse occurred, however, in September, 1890, when, after over-exertion on an excursion into the mountains, and emotional strain with want of opportunity for coitus, he had again become neurasthenic.

Again he had dreams of men, and felt drawn toward attractive male forms; he masturbated many times, and, after returning to the city, found no real pleasure in coitus. By means of anti-neurasthenic treatment and hypnosis, it was possible soon to restore the previous condition.

In the course of the years 1890 and 1891 the patient now and then had contrary sexual feelings and dreams, but only when, as a result of emotional strain or excesses, his neurosis re-appeared. At such times satisfaction in coitus was wanting. He would then find it necessary to undergo a few hypnotic sittings, in order to restore his equilibrium—always with success.

At the end of 1891 the patient pointed with satisfaction to the fact that, since treatment, he had been able to avoid masturbation and male-intercourse, and had regained his self-confidence and self-respect.

The foregoing details of the successful results of hypnotic suggestion, in cases of acquired contrary sexual feeling, make it seem possible that those unfortunates that are afflicted with the congenital perversion may be helped in some degree by the same means.

To be sure, here the condition is entirely different, since a congenital condition must be combated, an abnormal psychosexual life annihilated, and a new one created. *A priori* this

task seems impossible; at least, in the perfect urning. That the apparently impossible is artificially possible may be seen from the case of Schrenk-Notzing, which follows below. It far surpasses the case reported by me (*v. infra*), in which at least the homo-sexual feelings and impulses were removed by means of hypnotic suggestion.

The case of Ladame (*v. infra*) is an analogous one. The conditions are more favorable in psycho-sexual hermaphrodites, where at least there are rudiments of hetero-sexual feelings that may be strengthened and made operative by suggestion.

Case 137. "I was born in 1858, out of wedlock. It was only late that I was able to trace my obscure origin, and obtain knowledge of my parents; and this knowledge is, unfortunately, very obscure and imperfect. My father and mother were cousins. My father died three years ago. He had later married, and, as far as I know, had several healthy children.

"I do not think that my father had contrary sexual feelings. Without knowing him as my father, I often saw him when I was a child. He was a powerful, masculine man. As for the rest, it is said that, at the time of my birth, or before, he was sexually ill.

"I have often seen my mother on the street, but I did not then know that she was my mother. At the time of my birth she may have been about twenty-four years old. She was tall, and quick and energetic of movement, and her character was decided. At the time of my birth she is reported to have gone about much in male attire, to have worn short hair, to have smoked a long pipe, and in general to have been remarkable for her eccentric character. She was exceedingly well educated, and is said to have been beautiful in her youth. She left a fortune,—considerable even when measured by our present ideas,—but she died unmarried.

"In any case, all this would point to homo-sexual inclinations, or, at least, to abnormalities. On the other hand, several years before my birth, my mother took care of a little girl. This step-sister, whom I never knew, married young, but early in her married life, for reasons unknown to me, she poisoned herself.

"I am 1.7 metres tall, measure 92 centimetres around the waist, and 102 centimetres around hips, and, therefore, I think my pelvis is somewhat over-developed. The subcutaneous fat has always been abundant. Skeletal form is strong. The muscular system is well formed, but, from lack of exercise, perhaps owing to the influence of early, long-continued, and frequent indulgence in onanism, it is not well developed; so that I appear stronger than I really am. Hair of head and face is

normal; genital hair, somewhat thin. The upper portion of the body is as good as without hair. In all other ways my appearance is fully masculine. Gait, attitude, and voice are those of a fully developed man, and other urchins have often told me that they would never have suspected my passion. I served in the army, and always found pleasure in all knightly exercises,—riding, fencing, swimming, etc.

“ My early training was under a priest. I had but few real playmates. The family life of my foster-parents was faultless. In October, 1861, I entered the Institute. Here I indulged in my first perverse acts, which I shall describe more fully when I come to the development of my sexual life.

“ I finished the Gymnasium, served my voluntary years in the army, and then studied forestry, being now a director of estates. During my early years my mental development was very slow. I first learned to speak in my third year, and thus the supposition that I had hydrocephalus was strengthened. From the time of beginning school, my mental development was abnormal; indeed, I learned easily, but I have never been able to concentrate my activity on any particular subject. I have a great interest in art and æsthetics, but almost none in music. In early years my character was the worst possible. Without being able to give any reason for it, during the last twelve years there has been an entire transformation. Now, there is nothing I hate more than a lie, and I never speak untruth even in jest. In financial matters, without being avaricious, I have become an economical manager.

“ It is enough that, with a deep feeling of shame, I look back on my past; and, if I could be freed from my unhappy sexual perversion, or perversity, I should justly regard myself as a true gentleman. I am kind, and always ready to be charitable to the extent of my means; I am gay-spirited, and regarded with favor socially. I have no trace of that nervous irritability which is so often noticeable in others like me. Too, I am not wanting in personal courage. There is nothing in the early period of my development that points to abnormality. To be sure, as a child, I liked to lie in bed on my abdomen, and, of a morning, I often took delight in rolling about on my abdomen, much to the amusement of my foster-parents; but I cannot recall that, at such times, I ever had sensual feeling. I never sought much to play with girls, and I never played with dolls. I early heard talk about sexual matters; but I never thought anything about it. In my dreams, too, at that time, there was nothing sexual; and, in my association with boys of my own age, there was nothing of that kind. I think I may say that my *vita sexualis* was really first awakened after I had been seduced into mutual masturbation, in my thirteenth year, by a room-mate at the Institute. At that time ejaculation did not take place, but first about a year later. Nevertheless, I gave myself up to the vice of onanism passionately. At this time, however, the first signs of homo-sexual inclination were mani-

fested. Youthful, powerful men, market-helpers, workmen, and soldiers took possession of my dreams, and played an important rôle in my fancy while masturbating. At this time was also first shown the tendency to pederasty, especially passive. Up to my fourteenth year I frequently made mutual attempts at pederasty with my seducer, but neither of us were successful in bringing about immissio. At the same time, there was also a weak inclination for the female sex. About a year after the first indulgence in onanism, I was once with a puella publica, but I had neither ejaculation nor any especial feeling of sensual pleasure. Thereafter, and up to my nineteenth year, I performed coitus in public houses about six times. Erection and ejaculation occurred promptly, but without marked sensual pleasure. At least onanism, particularly mutual onanism, I liked quite as much. I have never had any love for athletes. About ten years ago, while at H., a watering-place, I thought I was in love with a beautiful lady of a highly respectable family; I was happy in her presence, and thought myself happy in finding my love returned. For a time this affair kept me from masturbating; I was only afraid that, weakened by onanism that had been practiced for years, I should be incapable of performing my marital duty. When we became widely separated, my feeling quickly cooled; I found that I had deceived myself; and, after about two years, without jealousy, I was able to hear that the lady had married. My inclination for women—if, in reality, I have ever had any—grew colder and colder. Two and a half years ago, when I visited a public house with very virile friends, I last performed coitus. There was erection, but no ejaculation. Women have become indifferent to me. A prostitute who acts coarsely excites my repugnance. With intellectual women, particularly when they are elderly, I like to converse, but in their society I am often unskillful and awkward, often devoid of tact. I have never been able to find any charm in woman's physical form.

"But, to return to the perverse inclinations. When, at the age of fourteen, I went to H., I lost sight of my lover and seducer. He was some years older than I, and was an official; and, in this capacity, when I was nineteen, I again met him once on the railway. We immediately cut the journey short, and lodged together, attempting mutual pederasty; but, on account of pain, immissio was not successful. We amused ourselves in mutual onanism. In H. I had sexual intercourse with two fellow-students, but this intercourse was confined to frequent mutual onanism, owing to the fact that they were not inclined to pederasty. During the last year of my stay (when I was nineteen), I had intercourse with another person, which likewise consisted of onanism; but our intercourse was more intimate, and we always retired, and practiced mutual onanism in bed. From Easter, 1869, until July, 1870, I had no lover. I practiced onanism alone. When the war broke out, I offered myself as a volunteer, but was not accepted. At the same time a former school-

mate offered himself. He had developed into a remarkably handsome man. I had to spend one night with him in an over-crowded hotel. Though as students we had never associated sexually, he was not averse to my desire, and attempted pederasty. In this instance pain prevented success; but, in the attempt, *ejaculatio ante anum meum* occurred. Even now I can recall the pleasurable feeling I had in it,—a feeling previously unknown. After the war I frequently met this friend, but our intercourse was later limited to onanism. During the following eighteen years I had but two opportunities for homo-sexual intercourse. The first was in the winter of 1879, on the occasion of meeting a handsome hussar in a railway carriage. I induced him to sleep with me at an hotel. Later he confessed to me that he had previously practiced mutual masturbation with the son of a landed proprietor of his town. I could not bring him to pederasty. On the other hand, I induced ejaculation in him by *receptio penis ejus in os meum*. This caused me no satisfaction, but rather disgust. I have never tried it again; and, too, I have never allowed *receptio penis mei in os alterius*. In 1887, likewise on the railway, I made the acquaintance of a sailor, and induced him to stay with me at an hotel. He said he had never practiced pederasty, but he was ready for it. He was apparently sensually excited; he had an erection immediately, and performed the act with evident passion. It was the first time that pederasty was successfully performed. I had terrible pain, but also indescribable pleasure.

"With my sojourn here, my *vita sexualis* has undergone a complete change. I have learned how easy it is to find persons who, partly for money and partly from desire, yield to our inclinations. I have also not been spared annoying experiences with cheats. Until the end of the last year (since then, owing to fear of venereal infection, I have not gone beyond mutual masturbation), I enjoyed male-love to the full extent, particularly in passive pederasty. I have never practiced active pederasty, because I have found no one able to endure the pain.

"Generally, I seek my lovers among cavalrymen and sailors, and, eventually, among workmen, especially butchers and smiths. Robust forms, with healthy facial complexions, attract me especially. Leathern riding-trousers have a particular charm for me. I have no partiality for kissing and the like. I also love large, hard, and calloused hands.

"I do not wish to leave unmentioned that, under certain circumstances, I have great control of myself.

"As director of an estate, I lived in a large house. My personal servant was a very handsome young man who had served in the hussars. After once having spoken with him, in general terms, on the subject, and found that he could not be approached, for years I lived in close intimacy with him, and enjoyed his beauty, but never touched him. I think that, to this day, he knows nothing of my passion. Likewise, two and a half years ago, in C., I made the acquaintance of a sailor, who is still regarded

by me and my acquaintances as one of the handsomest men we know. After an absence of more than two years, on invitation, he visited me a few weeks ago. I knew how to arrange matters so that we slept in the same room, and I burned with desire to be nearer to him. As a preliminary, however, I sounded him in confidential talk; and, when I found that he despised everything connected with male-love, I had not the heart to approach him more closely. For weeks we slept in the same room, and I took constant delight in his divine form (at first, was sexually excited, in fact); I bathed with him, in the Roman manner, in order to see his beautiful form naked,—but he never learned anything of my passion. I still have an ideal, platonic relation with this young man, who, for one of his position, has an unusual education and fine talent for poetry.

"Until my thirty-eighth year I had not a clear understanding of my condition. I always thought that, by early and frequent masturbation, I had become averse to women, and hoped always that, when the right woman came, I should be able to abandon onanism and find pleasure in her. Here it was that I first came to fully understand my condition, after making the acquaintance of others suffering and feeling like myself. At first I was frightened; later I came to look upon my fate as something not dependent on myself. Too, I made no further effort to resist temptation.

"Two or three weeks ago 'Psychopathia Sexualis' fell into my hands. The work has made an unexpectedly deep impression on me. At first I read the work with an interest that was undoubtedly lascivious. The description of the cultivation of *mujerados*, for example, excited me uncommonly. The thought of a young, powerful man being emasculated in this manner, in order, later, to be used for pederasty by a whole tribe of wild, powerful, and sensual Indians, so excited me that I masturbated five times during the next two days, fancying myself such a presumptive *mujerado*. The farther I read in the book, however, the more I saw its moral earnestness; the more I felt disgust with my condition; and the more I saw that I must do everything, if it were possible, to bring about a change in my condition. When I had finished the book, I was determined to seek assistance from its author.

"The reading of this work had an undoubted effect. Since then I have masturbated only twice, and have practiced onanism with cavalry-men only twice. In every instance I have had really less pleasure and satisfaction than before, and I always have the feeling: 'Ah, if I could only be free from it!' Nevertheless, I confess that, even now, in the society of handsome soldiers, I immediately have erection.

"In conclusion, I may add that, in spite of, or, perhaps, on account of, onanism, I have never had pollutions. The ejaculation of semen, which usually consists of only a few drops, and it has always been so, takes place only after prolonged friction. If, for any reason, I have not

masturbated for a long time, the ejaculation takes place quickly, and is more abundant. About twelve years ago Hansen tried in vain to hypnotize me."

In the spring of 1891 the writer of the foregoing autobiography visited me, with the declaration that he could live no longer in his condition; that he looked to hypnotic treatment as the only hope of salvation, for he had not strength enough to resist his impulse to masturbation and satisfaction with persons of his own sex. He felt like a pariah; like an unnatural man; like one outside the laws of nature and society, and in danger of criminal prosecution. He felt moral repugnance when he performed the act with a man, but yet the sight of any handsome soldier actually electrified him. For years he had not had the slightest sympathy with women, not even mentally.

The patient looked to be exactly the person, physically and mentally, described by himself in his autobiography. His head was exquisitely hydrocephalic, and also plagioccephalic. At first attempts at hypnosis met with difficulties. Only by Braid's method, with the help of a little chloroform, was deep lethargy attained at the third sitting. From that time simply looking at a shining object was sufficient. The suggestions consisted of the command to avoid masturbation, the removal of homosexual feelings, and the assurance that the patient would have inclination for women and be virile, and have pleasure only in hetero-sexual intercourse. Masturbation was indulged in but once; after the eighth sitting the patient dreamed of a woman.

When, after the fourteenth sitting, the patient had to return, on account of pressing business, he declared that he was quite free from any inclination to masturbate or to indulge in male-love, but that he was by no means absolutely free from his partiality for men. He felt a returning interest in the female sex, and hoped to be freed finally from his unhappy condition by continuance of the treatment.

Case 138. *Psychical Hermaphroditism*.—Mr. von P., aged 25, single, comes of a neuropathic family. As a child he had convulsions. He recovered, but remained weak, emotional, and irritable. No severe illnesses. Before his tenth year sexuality was manifested. His earliest remembrance concerning it was that of lascivious feelings in company with the servants of the house. When older, he had sensual dreams which were of intercourse with men. In circuses the male performers alone interested him.

Youthful, powerful men were most enticing to him. Often, he could scarcely resist the longing to fall on their necks and kiss them. Of late simply the touching of such persons had become sufficient to give him pleasure and induce ejaculation. The impulse to engage in "affairs" with men he had, thus far, fortunately resisted. The patient is a psychical hermaphrodite, in so far as he is not insensitive to the charms of women, and finds men more pleasing than women. In fact, feminine

nudity had never pleased him, and he can remember only to have dreamed once of coitus with a woman.

On account of his great sexual desire, and because he was ashamed to give himself up to men, after his twentieth year he began to have sexual intercourse with women. Since then, he has very seldom indulged in manual onanism, but often in mental masturbation, during which the forms of handsome men float through his fancy.

He had coitus with success, but without pleasure or sensual feeling. On account of circumstances, he was forced to abstain from his twenty-second until his twenty-fourth year. This abstinence was painful, and he relieved himself, now and then, by mental onanism.

When, a year ago, he had opportunity again for coitus, he noticed failure of libido for women, imperfect erection, and premature ejaculation. Finally he gave up coitus; then libido for men was manifested.

In the condition of irritable weakness of the ejaculatory centre, mere touching of sympathetic men was sufficient to induce ejaculation.

Patient is an only child. The circumstances of his family demand that he marry. He justly hesitates to do this, thinks he is mentally impotent, and asks for advice and help.

He points out that his feeling for men must be eradicated in order to help him.

Patient's appearance is, in all respects, masculine. His head is slightly hydrocephalic and rhombic. Abundant growth of beard. Genitals normal; cremasteric reflex cannot be excited. No manifestations of neurasthenia. Neuropathic eyes. Pollutions infrequent. Erections occur only as a result of contact with men.

July 16, 1889, hypnotic suggestion, after Bernheim's method, was begun. It was first at the third sitting that deep lethargy was induced.

Suggestions: "You have no longer any desire for men. Only woman is beautiful and desirable. You will love a woman, marry, be happy, and make her happy. You are fully potent; you feel that already."

In daily hypnosis, which never goes beyond lethargy, the patient accepts the suggestions. On July 24th, he announces that he has had pleasure in coitus; and the male servants no longer interest him. At the same time, he still finds men more beautiful than women. On August 1, 1889, it was necessary to discontinue treatment. Result: Completely potent; entire indifference for men, but also for women.

The same treatment met with decided success in a case of psycho-sexual hermaphroditism, reported by me in vol. i of the *Internat. Centralblatt für die Physiol. u. Path. der Harn- und Sexualorgane*.

Case 139. Mr. von X., aged 25, landed proprietor. He comes of a neuropathic, passionate father. Father is said to have been normal sexually. His mother was nervous, as were her two sisters. Maternal grandmother was nervous, and his maternal grandfather was a *roué*, much given to venery. Patient is like his mother, and an only child. From birth he was weak, suffered much with migraine, and was nervous. He passed through several illnesses. At fifteen he began masturbation, without having been taught it.

Until his seventeenth year he says he never had feeling for men, or, in fact, any sexual inclination; but at this time desire for men arose. He fell in love with a comrade. His friend returned his love. They embraced and kissed and indulged in mutual onanism. Occasionally patient practiced coitus inter femora viri. He abhorred pederasty. Lascivious dreams were concerned only with men. In the circus and theatre males alone interested him. The inclination was for those of about twenty years. Handsome, tall forms were enticing to him. Given these conditions, he was quite indifferent to other characteristics of the men. In his sexual affairs with men his part was always that of a man.

After his eighteenth year the patient was always a source of anxiety to his highly respected parents, for he then began a love-affair with a male waiter, who fleeced him and made him an object of remark and ridicule. He was taken home. He consortied with servants and hostlers. He caused a scandal. He was sent away for travel. In London he got into a "blackmailing scrape," but succeeded in escaping to his home.

He profited in no way by this bitter experience, and again showed disgraceful inclinations toward men. Patient was sent to me to be cured of his fatal peculiarity (December 12, 1888). Patient is a tall, stately, robust, well-nourished young man, of masculine build; large, well-formed genitals. Gait, voice, and attitude are masculine. He has no pronounced masculine passions. He smokes but little, and only cigarettes; drinks little, and is fond of confectionery. He loves music, arts, æsthetics, flowers, and moves in ladies' society by preference. He wears a moustache, the face being otherwise cleanly shaven. His garments are in nowise remarkable. He is a soft, *blasé* fellow, and a do-nothing. He lies abed mornings, and can scarcely be made to rise before noon. He says he has never regarded his inclination toward his own sex as abnormal. He looks upon it as congenital; but, taught by his evil experiences, he wishes to be cured of his perversion. He has little faith in his own will. He has tried to help himself, but always begins to masturbate. This he finds injurious, inasmuch as it causes slight neurasthenic symptoms. There is no moral defect. The intelligence is a little below the average. Careful education and aristocratic manners are apparent. The exquisite neuropathic eye betrays the nervous constitution. The patient is not a complete and hopeless urning. *He has hetero-*

sexual feelings, but his sensual inclinations toward the opposite sex are manifested weakly and infrequently. When nineteen, he was first taken to a brothel by friends. He experienced no horror feminæ, had efficient erections, and some pleasure in coitus, but not the instinctive delight he experienced while embracing men.

Since then, patient asserts that he has had coitus six times, twice *sua sponte*. He gives the assurance that he is always capable of it, but he does it only *faute de mieux*, as he does masturbation, when the sexual impulse troubles him, as a substitute for intercourse with men. He has thought of the possibility of finding a sympathetic lady and marrying her. He would regard marital cohabitation and abstinence from intercourse with men as hard duties.

Since there were rudiments of hetero-sexual feelings present, and the case could not be looked upon as hopeless, it seemed that treatment was indicated. The indications were clear enough, but there was no support for them in the will of the indolent patient, so unconscious of his own position. It lay near to seek support for the moral influence in hypnosis. The fulfillment of this hope seemed doubtful, because the famous Hansen had tried several times, in vain, to hypnotize him.

At the same time, by reason of the most important social interests of the patient, it was necessary to make another attempt. To my great surprise, Bernheim's procedure induced immediately a condition of deep lethargy, with possibility of post-hypnotic suggestion.

At the second sitting somnambulism was induced by merely looking at him. The patient is obnoxious to suggestions of all kinds; indeed, contractures are induced by stroking him. He is awakened by counting three. Awakened, patient has amnesia for all the events of the hypnotic state. Hypnosis is induced every second or third day for the communication of hypnotic suggestions. At the same time, moral and hydro-therapeutic measures are employed.

The hypnotic suggestions were as follow:—

1. I abhor onanism, because it makes me sick and miserable.
2. I no longer have inclination toward men; for love of men is against religion, nature, and law.
3. I feel an inclination toward women; for woman is lovely and desirable, and created for man.

During the sittings the patient always repeats these suggestions. After the fourth sitting it was noticeable that, when taken into society, he paid court to ladies. Shortly after that, when a famous prima-donna sang, he was all enthusiasm for her. Some days later the patient sought the address of a brothel.

At the same time, he preferred the society of young gentlemen; but the most careful watching failed to reveal anything suspicious.

February 17th. Patient asks to be allowed to indulge in coitus, and is very well satisfied with his experience with one of the *demi-monde*.

March 16th. Up to this time, hypnosis twice a week. The patient always passes into deep somnambulism by simply being looked at, and, at request, repeats the suggestions. He is obnoxious to all kinds of post-hypnotic suggestion, and, in the waking state, knows not the least of the influences exerted on him in the hypnotic state. In the hypnotic condition he always gives the assurance that he is free from onanism and sexual feeling for men. Since he gives the same answers in hypnosis,—e.g., that on such and such a date he practiced onanism for the last time, and that he is too much under the will of the physician to be able to lie,—his assertions deserve belief; the more, since he looks well and is free from all neurasthenic symptoms, and, in the society of men, not the slightest suspicion rests on him. An open, free, and manly bearing is developed.

Moreover, since, of his own will, he now and then indulges in coitus with pleasure, and occasional pollutions are induced by lascivious dreams which concern women, there can be no doubt of the favorable change of his *vita sexualis*; and it is presumable that the hypnotic suggestions have developed into auto-suggestive inclinations, which direct his feelings, thoughts, and will. Probably the patient will always remain a *natura frigida*; but he more often speaks of marriage, and of his intention to win a wife as soon as he has become acquainted with a sympathetic lady.

In July, 1889, I received a letter from his father, which told me of his good health and conduct.

On May 24, 1890, by chance, I met my former patient, while on a journey. His bright, healthful appearance allowed the most favorable opinion of his condition. He told me that he still had sympathetic feeling for some men, but never anything like love. He occasionally had pleasurable coitus with women, and now thought of marriage.

I hypnotized him, in the former manner, to try him, and asked for the commands I had given him. In a deep condition of somnambulism, and in the same tone of voice as formerly, the patient repeated the suggestions he had received in December, 1888,—an excellent example of the possible duration and power of post-hypnotic suggestion.

Case 140. Psychical Hermaphroditism; Improvement with Hypnotic Treatment.—Mr. von K., aged 23; of distinguished family; well endowed mentally; scrofulous as a child. His father is said to have been dissipated. His father's brother is said to have been subject to contrary sexuality.

The patient states that, when only seven years old, he had a peculiar inclination for male persons. It was particularly coachmen and servants having moustaches for whom he showed partiality at that time. He experienced a peculiar delightful sensation when he pressed himself against such persons.

The patient entered the cadet corps early, and there he was seduced

into mutual onanism, and also learned imitatio coitus inter femora viri. At the age of seventeen he had coitus with a prostitute for the first time. He performed the act perfectly, but had not the slightest pleasure in it; and he learned that this kind of gratification amounted to nothing, or that he must be different from other young men.

Nevertheless, he often had coitus, and contracted gonorrhœa. After this he experienced an increasing aversion for the female sex, and indulged in coitus less and less frequently; in fact, only when, with intense libido, he could not gain opportunity for intercourse with men. His inclination for men predominated more and more, and he was attracted exclusively by those handsomely formed, and having as little beard as possible. He descended to the most revolting practices,—coitus buccalis, active and passive pederasty.

The patient was deeply ashamed of such depravity, and was constantly endeavoring to get into better ways by means of coitus with women. But he came to the despairing conclusion that his moral strength was insufficient, that he was indifferent about intercourse with women, or that it was repugnant to him; and that he was created for sexual intercourse with persons of his own sex. In fact, he had never dreamed of women, but always of men; and that at a time, too, when he had no suspicion of the difference between the sexes.

The patient comes for consultation, because he sees that he is jeopardizing the happiness of his whole life, and recognizes the unnaturalness and immorality of his sexual life. He does not regard his condition as hopeless; for he has no horror of women, and three weeks ago he had successful coitus with one, though it was devoid of all pleasure and mental satisfaction. He has no doubt that he was really created to love men; but, owing to acquired neurasthenia, in the sexual act with a man he experiences no such pleasure as formerly. He had given up his position as an officer, because the soldiers excited him so sexually that he feared he might compromise himself.

The patient is devoid of degenerative signs. His appearance is perfectly masculine, and his genitals are normal. Examination of the semen revealed abundance of spermatozoa. The penis is large and well developed; the growth of hair ad genitalia, as well as on the rest of the body, is abundant. The patient has masculine tastes, but has never been partial to drinking and smoking. A neuropathic eye is all that points to a nervous constitution.

In his sexual acts with men, he states that, as a rule, he has felt as a man, only now and then as a woman.

An attempt at hypnosis leads to lethargy, with cataleptic condition of the muscles, and the opportunity is used to impart suitable suggestions.

After the fourth sitting he expressed himself as satisfied, and wondered that men made no impression on him. He wished to try his fortune with women, but was afraid that he was impotent.

After the sixth sitting, without advice, he attempted coitus cum muliere. His libido was very great, but inter actum this and erection left him.

After the ninth sitting the patient was forced to discontinue treatment, owing to business that called him home. He was satisfied, in that he felt indifferent and capable of resistance to men. He felt sure that he would not relapse into his former vices. At the same time, he had not the slightest interest in the female sex.

Case 141. Mr. X., aged 31, chemist, comes of a neuropathic family, and from childhood has been nervous, emotional, and apprehensive, and afflicted with migraine. He remembers distinctly that, when a very small boy, he had a lustful feeling at the sight of the half-naked persons in the work-shop at his father's house, and felt drawn to them. When he began school, he felt in the same way toward his companions. At the age of eleven, without teaching, he began to masturbate, during which he thought of his comrades. Later there were enthusiastic friendships. His vita sexualis gained the upper hand. As he grew up, women also interested him, but his chief interest was in men of the higher circles of society. He felt that this inclination was abnormal, and sought the acquaintance of puellis; he often had coitus, but never with any real pleasure. Thus he became more and more given to contrary sexuality, practiced mutual masturbation and coitus inter femora viri, and occasionally gave himself up to passive pederasty; but he soon abandoned this, on account of the pain it caused him.

He asserts that he feels perfectly masculine, and has never had female inclinations. Skeleton and attitude perfectly masculine; strabismus; abundant beard; genitals entirely normal. No aversion to the female sex. Occasional coitus with puellis, but without satisfaction. The patient feels exceedingly unhappy, and clearly recognizes his abnormal position; at any price, he wishes to be freed from his homo-sexual inclination, and made capable of marriage. "It is terrible to have to act a farce constantly." At the first attempt at hypnosis, after Bernheim's method, the patient passes into a state of deep lethargy. He proves to be very susceptible to suggestion, and suitable suggestions are imparted. After the fourth sitting, he states, with gratitude, that men become indifferent, and he begins to have pleasure in coitus; but he did not feel mentally satisfied, owing to the fact that he was limited to puellæ publicæ. After the fourteenth sitting he declared that he required no more treatment. He was in love with a young lady, and thought of marrying her. He asked for her hand, and was refused. Soon after, while he was on a journey in Italy, men interested him again. He had a relapse, and asked for further treatment. A few sittings re-established the *status quo ante*.

Case 142. *Psychical Hermaphroditism; Successful Treatment by Hypnotic Suggestion.*—Mr. von Z., aged 29. He asserts that he comes

of healthy grandparents; of a healthy father, but of a nervous mother. He is an only child, and was petted by his mother. At the age of eight he was powerfully excited sexually by a male servant, who showed him pornographic pictures and his penis.

When twelve years old, Z. fell in love with his tutor. On going to sleep, the naked form of this man appeared before him. He thought of himself as in a female *rôle* in relation to him, and thought to marry him some time.

At the age of thirteen, at a private ball, his fancy was excited by a young governess, and, at fifteen, he fell in love with a young lady. He remained very excitable sensually; but, thereafter, exclusively so to men pleasing to him. Masturbation was not practiced.

At the age of twenty the patient became neurasthenic (ex abstinentia?). He now attempted coitus, but was not successful. On the other hand, he had intense desire on an occasion when he saw a naked man in a steam-bath. The latter noticed his excitement, approached him, and performed masturbation on him, giving the patient intense delight. He felt powerfully attracted to this man, and, thereafter, allowed him to repeat the act. In the meantime, there were attempts at coitus with females, which always ended in a fiasco. The patient was much troubled by this, and consulted physicians, who explained his impotence as due to nervousness, and thought that it would soon pass off.

Until his twenty-fifth year his sexual indulgence consisted of masturbation by the beloved man about once a month. At this time he last felt attracted to a woman. It was to a young peasant-girl. She would not accede to his wishes. Since his lover was also unattainable, the patient began to masturbate alone. With this, his neurasthenia increased. For this reason he was unable to finish his studies; he became shy, dysthymic, abulic, and now vainly tried cures at various hydropathic establishments. On account of continued severe (cerebro-spinal) neurasthenia, the patient came to me for advice, in the latter part of February, 1890.

A tall, slim man, of aristocratic and decidedly masculine manners. Neuropathic appearance; large ears, the lobes of which run into and lose themselves in the skin of the cheeks. Genitals perfectly normal. The usual picture of cerebro-spinal neurasthenia of moderate degree. Great depression; complaint of being dissatisfied with life, even to *tedium vitae*; he is pained by his sexual anomaly, especially because he is urged by his family to marry.

He is interested in women only mentally, not physically. Sexually, his only interest is in men of distinction. His dreams have never been about persons of the opposite sex, but of those of his own sex. In these lascivious dreams he has always seen himself in the *rôle* of a woman.

The most refined woman has never been able to induce erection or even libido in him.

His sexual intercourse with men has consisted of passive or mutual masturbation. He had practiced solitary onanism only infrequently and *faute de mieux*. During the last five months he had abstained, and had had no male intercourse since August, 1889.

An attempt at hypnosis, after Bernheim's method, failed; prolonged stroking of the brow induced deep lethargy, with catalepsy.

This method is used, in order to carry out suggestive treatment of this patient, who is so worthy of compassion. The hypnotic state is always the same; he cannot be brought into a state of somnambulism.

At the third sitting the patient is given the suggestions: ever despise onanism and male love; find women beautiful, and dream of them.

After the sixth sitting (March 10th) a moral transformation takes place in his mind. The patient becomes quieter, feels more free, and dreams now and then of women, and no longer of men, finding that the latter have become indifferent to him. He gratefully states that he has no more inclination to masturbation. He approaches women, but he notices that they have not the least attraction for him.

On March 19th, business called the patient home; so that the treatment had to be discontinued.

On May 17, 1890, the patient returned for treatment. He asserted that he had not masturbated in the interval, and that he had resisted his inclination to men. Too, he had not dreamed of men, but twice of women, though only platonically. His cerebral asthenia (*ex abstinentia?*) had increased. He apparently suffers for the want of mental and sensual satisfaction of his *vita sexualis*; for homo-sexual love and masturbation have become impossible for him, and intercourse with women is denied him. The patient is thus painfully depressed to the extent of *tedium vitae*.

He is now subjected to anti-neurasthenic treatment (hydro-therapeutic and electro-therapeutic), and the treatment by hypnosis is resumed. Only after ten weeks of painstaking treatment did the neurasthenic symptoms disappear. Progressing parallel with this, there was a change of his mental personality.

The patient was gratified to note that he grew stronger; that his sexual life no longer played a dominating part. Though he felt more drawn toward men than women, yet he easily resisted homo-sexual desires. His former *boudoir* became a work-room; instead of to adornment and frivolous reading, he gave himself to walks in the mountains and forests. On account of the danger of a fiasco, the initiative in hetero-sexual attempts was left to the patient.

It was not until the fourteenth week of treatment that the patient made an attempt. It was perfectly successful. The patient became happy, and sound in body and mind, and expressed the best hope of his future, even having thoughts of marriage.

He experienced increasing pleasure in normal sexual intercourse;

he occasionally had lascivious dreams of women, and no longer dreamed of men.

The patient stopped treatment at the end of September. He felt perfectly normal in hetero-sexual intercourse, devoid of neurasthenia, and had thoughts of marriage. Yet he freely confessed that he still always had erections at the sight of a naked, handsome man; though he could easily resist the desires that arose, and in dreams had exclusively "*relations avec la femme.*"

In April, 1891, I again saw the patient, and he was in the best of health. He regarded his *vita sexualis* as perfectly normal; for he had coitus regularly with pleasure and full virility, dreamed only of women, and had no inclination to masturbation. Yet he made the interesting confession that frequently, post coitum, he still had a temporary "*gout pour l'homme,*" which he could easily control. He thought he was lastingly cured, and was occupied with thoughts of marriage.

Case 143. Congenital Contrary Sexual Feeling. Successful Removal of Homo-Sexual Feelings by Suggestions.—L., doctor of philosophy, aged 34, German, consulted me, in the spring of 1888, on account of perversion of his *vita sexualis*, and asked whether he could not be freed from it by means of hypnotic treatment.

Patient came of a healthy mother, in whose family, for generations, there had been neither insanity nor nervous disease. He, like his only brother, is much like his father mentally. His brother is very sensual, and also psychically abnormal, and given to over-indulgence in drink.

His father was a neuropathic, eccentric man. Nothing is known of any abnormal sexual manifestations in him, though, like all his brothers, he had a tendency to over-indulgence in alcohol.

This vice seems to have been inherited from his mother (grandmother of patient), who was a notorious drinker. The father of this woman (great-grandfather of patient) was also a great drinker. No other ancestral history was obtainable.

Patient states that from childhood he was nervous and easily excited. He learned very easily, and had a talent for languages. He was always interested in art, particularly in music and poetry. His education was excellent, and given at home. When he was thirteen, his father told him that he should never touch his genitals, for it was wrong to do so, and to do it might bring unhappiness.

Occasionally his father showed him pictures of syphilitic diseased conditions, etc., in an anatomical museum, and the patient was disgusted and frightened. He believed that his later fear of sexual intercourse with women was partly nourished by this early erroneous teaching.

However, the patient seeks the principal cause of his sexual perversion in a defect of organization. When a small boy, he had a silly enthusiasm for companions. He also remembers that, at that time, he had a

desire only for girlish games, and preferred the society of girls. When a boy, he had a passion for crocheting and embroidering. At fourteen he was still without any sexual knowledge, and fell into the hands of a pederast. He ran away, frightened, when he learned what was to be done with him. When fifteen, a sympathetic companion was accustomed to lay his head in the patient's lap. This gave the patient a peculiar pleasurable feeling, but he knew no explanation of it. At sixteen he had the first erections—at the sight of men.

At twenty he first learned that his sexual condition was perverse, and recognized the fact that what he had taken for friendship was love. He was much frightened at the discovery, and much pained. His sympathies were directed toward young men of the upper class that were handsomely formed and of pleasing appearance.

The society of ladies had no effect on him. He was never attracted by the charms of the opposite sex. In his fifteenth year he had a sensual dream, in which he thought a girl of elegant figure sat opposite him, on a sofa.

In the theatre it was only the art of the actresses that he admired; the actors excited his real interest.

Drinking and smoking had always been very repugnant to him. Hunting and gymnastics, and other masculine occupations, had no interest for him. He did not enter the army, because his general physical weakness precluded it.

The patient has but little sexual desire. He has never had any impulse to satisfy himself with persons of his own sex. Some years ago, when he first tried to embrace a man lovingly, he had powerful erection and became greatly excited; but he was able to control himself and to repel his lover. Thereafter he always avoided such attempts. It was only seldom that he became powerfully excited sexually, and even then he was not driven to satisfy himself. He was never given to onanism. During the establishment of puberty, the patient had frequent dreams with pollutions, but these were not induced by erotic fancies of any kind.

Some years ago, for a long time, ejaculation was always induced by the embrace of a sympathetic man, but this condition of irritable weakness disappeared. As years passed, the patient, who had always had a desire for marriage and a family, became anxious on account of the conviction that the inclination toward females, for which he had hoped, would never come. It became more and more clear to him that he was abnormal, and he began to have fears about his virility and his future happiness in life.

In order to test the matter, he sought a brothel. He found a prostitute of beautiful form; he had the best will to satisfy himself that he was virile; the woman did all she could, but in vain. There was no erection, and he withdrew, ashamed. New attempts, under the most favorable circumstances, were likewise failures, though the patient

brought his imagination to his aid, and thought himself to be embracing a man instead of a woman.

He now realized that his ideal—to consummate marriage—was impossible. He felt himself very unfortunate, and dissatisfied with life. Besides, it forced itself upon him that morally he was lowered, because he could not overcome his inclination for his own sex, and his friendship for respectable men of his circle was degraded by sexual feelings. In his consultation with me, the patient was unending in the description of his painful situation. His ideal was marriage. He longed for it, for purely ethical reasons. He thought of it as something holy; but the begetting of children, the sexual act, was very repugnant to him. At the same time, he saw that he could not really marry without being potent. Would not hypnotic suggestion exercise a favorable influence on his sexual life? He had not the energy of a man of normal sexual condition. He seemed to himself to be all wrong. He would endure all—to be poor and miserable—if he could but have a normal sexual inclination.

When the patient was gently told of the congenital and deep constitutional significance of his sexual anomaly, and shown that, therefore, the creation of a normal sexual condition was doubtful, he thought that he would be satisfied to remain in his condition. But he wished to know whether it were not possible to eradicate his inclination for men, without attempting to create an equivalent for women; and if, in hypnosis, it could not be suggested to him that, in the future, men be a matter of indifference to him, and that, in intercourse with his friends, he no longer be excited sexually. Such a result would elevate very much his moral feeling, and make him satisfied and unembarrassed in social relations with his friends.

The possibility of such suggestive removal of feelings by hypnosis could not be gainsaid, though he was in doubt as to whether he could be hypnotized or not, since the hypnoscope had proved to have no effect upon him.

Out of pity and scientific interest, I decided to make an immediate attempt at hypnosis, after Bernheim's method.

The patient passed easily into a condition of deep lethargy, and, in a drawling voice, repeated the following suggestion: "I feel that, from this time, I am sexually indifferent to men; and, that a man is as sexually indifferent to me as a woman."

When I counted three,—having suggested previously that he awake at three,—the patient came to himself, as if out of a deep sleep, and performed immediately the post-hypnotic suggestion to open the door of the stove. He said that he had not lost consciousness entirely, that he had felt as one paralyzed and without will, and that he had felt a peculiar creeping sensation in all his limbs.

After five days the patient came again. In manner he was a different person, and he said, joyfully, that he felt like another man. Energy and will-power—the loss of which he had felt so keenly—had

returned. He felt, now, entirely unembarrassed toward men, and had a new joy in living.

The following seven days he was hypnotized. Hypnosis is no longer as deep as at first, though the suggestion is always accepted and repeated. However, he is quite profoundly influenced; for, the suggestion given, he sleeps on, in a state of lethargy, for ten minutes, and has to be awakened by suggestion. This always occurs as if from a deep sleep,—slowly, and through a stage of somnolence.

After the eighth sitting the patient found himself well and happy, and in possession of full self-confidence. He had the feeling and the evidence that men had no influence on him.

He thought he could dispense with hypnotic treatment, and gratefully took his leave, with the promise that, should the influence of the suggestion fade, he would come again. Since then, I have heard nothing more of this interesting patient, and I have reason to hope that he remains improved.

The patient is, in all respects, of masculine appearance; beard abundant. Physically, with the exception of slight neurasthenic symptoms, he presents nothing remarkable. Genitals normal. (Personal case. *Internat. Centralblatt*, etc., Bd. i, Heft 1.)

Case 144. X., aged 33; single; tall. Mentally, of small endowment; comes of tainted family. Paternal grandfather died at thirty-four with a mental disease, which is said to have developed as a result of onanism and spermatorrhœa. His father and brother suffered with disturbances of the sexual functions. There was insanity in the mother's family; other branches of the family were noted for their irritable and eccentric character.

The patient has too small a head, a retreating brow, abnormal ears, sparse growth of hair, and a hernia, which is probably congenital. Genitals large, and normally developed.

Great impressionability; neuropathic constitution; occasional tædium vitæ. For several years, peculiar, imperative ideas: that he is a locomotive; a horse; a velocipede; and, that he must act accordingly. From his earliest youth, contrary sexual feeling (congenital). Horror feminæ; sexual inclination toward boys; satisfaction by sensual contact, and, *faute de mieux*, masturbation. One day he had an affair with a boy dressed in gray, which made a deep impression on him. Since then, while masturbating, the image of the boy comes into his mind; and he cannot see gray clothes without having powerful erections. On the advice of physicians whom he consulted, he attempted coitus with women, but was cold and impotent, notwithstanding the assistance of memory-pictures of the boy dressed in gray; and he finally gave up the efforts.

March 27th, first hypnotic sitting. Small result. He resists, and says his fancy keeps him from going to sleep.

In a further series of sittings he declares that he experiences unfavorable effects,—is more excited, and troubled by imperative ideas and the desire to masturbate. He makes fun of the physician and hypnotism, and offers much resistance, with the expression that hypnotism is good for nothing, and only makes people crazy.

However, gradually it became possible to induce somnambulism. After twenty-five sittings the patient confessed that he was better, and that he was less troubled with imperative ideas and onanism. The sittings were repeated every week or two. The patient felt mentally and morally well, ceased to masturbate, but, at the end of treatment, was indifferent toward the opposite sex (Dr. Ladame, *Revue de l'hypnotisme*, September 1, 1889).

In the two foregoing cases there was successful suggestive removal of homo-sexual feelings,—a result which, as Case 143 shows, means a great improvement for such unfortunate individuals, in that it protects them from shame and the law. An entirely different and phenomenal result is presented by the following case, reported by Dr. v. Schrenk-Notzing in the *Wiener internat. klin. Rundschau*, October 6, 1889, No. 40, which is a case of effemimation. It discloses a new method of treatment of urnings; but it is necessary to guard against illusions. Only where hypnosis can be deepened to somnambulism, are decided and lasting results to be expected:—

Case 145. Congenital Contrary Sexual Instinct Improved by Hypnotic Suggestion.—R., official, aged 28. January 20, 1888, he sought medical advice. He is the brother of the patient who is the subject of Case 135, and, therefore, of a badly tainted family (*v. supra*). Toward the end of treatment, he confessed that he was the author of the autobiography which was published as Case 83 in the fifth edition of this work, and it is here reproduced:—

“ In brief, my abnormality consists of this, that in sexual relations I feel myself to be completely feminine. Since my earliest youth, in my sexual acts and fancies, I have always had before my eyes only images of masculine beings and masculine genitals.

“ Until I went to the University, I found nothing in this (I had never spoken with others about my fancies, but rather, while at the Gymnasium, lived a silent and retired life).

“ While at the University, it struck me that female persons made not the slightest impression on me. Since then, in houses of prostitution, etc., I have attempted coitus, or only to obtain an erection, with women, but always in vain.

"Erection ceased immediately, as soon as I was in a room alone with a woman. At first I considered it impotence, though, at the same time, I was so excited sexually that I had to masturbate several times during the day in order to sleep.

"Quite different, however, has been the development of my feelings toward the masculine sex, and it has grown stronger every year. At first they expressed themselves in extraordinary, enthusiastic friendship for certain persons, under whose windows at night I would wait for hours; whom in all possible ways I would try to meet on the streets, and with whom I sought to come in contact. I wrote such persons the most passionate letters, in which, however, I was shy in expressing my feelings too plainly. Later, after my twentieth year, I came to understand the essential nature of my inclinations, particularly from the sensual pleasure I experienced as soon as I came in direct contact with any of these friends. These persons were all finely built men, with dark hair and eyes. I have never had my feelings excited by boys. Real pederasty is absolutely incomprehensible to me. About this time (twenty-second to twenty-third year) the circle of my beloved friends grew more and more extensive. Now I can scarcely see a handsome man on the street without having the wish to possess him excited in me. The fact is, I especially love persons of the lower classes, whose powerful forms attract me,—soldiers, policemen, car-drivers, etc.,—i.e., all that wear uniforms. If one of these returns my look, I feel a kind of thrill go through my whole body. I am especially excitable in the evening, and merely the heavy tread of a soldier is alone sufficient to induce the most powerful erections. I take a very peculiar pleasure in following such persons and looking at them. As soon as I learn that they are married, or that they consort with girls, my excitement very frequently ceases.

"A few months ago I became able to control my inclinations to such an extent that they were not directly noticeable. About this time I followed a soldier who seemed likely to acquiesce in my desire, and spoke to him. For money he was ready for anything. At once I was filled with a most violent longing to embrace and kiss him, and the danger of being noticed did not deter me from doing it. He had scarcely grasped my genitals when ejaculation followed. With this meeting, I had finally attained the long-desired goal of my life. I knew that my whole nature would find its happiness and satisfaction in it, and from this time I gave myself up entirely to the effort to find a person whom I could love, and from whom I should never part. For my acts I do not experience the slightest twinge of conscience.

"To be sure, in quiet moments, I very well appreciate the difference between my way of thinking and the way of the world; as a lawyer, too, I naturally recognize the dangers of a relation of the kind I desire; but, as long as my entire nature does not change, I shall not be able to

give up the opportunities offered me. Nevertheless, I should be willing to undergo any cure to be freed from my abnormal condition.

"I recognize my feminine feeling, among other things, in the fact that any sensual idea in connection with a woman must be forced, and seems unnatural to me. I am also sure that my respect for a woman—I move much in the society of ladies, and enjoy it—would change immediately to repugnance, were I to notice any sensual inclination in her toward me. In my dreams and sensual fancies of men, I always think of myself in such positions with them that their faces are always toward mine. My greatest delight would be to have a powerful man, undressed, take me in his arms with a force I could not resist. In such situations I always think of myself in a passive *rôle*, and have to force my feelings, in order to think of myself in any other position. In this, I am truly feminine. Great as my desire may be to approach certain persons, my struggle is as great not to allow this to be noticed. Moustaches, abundance of hair, and even dirt, seem to be especially enticing. It is hardly necessary to say that, to me, my condition, with reference to society, is absolutely desperate; and, if I had not the hope of finding a being that would understand me, life would be scarcely endurable. I feel that sexual commerce with a man is the only means of successfully combating my impulse to onanism. Though this has a very bad effect on me, I cannot keep myself from it constantly, because, as I have often found, I will be even more weakened by pollutions at night and persistent erections during the day.

"Up to this time I have truly loved but two men. Both were officers, remarkably endowed mentally, handsomely and gracefully formed, and of dark skin and eyes. I became acquainted with the first at the University. I was madly in love with him, and suffered unspeakably on account of his indifference. I spent nights under his window, simply to be near him. When he was officially transferred, I was in despair.

"Soon after, I became acquainted with an officer that resembled him, who likewise enchain'd me at first sight. I sought every opportunity to meet him, spent the day in the streets, and at places where I hoped to get a sight of him. I knew how the blood came into my face when, unsuspected, I saw him. When I saw him friendly with others, I could scarcely contain myself for jealousy. When I sat near him, I was impelled to touch him. I could scarcely conceal my excitement when I touched his knee or thigh. I never ventured, however, to express my feelings to him; for, from his conduct, I was convinced that he would not understand them or share them.

"I am twenty-seven years old, of medium height, and well-developed. and would be considered handsome. My chest is somewhat narrow, hands and feet small, and voice weak. Mentally, I think I am well endowed; for I passed the State examination with distinction, speak several languages, and am a good painter.

"In my calling I pass for one that is industrious and conscientious. My acquaintances think me cold and peculiar. I do not smoke, do not play games, and cannot sing or whistle. My gait, like my voice, is somewhat affected. I have much taste for elegance, love adornment, sweet-meats, and perfumes, and prefer the society of ladies."

From Dr. von Schrenk's notes of the case, it is learned, further, that social and criminal deterrents, on the one hand, and uncontrollable desire for his own sex, on the other, caused violent mental struggles, and made life unendurable. For this reason the patient confided in the physician. January 22, 1889, hypnotic treatment, with suggestion, after the method of Nancy, was begun with the patient. Gradually it became possible to induce somnambulism.

The suggestions were made with reference to indifference to men, and ability to resist them, and to increase of interest in women; masturbation was thus forbidden, and women substituted for men in lascivious dreams. After a few sittings pleasure at sight of women was induced. At the seventh sitting successful coitus was suggested; this was fulfilled.

During the next three months the patient remained, under the influence of occasional hypnotic suggestions, in the full possession of normal sexual functions. April 22, 1889, there was a relapse, induced by a companion. At the next sitting, remorse and shame. As expiation, coitus with a woman in the presence of his seducer.

The patient complained that coitus with women below him in station did not satisfy his æsthetic feelings. He hoped to find satisfaction in a happy marriage. After forty-five sittings (May 2, 1889) the patient considered himself cured. Treatment ceased. He became engaged to a young lady some weeks later, and presented himself again, after six months, as a happy bridegroom. He thought that, in his happiness with his wife, he had a sure preventive against relapse.

The author emphasizes the fact that the hypnotic treatment had no injurious collateral effect, and leaves undecided the question as to whether the cure is permanent or not, with R.'s very bad heredity. But he expresses the conviction that, in case of relapse, renewed hypnotic treatment would not be contra-indicated.

Since the incredible result of this case interested me exceedingly, as did its further course, I wrote to the author, requesting information concerning his patient.

Dr. v. Schrenk very kindly placed at my disposal the following letter, which he had received from the patient in January, 1890:—

"By means of suggestive treatment given me by Baron Schrenk, for the first time I became possessed of the psychical condition that

permitted me to have intercourse with a woman, which, up to that time, in spite of repeated efforts, I had been unable to do successfully.

"Since my æsthetic needs were unsatisfied by intercourse with prostitutes, I thought to find my real salvation in matrimony. The earlier friendly inclination toward a lady known in my youth offered me the opportunity, the more because I believed that she, of all others, would be in a position to awaken feelings for the opposite sex which were absolutely foreign to me. Her character,—*i.e.*, our harmony,—is in such accord with my inclinations that I am fully convinced that I shall also find complete psychical satisfaction. This conviction has not changed during the eight months of my engagement.

"I intend to be married in about four weeks.

"As far as my position with respect of my own sex is concerned, my power of resistance—and this is the lasting positive result of this treatment—is absolutely changed in degree. While previously it was impossible for me to overcome an intense sexual excitation when I saw a finely formed car-driver, to-day, in the company of my former lovers, I am without sexual excitement. At the same time, I must add that now, as formerly, their society has a certain attraction for me, though it is not to be compared with my earlier passion.

"On the other hand, I have refused repeated persuasions to indulge in sexual intercourse with men, without expending much force in resistance,—persuasions which formerly I should have been unable to resist. I may say, indeed, that it is a feeling of compassion for my former lovers, that have proved their passionate devotion to me, which keeps me from directly repulsing them. My action seems to be due to a feeling of duty, rather than to inner need.

"Since the conclusion of treatment, I have not consorted with prostitutes. This circumstance, and the numerous letters and persuasions from my former lover, may well be the reason why, in the eight months that have elapsed, I have allowed him to persuade me to sexual intercourse on three or four occasions. At these times I have always been conscious of being completely master of myself, as compared with my earlier passionate condition in like situations, as the violent reproaches of my friend convinced me. *I always feel a certain unconquerable repugnance, which cannot be based on moral grounds, but which, I believe, must be attributed to the treatment.* I no longer feel a love for him in the former sense. Besides, since the treatment, I have sought no opportunities for sexual intercourse with men, and I feel no need of it. But, formerly, not a day passed on which I did not feel impelled to it, so that at times I was unable to think of anything else. Awake or dreaming, ideas of sexual content are very infrequent.

"I may express the belief that my marriage, that is to take place in a few weeks, and the much desired change of place that is bound to it, will entirely remove the residuum of my earlier condition. I conclude

these lines with the honest assurance that, subjectively, I am another man, and that this change has restored the mental equilibrium that was previously wanting."

The foregoing words, which Dr. v. Schrenk completes with the verbal statement of the patient that he had not practiced onanism again, are a brilliant proof of the lasting effect of post-hypnotic suggestion. I consider the hetero-sexual instinct of the patient to be the artificial creation of his excellent physician; and the patient himself seems to recognize this, in that he speaks of a repugnance which "does not rest on moral grounds, but which depends on the treatment."

The further fate of this interesting patient may be learned from the following letter, kindly submitted by Dr. v. Schrenk:—

"Honored Sir: Having been home some days from my wedding-journey, I wish to send you a short report of my present condition. During the week before my wedding I was in great excitement, because I feared that I should be unable to perform certain duties. The impelling thoughts of my friend, who wished another meeting with me, at any price, had no effect on me. We had not seen each other since I heard from you last. [Receipt of the professor's letter.] However, I was much troubled with the thought that my marriage must be unhappy. Now, however, I have no anxiety. To be sure, on the first night, success was difficult,—to induce sexual excitation in myself,—but on the following night, and since, the influences needed for a normal man, I believe, would have been sufficient for me. I am also convinced that the harmony between us, which, of course, is mentally of long standing, will become more and more complete. A relapse to the former condition seems impossible. It is, perhaps, significant for my present condition, that I one night dreamed of my former lover, and that the dream was not sensual, and did not excite me sensually.

"I am satisfied with my present circumstances. I am, of course, well aware that my present inclinations are far from being of a degree equal to what they formerly were. I believe, however, that they will daily grow stronger. Already my former life is incomprehensible, and I cannot understand why I did not earlier think to overcome the abnormal sexual instinct by normal sexual indulgence. A relapse would now be possible only with an entire change of my mental life; and, in a word, it seems impossible.

"Your obedient servant,

—d."

From a letter of Dr. v. Schrenk's, of December 7th, I extract the following:—

Excerpt 1

(b) *With Persons of the Same Sex—Pederasty; Sodomy in its Strict Sense.*

German law takes cognizance of unnatural sexual relations only between men; Austrian, between those of the same sex; and, therefore, unnatural relations between women are punishable.

Among the immoralities between men, pederasty (*immissio penis in anum*) claims the principal interest. Indeed, the jurist thought only of this perversity of sexual activity; and, according to the opinions of distinguished interpreters of the law (Oppenhoff, "Stgsb.," Berlin, 1872, p. 324, and Rudolf and Stenglein, "D. Strafgesb. f. d. Deutsche Reich," 1881, p. 423), *immissio penis in corpus vivum* belongs to the criminal act covered by § 175.

According to this interpretation, legal punishment would not follow other improper acts between male persons, *so long as they were not complicated with offense to public decency, with force, or undertaken with boys under the age of fourteen.* Of late this interpretation has again been abandoned, and the crime of unnatural abuse between men has been assumed when merely acts *similar to cohabitation* were performed.¹

The study of contrary sexual instinct has placed male love of males in a very different light from that in which it, and particularly pederasty, stood at the time the statutes were framed. The fact that there is no doubt about the pathological basis of many cases of contrary sexual instinct shows that pederasty may also be the act of an irresponsible person, and makes it necessary, in court, to examine not merely the deed, but also the mental condition of the perpetrator.

The principles laid down previously must also be adhered to here. Not the deed, but only an anthropological and clinical judgment of the perpetrator can permit a decision as to

¹ How difficult, unpleasant, and dangerous for the jurist judgment of these "coitus-like" acts for the establishment of the objective fact of the crime may be is well shown by an article on the punishableness of male intercourse, in the *Zeitschr. f. d. gesammte Strafrechtswissenschaft.*, Bd. vii, Heft 1, as well as by a similar one in Friedreich's *Blätter f. ger. Medicin*, 1891, Heft 6. *Vide*, further, Moll, *Conträre Sexualempfindung*, p. 223 *et seq.*, and Bernhardi, *Der Uranismus*, Berlin, 1882.

whether we have to do with a perversity deserving punishment, or with an abnormal perversion of the mental and sexual life, which, under certain circumstances, excludes punishment. The next legal question to settle is whether the contrary sexual feeling is congenital or acquired; and, in the latter case, whether it is abnormal perversion or moral perversity.

Congenital contrary sexual instinct occurs only in predisposed (tainted) individuals, as a partial manifestation of a defect evidenced by anatomical or functional abnormalities, or both. The case becomes clearer, and the diagnosis more certain, if the individual, in character and disposition, seems to correspond entirely with his sexual peculiarity; and if the inclination toward persons of the opposite sex is entirely wanting, and horror of sexual intercourse with them is felt; and if the individual, in the impulses to satisfy the contrary sexual instinct, shows other anomalies of the sexual sphere, such as more pronounced degeneration in the form of periodicity of the impulse and impulsive conduct, and is a neuropathic and psychopathic person.

Another question concerns the mental condition of the urning. If this be such as to remove the possibility of moral responsibility, then the pederast is not a criminal, but an irresponsible insane person. This condition in congenital urnings is apparently less frequent than another. As a rule, these cases present elementary psychical disturbances, which do not remove responsibility. But this does not settle the question of the responsibility of the urning. The sexual instinct is one of the most powerful organic needs. There is no law that looks upon its satisfaction outside of marriage as punishable in itself; if the urning feels perversely, it is not his fault, but the fault of a condition natural to him. His sexual instinct may be æsthetically very repugnant, but, from his stand-point, it is natural. And, too, in the majority of these unfortunates, the perverse sexual instinct is abnormally intense, and their consciousness recognizes it as nothing unnatural. Thus they fail to have moral and æsthetic ideas to assist them in resisting the instinct. Innumerable normally constituted men are in a position to

overcome the desire for satisfaction of their libido without suffering from it in health. Many neuropathic individuals,—and urnings are almost always neuropathic,—on the contrary, become nervously ill when they do not satisfy the sexual desire, either as Nature prompts or in a way that is for them perverse.

The majority of urnings are in a painful situation. On the one hand, there is an impulse toward persons of their own sex that is abnormally intense, the satisfaction of which has a good effect, and is natural to them; on the other, is public sentiment which stigmatizes their acts, and the law which threatens them with punishment. Before them lies mental despair,—even insanity and suicide,—at the very least, nervous disease; behind them, shame, loss of position, etc. It cannot be doubted that, under these circumstances, states of necessity and compulsion may be created by the unfortunate natural disposition and constitution. Society and the law should understand these facts. The former must pity, and not despise, such unfortunates; the latter must cease to punish them,—at least, while they remain within the limits which are set for the activity of their sexual instinct.

As a confirmation of these opinions and demands concerning these step-children of Nature, it is permissible to reproduce here the memorial of an urning to the author. The writer of the following lines is a man of high position in London:—

“ You have no idea what a constant struggle we all—particularly those of us that have the most mind and finest feelings—have to endure, and how we suffer under the prevailing false ideas about us and our so-called immorality.

“ Your opinion that the phenomenon under consideration is primarily due to a congenital ‘ pathological ’ disposition will, perhaps, make it possible to overcome existing prejudices, and awaken pity for poor, ‘ abnormal ’ men, instead of the present repugnance and contempt. Much as I believe that the opinion expressed by you is exceedingly beneficial to us, I am still compelled, in the interest of science, to repudiate the word ‘ pathological ’; and you will permit me to express a few thoughts with respect of it.

“ Under all circumstances the phenomenon is anomalous; but the word ‘ pathological ’ conveys another meaning, which I cannot think suits this phenomenon; at least, as I have had occasion to observe it in very many cases. I will allow, *a priori*, that, among urnings, a far

Excerpt 3

in general, and the partiality which this sensitive man sometimes showed even for domestic animals,—where no one would think of sodomy. With S.'s mental character, extraordinary friendship for the youth G. may be easily comprehended. The openness of this friendship permits the conclusion that it was innocent, much rather than that it depended upon sensual passion.

The defendants succeeded in obtaining a new trial. The new trial took place on March 7, 1890. There was much evidence presented in favor of the accused.

The previous moral life of S. was generally acknowledged. The Sister of Charity who cared for G. in S.'s house, never noticed anything suspicious in the intercourse between S. and G. S.'s former friends testified to his morality, his deep friendship, and his habit of kissing them on meeting or leaving them. The anal abnormalities previously found on G. were no longer present. Experts called by the court allowed the possibility that they had been due simply to digital manipulations; their diagnostic value in any case was contested by the experts called by the defense.

The court recognized that the imputed crime had not been proved, and exonerated the defendants.

LESBIAN LOVE.¹

Where the sexual intercourse is between adults, its legal importance is very slight: it could come into consideration only in Austria. In connection with urningism, this phenomenon is of anthropological and clinical value. The relation is the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as between men. Lesbian love does not seem to approach urningism in frequency. The majority of female urnings do not act in obedience to an innate impulse, but they are developed under conditions analogous to those which produce the urning by cultivation.

These "forbidden friendships" flourish especially in penal institutions for females.

Kraussold (*op. cit.*) reports: "The female prisoners often have such friendships, which, when possible, extend to mutual manustupration.

"But temporary manual gratification is not the only purpose of such friendships. They are made to be enduring,—entered into systematically, so to speak,—and intense jealousy and a passion for love are

¹ Comp. Mayer, Friedreich's Blätter, 1875, p. 41.—Kraussold, Melancholie und Schuld, 1884, p. 20.—Andronico, Archiv di psich. scienze penali ed anthropol. crim., vol. III, p. 145.

developed which could scarcely be surpassed between persons of opposite sex. When the friend of one prisoner is merely smiled at by another, there are often the most violent scenes of jealousy, and even beatings.

"When the violent prisoner has been put in irons, in accordance with the prison-regulations, she says 'she has had a child by her friend.'"

We are indebted to Parent-Duchatelet ("De la prostitution," 1857, vol. i, p. 159) for interesting communications concerning Lesbian love.

According to this experienced author, repugnance for the most disgusting and perverse acts (coitus in axilla, inter mammæ, etc.) which men perform on prostitutes is not infrequently responsible for driving these unfortunate creatures to Lesbian love. From his statements it is seen that it is essentially prostitutes of great sensuality who, unsatisfied with intercourse with impotent or perverse men, and impelled by their disgusting practices, come to indulge in it.

Besides these, there are prostitutes who let themselves be known as given to tribadism; persons who have been in prisons for years, and in these hot beds of Lesbian love, ex abstinencia, acquired this vice.

It is interesting to know that prostitutes hate those who practice tribadism,—just as men abhor pederasts; but female prisoners do not regard the vice as indecent.

Parent mentions the case of a prostitute who, while intoxicated, tried to force another to Lesbian love. The latter became so enraged that she denounced the indecent woman to the police. Taxil (*op. cit.* p. 166, 170) reports similar instances.

Mantegazza ("Anthropol. culturhistorische Studien," p. 97) also finds that sexual intercourse between women has especially the significance of a vice which arises on the basis of unsatisfied hyperesthesia sexualis.

In many cases of this kind, however, aside from congenital contrary sexual instinct, one gains the impression that, just as in men (*vide supra*), the cultivated vice gradually leads to acquired contrary sexual instinct, with repugnance for sexual intercourse with the opposite sex.

At least Parent's cases were probably of this nature. The correspondence with the lover was quite as sentimental and exaggerated in tone as it is between lovers of the opposite sex; unfaithfulness and separation broke the heart of the one abandoned; jealousy was unbridled, and led to bloody revenge. The following cases of Lesbian love, by Mantegazza, are certainly pathological, and possibly examples of congenital contrary sexual instinct:—

1. On July 5, 1777, a woman was brought before a court in London, who, dressed as a man, had been married to three different women. She

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XVIII

THE PSYCHOGENESIS OF A CASE OF
HOMOSEXUALITY IN A WOMAN¹

(1920)

I

HOMOSEXUALITY in women, which is certainly not less common than in men, although much less glaring, has not only been ignored by the law, but has also been neglected by psycho-analytic research. The narration of a single case, not too pronounced in type, in which it was possible to trace its origin and development in the mind with complete certainty and almost without a gap may, therefore, have a certain claim to attention. If this presentation of it furnishes only the most general outlines of the various events concerned and of the conclusions reached from a study of the case, while suppressing all the characteristic details on which the interpretation is founded, this limitation is easily to be explained by the medical discretion necessary in discussing a recent case.

A beautiful and clever girl of eighteen, belonging to a family of good standing, had aroused displeasure and concern in her parents by the devoted adoration with which she pursued a certain lady 'in society' who was about ten years older than herself. The parents asserted that, in spite of her distinguished name, this lady was nothing but a coquette. It was said to be well known that she lived with a married woman as her friend, having intimate relations with her, while at the same time she carried on promiscuous affairs with a number of men. The girl did not contradict

these evil reports, but neither did she allow them to interfere with her worship of the lady, although she herself was by no means lacking in a sense of decency and propriety. No prohibitions and no supervision hindered the girl from seizing every one of her rare opportunities of being together with her beloved, of ascertaining all her habits, of waiting for her for hours outside her door or at a tram-halt, of sending her gifts of flowers, and so on. It was evident that this one interest had swallowed up all others in the girl's mind. She did not trouble herself any further with educational studies, thought nothing of social functions or girlish pleasures, and kept up relations only with a few girl friends who could help her in the matter or serve as confidantes. The parents could not say to what lengths their daughter had gone in her relations with the questionable lady, whether the limits of devoted admiration had already been exceeded or not. They had never remarked in their daughter any interest in young men, nor pleasure in their attentions, while, on the other hand, they were sure that her present attachment to a woman was only a continuation, in a more marked degree, of a feeling she had displayed of recent years for other members of her own sex which had already aroused her father's suspicion and anger.

There were two details of her behaviour, in apparent contrast with each other, that most especially vexed her parents. On the one hand, she did not scruple to appear in the most frequented streets in the company of her questionable friend, being thus quite neglectful of her own reputation; while, on the other hand, she disdained no means of deception, no excuses and no lies that would make meetings with her possible and cover them. She thus showed herself too brazen in one respect and full of deceitfulness in the other. One day it happened, indeed, as was sooner or later inevitable in the circumstances, that the father met his daughter in the company of the lady. He passed them by with an angry glance which boded no good.

¹ First published in *Zeitschrift*, Bd. VI., 1920; reprinted in *Samm-lung*, Fünfte Folge. [Translated by Barbara Low and R. Gabler.]

Immediately after, the girl rushed off and flung herself over a wall down the side of a cutting on to a railway line. She paid for this undoubtedly serious attempt at suicide with a considerable time on her back in bed, though fortunately little permanent damage was done. After her recovery she found it easier to get her own way than before. The parents did not dare to oppose her with so much determination, and the lady, who up till then had received her advances coldly, was moved by such an unmistakable proof of serious passion and began to treat her in a more friendly manner.

About six months after this episode the parents sought medical advice and entrusted the physician with the task of bringing their daughter back to a normal state of mind. The girl's attempted suicide had evidently shown them that the instruments of domestic discipline were powerless to overcome the existing disorder. Before going further it will be desirable, however, to deal separately with the attitude of her father and of her mother to the matter. The father was an earnest, worthy man, at bottom very tender-hearted, but he had to some extent estranged his children by the sternness he had adopted towards them. His treatment of his only daughter was too much influenced by consideration for his wife. When he first came to know of his daughter's homosexual tendencies he flared up in rage and tried to suppress them by threatening her; at that time perhaps he hesitated between different, though equally painful views—regarding her either as vicious, as degenerate, or as mentally afflicted. Even after the attempted suicide he did not achieve the lofty resignation shown by one of our medical colleagues who remarked of a similar irregularity in his own family, 'It is just a misfortune like any other'. There was something about his daughter's homosexuality that aroused the deepest bitterness in him, and he was determined to combat it with all the means in his power; the low estimation in which psycho-analysis is so generally held in Vienna

did not prevent him from turning to it for help. If this way failed he still had in reserve his strongest counter-measure; a speedy marriage was to awaken the natural instincts of the girl and stifle her unnatural tendencies.

The mother's attitude towards the girl was not so easy to grasp. She was still a youngish woman, who was evidently unwilling to relinquish her own claim to find favour by means of her beauty. All that was clear was that she did not take her daughter's passion so tragically as did the father, nor was she so incensed at it. She had even for a long time enjoyed her daughter's confidence concerning the love-affair, and her opposition to it seemed to have been aroused mainly by the harmful publicity with which the girl displayed her feelings. She had herself suffered for some years from neurotic troubles and enjoyed a great deal of consideration from her husband; she was quite unfair in her treatment of her children, decidedly harsh towards her daughter and over-indulgent to her three sons, the youngest of whom had been born after a long interval and was then not yet three years old. It was not easy to ascertain anything more definite about her character, for, owing to motives that will only later become intelligible, the patient was always reserved in what she said about her mother, whereas in regard to her father she showed no feeling of the kind.

To a physician who was to undertake psycho-analytic treatment of the girl there were many grounds for a feeling of discomfort. The situation he had to deal with was not the one that analysis demands, in which alone it can demonstrate its effectiveness. As is well known, the ideal situation for analysis is when someone who is otherwise master of himself is suffering from an inner conflict which he is unable to resolve alone, so that he brings his trouble to the analyst and begs for his help. The physician then works hand in hand with one part of the personality which is divided against itself, against the other partner in the conflict. Any situation but this is more or less unfavourable for

psycho-analysis and adds fresh difficulties to those already present. Situations like that of a proprietor who orders an architect to build him a villa according to his own tastes and desires, or of a pious donor who commissions an artist to paint a picture of saints, in the corner of which is to be a portrait of himself worshipping, are fundamentally incompatible with the conditions of psycho-analysis. It constantly happens, to be sure, that a husband informs the physician as follows, 'My wife suffers from nerves, so that she gets on badly with me; please cure her, so that we may lead a happy married life again'. But often enough it turns out that such a request is impossible to fulfil, *i.e.* that the physician cannot bring about the result for which the husband sought the treatment. As soon as the wife is freed from her neurotic inhibitions she sets about dissolving the marriage, for her neurosis was the sole condition under which maintenance of the marriage was possible. Or else parents expect one to cure their nervous and unruly child. By a healthy child they mean one who never places his parents in difficulties, but only gives them pleasure. The physician may succeed in curing the child, but after that it goes its own way all the more decidedly, and the parents are now far more dissatisfied than before. In short, it is not a matter of indifference whether someone comes to analysis of his own accord or because he is brought to it, whether he himself desires to be changed, or only his relatives, who love him (or who might be expected to love him), desire this for him.

Further unfavourable features in the present case were the facts that the girl was not in any way ill—she did not suffer from anything in herself, nor did she complain of her condition—and that the task to be carried out did not consist in resolving a neurotic conflict but in converting one variety of the genital organization of sexuality into the other. The removal of genital inversion or homosexuality is in my experience never an easy matter. On the contrary, I have found

success possible only under specially favourable circumstances, and even then the success essentially consisted in being able to open to those who are restricted homosexually the way to the opposite sex, which had been till then barred, thus restoring to them full bisexual functions. After that it lay with themselves to choose whether they wished to abandon the other way that is banned by society, and in individual cases they have done so. One must remember that normal sexuality also depends upon a restriction in the choice of object; in general, to undertake to convert a fully developed homosexual into a heterosexual is not much more promising than to do the reverse, only that for good practical reasons the latter is never attempted.

In actual numbers the successes achieved by psycho-analytic treatment of the various forms of homosexuality, which, to be sure, are manifold, are not very striking. As a rule the homosexual is not able to give up the object of his pleasure, and one cannot convince him that if he changed to the other object he would find again the pleasure that he has renounced. If he comes to be treated at all, it is mostly through the pressure of external motives, such as the social disadvantages and dangers attaching to his choice of object, and such components of the instinct of self-preservation prove themselves too weak in the struggle against the sexual impulses. One then soon discovers his secret plan, namely, to obtain from the striking failure of his attempt the feeling of satisfaction that he has done everything possible against his abnormality, to which he can now resign himself with an easy conscience. The case is somewhat different when consideration for beloved parents and relatives has been the motive for his attempt to be cured. Then there really are libidinal tendencies present which may put forth energies opposed to the homosexual choice of object, though their strength is rarely sufficient. It is only where the homosexual fixation has not yet become strong enough, or where there are considerable

rudiments and vestiges of a heterosexual choice of object, *i.e.* in a still oscillating or in a definitely bisexual organization, that one may make a more favourable prognosis for psycho-analytic therapy.

For these reasons I declined altogether holding out to the parents any prospect of their wish being fulfilled. I merely said I was prepared to study the girl carefully for a few weeks or months, so as then to be able to pronounce how far a continuation of the analysis might influence her. In quite a number of cases, indeed, the analysis divides itself into two clearly distinguishable stages: in the first, the physician procures from the patient the necessary information, makes him familiar with the premises and postulates of psycho-analysis, and unfolds to him the reconstruction of the genesis of his disorder as deduced from the material brought up in the analysis. In the second stage the patient himself lays hold of the material put before him, works on it, recollects what he can of the apparently repressed memories, and behaves as if he were living the rest over again. In this way he can confirm, supplement, and correct the inferences made by the physician. It is only during this work that he experiences, through overcoming resistances, the inner change aimed at, and acquires for himself the convictions that make him independent of the physician's authority. These two stages in the course of the analytic treatment are not always sharply divided from each other; this can only happen when the resistance maintains certain conditions. But when this is so, one may institute a comparison with two stages of a journey. The first comprises all the necessary preparations, to-day so complicated and hard to effect, before ticket in hand, one can at last go on to the platform and secure a seat in the train. One then has the right, and the possibility, of travelling into a distant country, but after all these preliminary exertions one is not yet there—indeed, one is not a single mile nearer to one's goal. For this to happen one has to make the journey itself from one station to

the other, and this part of the performance may well be compared with the second stage in the analysis.

The analysis of the patient I am discussing took this course of two stages, but it was not continued beyond the beginning of the second stage. A special constellation of the resistance made it possible, nevertheless, to gain full confirmation of my inferences, and to obtain an adequate insight on broad lines into the way in which her inversion had developed. But before relating the findings of the analysis I must deal with a few points which have either been touched upon already by myself or which will have roused special interest in the reader.

I had made the prognosis partly dependent on how far the girl had succeeded in satisfying her passion. The information I gleaned during the analysis seemed favourable in this respect. With none of the objects of her adoration had the patient enjoyed anything beyond a few kisses and embraces; her genital chastity, if one may use such a phrase, had remained intact. As for the lady who led a double life, and who had roused the girl's most recent and by far her strongest emotions, she had always treated her coldly and had never allowed any greater favour than kissing her hand. Probably the girl was making a virtue of necessity when she kept insisting on the purity of her love and her physical repulsion against the idea of any sexual intercourse. But perhaps she was not altogether wrong when she vaunted of her wonderful beloved that, aristocrat as she was, forced into her present position only by adverse family circumstances, she had preserved, in spite of her situation, a great deal of nobility. For the lady used to recommend the girl every time they met to withdraw her affection from herself and from women in general, and she had persistently rejected the girl's advances up to the time of the attempted suicide.

A second point, which I at once tried to investigate, concerned any possible motives in the girl herself.

which might serve to support a psycho-analytic treatment. She did not try to deceive me by saying that she felt any urgent need to be freed from her homosexuality. On the contrary, she said she could not conceive of any other way of being in love, but she added that for her parents' sake she would honestly help in the therapeutic endeavour, for it pained her very much to be the cause of so much grief to them. I had to take this as a propitious sign to begin with; I could not divine the unconscious affective attitude that lay behind it. What came to light later in this connection decisively influenced the course taken by the analysis and determined its premature conclusion. Readers unversed in psycho-analysis will long have been awaiting an answer to two other questions. Did this homosexual girl show physical characteristics plainly belonging to the opposite sex, and did the case prove to be one of congenital or acquired (later developed) homosexuality?

I am aware of the importance attaching to the first of these questions. Only one should not exaggerate it and obscure in its favour the fact that sporadic secondary characteristics of the opposite sex are very often present in normal individuals, and that well-marked physical characteristics of the opposite sex may be found in persons whose choice of object has undergone no change in the direction of inversion; in other words, that in both sexes *the degree of physical hermaphroditism is to a great extent independent of the psychological hermaphroditism*. In modification of this statement it must be added that this independence is more evident in men than women, where bodily and mental traits belonging to the opposite sex are apt to coincide in their incidence. Still I am not in a position to give a satisfactory answer to the first of our questions about my patient; the psycho-analyst customarily forgoes thorough bodily examination of his patients in certain cases. Certainly there was no obvious deviation from the feminine physical type, nor any

menstrual disturbance. The beautiful and well-developed girl had, it is true, her father's tall figure, and her facial features were sharp rather than soft and girlish, traits which might be regarded as indicating a physical masculinity. Some of her intellectual attributes also could be connected with masculinity: for instance, her acuteness of comprehension and her lucid objectivity, in so far as she was not dominated by her passion; though these distinctions are conventional rather than scientific. What is certainly of greater importance is that in her behaviour towards her love-object she had throughout assumed the masculine part: that is to say, she displayed the humility and the sublime over-estimation of the sexual object so characteristic of the male lover, the renunciation of all narcissistic satisfaction, and the preference for being loved rather than beloved. She had thus not only chosen a feminine love-object, but had also developed a masculine attitude towards this object.

The second question, whether this was a case of inherited or acquired homosexuality, will be answered by the whole history of the patient's abnormality and its development. The study of this will show how fruitless and inappropriate this question is.

II

After an introduction which digresses in so many directions, the sexual history of the case under consideration can be presented quite concisely. In childhood the girl had passed through the normal attitude characteristic of the feminine Oedipus-complex¹, in a way that was not at all remarkable, and had later also begun to substitute for her father a brother slightly older than herself. She did not remember any sexual trauma in early life, nor were any discovered by

¹ I do not see any progress or advantage in the introduction of the term 'Electra-complex', and do not advocate its use.

the analysis. Comparison of her brother's genital organs and her own, which took place about the beginning of the latency period (at five years old or perhaps a little earlier), left a strong impression on her and had far-reaching after-effects. There were only slight hints pointing to infantile onanism, or else the analysis did not go deep enough to throw light on this point. The birth of a second brother when she was between five and six years old left no special influence upon her development. During the pre-pubescent years at school she gradually became acquainted with the facts of sex, and she received this knowledge with mixed feelings of fascination and frightened aversion, in a way which may be called normal and was not exaggerated in degree. This amount of information about her seems meagre enough, nor can I guarantee that it is complete. It may be that the history of her youth was much richer in experiences; I do not know. As I have already said, the analysis was broken off after a short time, and therefore yielded an anamnesis not much more reliable than the other anamneses of homosexuals, which there is good cause to question. Further, the girl had never been neurotic, and came to the analysis without even one hysterical symptom, so that opportunities for investigating the history of her childhood did not present themselves so readily as usual.

At the age of thirteen to fourteen she displayed a tender and, according to general opinion, exaggeratedly strong affection for a small boy, not quite three years old, whom she used to see regularly in a playground in one of the parks. She took to the child so warmly that in consequence a permanent friendship grew up between herself and his parents. One may infer from this episode that at that time she was possessed of a strong desire to be a mother herself and to have a child. However, after a short time she grew indifferent to the boy, and began to take an interest in mature, but still youthful, women; the manifestations of this

in her soon led her father to administer a mortifying chastisement to her.

It was established beyond all doubt that this change occurred simultaneously with a certain event in the family, and one may therefore look to this for some explanation of the change. Before it happened, her libido was focussed on motherhood, while afterwards she became a homosexual attracted to mature women, and has remained so ever since. The event which is so significant for our understanding of the case was a new pregnancy of her mother's, and the birth of a third brother when she was about sixteen.

The network of causes and effects that I shall now proceed to lay bare is not a product of my gift for combination; it is based on such trustworthy analytic evidence that I can claim objective validity for it; it was in particular a series of inter-related dreams, easy of interpretation, that proved decisive in this respect.

The analysis revealed beyond all shadow of doubt that the beloved lady was a substitute for—the mother. It is true that she herself was not a mother, but then she was not the girl's first love. The first objects of her affection after the birth of her youngest brother were really mothers, women between thirty and thirty-five whom she had met with their children during summer holidays or in the family circle of acquaintances in town. Motherhood as a 'condition of love' was later on given up, because it was difficult to combine in real life with another one, which grew more and more important. The specially intensive bond with her latest love, the 'Lady', had still another basis which the girl discovered quite easily one day. On account of her slender figure, regular beauty, and off-hand manner, the lady reminded her of her own brother, a little older than herself. Her latest choice corresponded, therefore, not only with her feminine but also with her masculine ideal; it combined gratification of the homosexual tendency with that of the heterosexual one. It is well known that analysis of male

homosexuals has in numerous cases revealed the same combination, which should warn us not to form too simple a conception of the nature and genesis of inversion, and to keep in mind the extensive influence of the bisexuality of mankind.¹

But how are we to understand the fact that it was just the birth of a child who came late in the family, at a time when the girl herself was already mature and had strong wishes of her own, that moved her to bestow her passionate tenderness upon her who gave birth to this child, i.e. her own mother, and to express that feeling towards a substitute for her mother? From all that we know we should have expected just the opposite. In such circumstances mothers with daughters of about a marriageable age usually feel embarrassed in regard to them, while the daughters are apt to feel for their mothers a mixture of compassion, contempt and envy which does nothing to increase their tenderness for them. The girl we are considering, however, had altogether little cause to feel affection for her mother. The latter, still youthful herself, saw in her rapidly developing daughter an inconvenient competitor; she favoured the sons at her expense, limited her independence as much as possible, and kept an especially strict watch against any close relation between the girl and her father. A yearning from the beginning for a kinder mother would, therefore, have been quite intelligible, but why it should have flamed up just then, and in the form of a consuming passion, is not comprehensible.

The explanation is as follows: The girl was just experiencing the revival of the infantile Oedipus-complex at puberty when she suffered a great disappointment. She became keenly conscious of the wish to have a child, and a male one; that it was her father's child and his image that she desired, her consciousness was not allowed to know. And then— it was not she who bore the child, but the unconsciously

hated rival, her mother. Furiously resentful and embittered, she turned away from her father, and from men altogether. After this first great reverse she forswore her womanhood and sought another goal for her libido.

In doing so she behaved just as many men do who after a first painful experience turn their backs for ever upon the faithless female sex and become woman-haters. It is related of one of the most attractive and unfortunate princes of our time that he became a homosexual because the lady he was engaged to marry betrayed him with a stranger. I do not know whether this is true historically, but much psychological truth lies behind the rumour. In all of us, throughout life, the libido normally oscillates between male and female objects; the bachelor gives up his men friends when he marries, and returns to club-life when married life has lost its savour. Naturally, when the swing-over is fundamental and final, we suspect some special factor which has definitely favoured one side or the other, and which perhaps only waited for the appropriate moment in order to turn the choice of object finally in its direction.

After her disappointment, therefore, this girl had entirely repudiated her wish for a child, the love of a man, and womanhood altogether. Now it is evident that at this point the developments open to her were very manifold; what actually happened was the most extreme one possible. She changed into a man, and took her mother in place of her father as her love-object.¹ Her relation to her mother had certainly been ambivalent from the beginning, and it proved easy to revive her earlier love for her mother and with its help to bring about an over-compensation for her current hostility towards her. Since there was little to be done with the

¹ It is by no means rare for a love-relation to be broken off by means of a process of identification on the part of the lover with the loved object, a process equivalent to a kind of regression to narcissism. After this has been accomplished, it is easy in making a fresh choice of object to direct the libido to a member of the sex opposite to that of the earlier choice.

¹ Cf. J. Sadger, *Jahresbericht über sexuelle Praversonen*.

real mother, there arose from the conversion of feeling described the search for a mother-substitute to whom she could become passionately attached.¹

In her actual relations with her mother there was a practical motive furthering the change of feeling which might be called an 'advantage through illness'. The mother herself still attached great value to the attentions and the admiration of men. If, then, the girl became homosexual and left men to her mother (in other words, retired in favour of the mother), she removed something which had hitherto been partly responsible for her mother's disfavour.²

¹ The displacements of the libido here described are doubtless familiar to every analyst from investigation of the anamneses of neurotics. With the latter, however, they occur in early childhood, at the beginning of the love-life; with our patient, who was in no way neurotic, they took place in the first years following puberty, though, by the way, they were just as completely unconscious. Perhaps one day this temporal factor may turn out to be of great importance.

² As 'retiring in favour of someone else' has not previously been mentioned among the causes of homosexuality, or in the mechanism of libido-fixation in general, I will adduce here another analytical observation of the same kind which has a special feature of interest. I once knew two twin brothers, both of whom were endowed with strong libidinal impulses. One of them was very successful with women, and had innumerable affairs with women and girls. The other went the same way at first, but it became unpleasant for him to be trespassing on his brother's beat, and, owing to the likeness between them, to be mistaken for him on intimate occasions, so he got out of the difficulty by becoming homosexual. He left the women to his brother, and thus 'retired' in his favour. Another time I treated a young man, an artist, unmistakably bisexual in disposition, in whom the homosexual trend had come to the fore simultaneously with a disturbance in his work. He fled from both women and work together. The analysis, which was able to bring him back to both, showed that the fear of the father was the most powerful psychic motive for both the disturbances, which were really renunciations. In his imagination all women belonged to the father, and he sought refuge in men out of submission, so as to 'retire from', the conflict in favour of the father. Such a motivation of the homosexual object-choice must be by no means uncommon; in the primeval ages of the human race all women presumably belonged to the father and head of the primal horde.

Among brothers and sisters who are not twins this 'retirement' plays a great part in other spheres as well as in that of the love-choice. For example, an elder brother studies music and is admired for it; the younger, far more gifted musically, soon gives up his own musical studies, in spite of his longing, and cannot be persuaded to touch an instrument again. This is one example of a very frequent occurrence, and investigation of the motives leading to this 'retirement', rather than to open rivalry discloses very complicated conditions in the mind.

The attitude of the libido thus adopted was greatly reinforced as soon as the girl perceived how much it displeased her father. Once she had been punished for an over-affectionate overture made to a woman she realized how she could wound her father and take revenge on him. Henceforth she remained homosexual out of defiance against her father. Nor did she scruple to lie to him and to deceive him in every way. Towards her mother, indeed, she was only so far deceitful as was necessary to prevent her father from knowing things. I

had the impression that her behaviour followed the principle of the talion: 'Since you have betrayed me, you must put up with my betraying you'. Nor can I come to any other conclusion about the striking lack of caution displayed by this otherwise ingenuous and clever girl. She wanted her father to know occasionally of her intercourse with the lady, otherwise she would be deprived of satisfaction of her keenest desire—namely, revenge. So she saw to this by showing herself openly in the company of her adored one, by walking with her in the streets near her father's place of business, and the like. This maladroitness was by no means unintentional. It was remarkable, by the way, that both parents behaved as though they understood the secret psychology of their daughter. The mother was tolerant, as though she appreciated the favour of her daughter's 'retirement' from the arena; the father was furious, as though he realized the deliberate revenge directed against himself.

The girl's inversion, however, received its final reinforcement when she found in her 'Lady' an object which promised to satisfy not only her homosexual tendency, but also that part of her heterosexual libido still attached to her brother.

Consecutive presentation is not a very adequate means of describing complicated mental processes going on in different layers of the mind. I am therefore

III

obliged to pause in the discussion of the case and treat more fully and deeply some of the points brought forward above.

I mentioned the fact that in her behaviour to her adored lady the girl had adopted the characteristic masculine type of love. Her humility and her tender lack of pretensions, '*che poco spera e nulla chiede*', her bliss when she was allowed to accompany the lady a little way and to kiss her hand on parting, her joy when she heard her praised as beautiful—while any recognition of her own beauty by another person meant nothing at all to her—her pilgrimages to places once visited by the loved one, the oblivion of all more sensual wishes: all these little traits in her resembled the first passionate adoration of a youth for a celebrated actress whom he regards as far above him, to whom he scarcely dares lift his bashful eyes. The correspondence with the 'type of object-choice in men' that I have described elsewhere, whose special features I traced to the attachment to the mother,¹ held good even to the smallest details. It may seem remarkable that she was not in the least repelled by the evil reputation of her beloved, although her own observations sufficiently confirmed the truth of such rumours. She was after all a well-brought-up and modest girl, who had avoided sexual adventures for herself, and who regarded coarsely sensual gratification as unesthetic. But already her first passions had been for women who were not celebrated for specially strict propriety. The first protest her father made against her love-choice had been evoked by the pertinacity with which she sought the company of a cinematograph actress at a summer resort. Moreover, in all these affairs it had never been a question of women who had any reputation for homosexuality, and who might, therefore, have offered her some prospect of homosexual gratification; on the contrary, she illogically courted women who were coquettes in the ordinary sense of the word, and she rejected without hesitation the willing

advances made by a homosexual friend of her own age. The bad reputation of her 'Lady', however, was positively a condition of love, for her, and all that is enigmatical in this attitude vanishes when we remember that in the case of the masculine type of object-choice derived from the mother it is also an essential condition that the loved object should be in some way or other 'of bad repute', sexually, one who really may be called a 'light woman'. When the girl learnt later on how far her adored lady deserved to be called by this title and that she lived simply by giving her bodily favours, her reaction took the form of great compassion and of phantasies and plans for 'rescuing' her beloved from these ignoble circumstances. We have been struck by the same endeavours to 'rescue' in the men of the type referred to above, and in my description of it I have tried to give the analytical derivation of this tendency.

We are led into quite another realm of explanation by the analysis of the attempt at suicide, which I must regard as seriously intended, and which, by the way, considerably improved her position both with her parents and with the lady she loved. She went for a walk with her one day in a part of the town and at an hour at which she was not unlikely to meet her father on his way from his office. So it turned out. Her father passed them in the street and cast a furious look at her and her companion, whom he had by that time come to know. A few moments later she flung herself on to the railway cutting. Now the explanation she gave of the immediate reasons determining her resolution sounded quite plausible. She had confessed to the lady that the man who had given them such an irate glance was her father, and that he had absolutely forbidden their friendship. The lady became incensed at this and ordered the girl to leave her then and there, and never again to wait for her or to address her—the affair must now come to an end. In her despair at having thus lost her loved one for ever, she wanted to put an end to

¹ COLLECTED PAPERS, vol. iv.

herself. The analysis, however, was able to disclose another and deeper interpretation behind the one she gave, which was confirmed by the evidence of her own dreams. The attempted suicide was, as might have been expected, determined by two other motives besides the one she gave: it was a 'punishment fulfilment' (self-punishment), and a wish-fulfilment. As a wish-fulfilment it signified the attainment of the very wish which, when frustrated, had driven her into homosexuality—namely, the wish to have a child by her father, for now she 'tell'¹ through her father's fault.² The fact that at this moment the lady had spoken to the same effect as the father, and had uttered the same prohibition, forms the connecting link between this deeper interpretation and the superficial one of which the girl herself was conscious. From the point of view of self-punishment the girl's action shows us that she had developed in her unconscious strong death-wishes against one or other of her parents: perhaps against her father, out of revenge for impeding her love, but, more likely, also against her mother when she was pregnant with the little brother. For analysis has explained the enigma of suicide in the following way: probably no one finds the mental energy required to kill himself unless, in the first place, he is in doing this at the same time killing an object with whom he has identified himself, and, in the second place, is turning against himself a death-wish which had been directed against someone else. Nor need the regular discovery of these unconscious death-wishes in those who have attempted suicide surprise us as strange (any more than it need make an impression as confirming our deductions), since the unconscious of all human beings is full enough of such

[In the text there is a play on the word *niederkommen*, which means both 'to fall' and 'to be delivered of a child'. There is also in English a colloquial use of the verb 'to fall', meaning pregnancy or childbirth.—Trans.]

¹ That the various means of suicide can represent sexual wish-fulfilments has long been known to all analysts. (To poison oneself = to become pregnant; to drown = to bear a child; to throw oneself from a height = to be delivered of a child.)

death-wishes, even against those we love.¹ The girl's identification of herself with her mother, who ought to have died at the birth of the child denied to herself, makes this 'punishment-fulfilment' itself again into a 'wish-fulfilment'. Lastly, a discovery that several quite different motives, all of great strength, must have co-operated to make such a deed possible is only in accord with what we should expect.

In the girl's account of her conscious motives the father did not figure at all; there was not even any mention of fear of his anger. In the motivation laid bare by the analysis he played the principal part. Her relation to her father had this same decisive importance for the course and outcome of the analytic treatment, or rather, analytic exploration. Behind her pretended consideration for her parents, for whose sake she had been willing to make the attempt to be transformed, lay concealed her attitude of defiance and revenge against her father which held her fast to her homosexuality. Secure under this cover, the resistance allowed a considerable degree of freedom to the analytic investigation. The analysis went forward almost without any signs of resistance, the patient participating actively with her intellect, though absolutely tranquil emotionally. Once when I expounded to her a specially important part of the theory, one touching her nearly, she replied in an inimitable tone, 'How very interesting', as though she were a *grande dame* being taken over a museum and glancing through her lorgnon at objects to which she was completely indifferent. The impression one had of her analysis was not unlike that of an hypnotic treatment, where the resistance has in the same way withdrawn to a certain limit, beyond which it then proves to be unconquerable. The resistance very often pursues similar tactics—Russian tactics, as they might be called²—in cases of the obsessional neurosis,

¹ Cf. 'Reflections upon War and Death', COLLECTED PAPERS, vol. iv.

² [A reference to the European War, 1914-18.—Trans.]

which for this reason yield the clearest results for a time and permit of a penetrating inspection of the causation of the symptoms. One begins to wonder how it is that such marked progress in analytic understanding can be unaccompanied by even the slightest change in the patient's compulsions and inhibitions, until at last one perceives that everything accomplished had been admitted only under the mental reservation of doubt,¹ and behind this protective barrier the neurosis may feel secure. 'It would be all *very fine*', thinks the patient, often quite consciously, 'if I were obliged to believe what the man says, but there is no question of that, and so long as that is not so I need change nothing.' Then, when one comes to close quarters with the motivation of this doubt, the fight with the resistances 'breaks forth in earnest.'

In the case of our patient, it was not doubt, but the affective factor of revenge against her father that made her cool reserve possible, that divided the analysis into two distinct stages, and rendered the results of the first stage so complete and perspicuous. It seemed, further, as though nothing resembling a transference to the physician had been effected. That, however, is of course absurd, or, at least, is a loose way of expressing it; for some kind of relation to the analyst must come about, and this is usually transferred from an infantile one. In reality she transferred to me the deep antipathy to men which had dominated her ever since the disappointment she had suffered from her father. Bitterness against men is as a rule easy to gratify upon the analyst; it need not evoke any violent emotional manifestations, it simply expresses itself in rendering futile all his endeavours and in clinging to the neurosis. I know from experience how difficult it is to make the patient understand just this mute kind of symptomatic behaviour and to make him aware of this latent, and often exceedingly strong, hostility without endangering

¹ [*I.e.* believed on condition that it is regarded as not certain.—Trans.]

the treatment. So as soon as I recognized the girl's attitude to her father, I broke off the treatment and gave the advice that, if it was thought worth while to continue the therapeutic efforts, it should be done by a woman. The girl had in the meanwhile promised her father that at any rate she would not communicate with the 'Lady', and I do not know whether my advice, the motive for which is evident, will be followed.

Only once in the course of this analysis did anything appear which I could regard as a positive transference, a greatly weakened revival of the original passionate love for the father. Even this manifestation was not quite free from other motives, but I mention it because it brings up, in another direction, an interesting problem of analytic technique. At a certain period, not long after the treatment had begun, the girl brought a series of dreams which, distorted as is customary and couched in the usual dream-language, could nevertheless be easily translated with certainty. Their content, when interpreted, was, however, remarkable. They anticipated the cure of the inversion through the treatment, expressed her joy over the prospects in life then opened before her, confessed her longing for a man's love and for children, and so might have been welcomed as a gratifying preparation for the desired change. The contradiction between them and the girl's utterances in waking life at the time was very great. She did not conceal from me that she meant to marry, but only in order to escape from her father's tyranny and to follow her true inclinations undisturbed. As for the husband, she remarked rather contemptuously, she would easily deal with him, and besides, one could have sexual relations with a man and a woman at one and the same time, as the example of the adored lady showed. Warned through some slight impression or other, I told her one day that I did not believe these dreams, that I regarded them as false or hypocritical, and that she intended to deceive me just as she habitually deceived her father. I was right; after

this exposition this kind of dream ceased. But I still believe that, beside the intention to mislead me, the dreams partly expressed the wish to win my favour; they were also an attempt to gain my interest and my good opinion—perhaps in order to disappoint me all the more thoroughly later on.

I can imagine that to point out the existence of lying dreams of this kind, destined to please the analyst, will arouse in some readers who call themselves analysts a real storm of helpless indignation. 'What!' they will exclaim, 'so the unconscious, the real centre of our mental life, the part of us that is so much nearer the divine than our poor consciousness, so that too can lie! Then how can we still build on the interpretations of analysis and the accuracy of our findings?' To which one must reply that the recognition of these lying dreams does not constitute an astounding novelty. I know, indeed, that the craving of mankind for mysticism is ineradicable, and that it makes ceaseless efforts to win back for mysticism the playground it has been deprived of by the *Traumdeutung*, but in the case under consideration surely everything is simple enough. A dream is not the 'unconscious' itself; it is the form into which a thought from the preconscious, or even from waking conscious life, can, thanks to the favouring conditions of sleep, be recast. During sleep this thought has been reinforced by unconscious wish-excitations and thus has experienced distortion through the 'dream-work', which is determined by the mechanisms valid for the unconscious. With our dreamer, the intention to mislead me, just as she did her father, certainly emanated from the preconscious, or perhaps even from consciousness; it could come to expression by entering into connection with the unconscious wish-impulse to please the father (or father-substitute), and in this way it created a lying dream. The two intentions, to betray and to please the father, originate in the same complex; the former resulted from the repression of the latter, and

the later one was reduced by the dream-work to the earlier one. There can therefore be no question of any devaluation of the unconscious, nor of a shaking of our confidence in the results of our analysis.

I will not miss this opportunity of expressing for once my astonishment that human beings can go through such great and momentous phases of their love-life without heeding them much, sometimes even, indeed, without having the faintest suspicion of them: or else that, when they do become aware of these phases, they deceive themselves so thoroughly in their judgement of them. This happens not only with neurotics, where we are familiar with the phenomenon, but seems also to be common enough in ordinary life.

In the present case, for example, a girl develops a devotion for women, which her parents at first find merely vexatious and hardly take seriously; she herself knows quite well that her feelings are greatly engaged, but still she is only slightly aware of the sensations of intense love until a certain disappointment is followed by an absolutely excessive reaction, which shows everyone concerned that they have to do with a consuming passion of elemental strength. Even the girl herself had never perceived anything of the conditions necessary for the outbreak of such a mental upheaval. In other cases we come across girls or women in a state of severe depression, who on being asked for a possible cause of their condition tell us that they have, it is true, had a little feeling for a certain person, but that it was nothing deep and that they soon got over it when they had to give up hope. And yet it was this renunciation, apparently so easily borne, that became the cause of serious mental disturbance. Again, we have to do with men who have passed through casual love-affairs and then realize only from the subsequent effects that they had been passionately in love with someone whom they had apparently regarded lightly. One is also amazed at the unexpected results that may follow an artificial abortion which

had been decided upon without remorse and without hesitation. One must agree that the poets are right who are so fond of portraying people in love without knowing it, or uncertain whether they do love, or who think that they hate when in reality they love. It would seem that the knowledge received by our consciousness of what is happening to our love-instincts is especially liable to be incomplete, full of gaps, or falsified. Needless to say, in this discussion I have not omitted to allow for the part played by subsequent failures of memory.

IV

I now come back, after this digression, to the consideration of my patient's case. We have made a survey of the forces which led the girl's libido from the normal Oedipus attitude into that of homosexuality, and of the paths thus traversed by it in the mind. Most important in this respect was the impression made by the birth of her little brother, and we might from this be inclined to classify the case as one of late acquired inversion.

But at this point we become aware of a state of things which also confronts us in many other instances in which light has been thrown by psycho-analysis on a mental process. So long as we trace the development from its final stage backwards, the connection appears continuous, and we feel we have gained an insight which is completely satisfactory or even exhaustive. But if we proceed the reverse way, if we start from the premises inferred from the analysis and try to follow these up to the final result, then we no longer get the impression of an inevitable sequence of events which could not be otherwise determined. We notice at once that there might have been another result, and that we might have been just as well able to understand and explain the latter. The synthesis is thus not so satisfactory as the analysis; in other words, from a

knowledge of the premises we could not have foretold the nature of the result.

It is very easy to account for this disturbing state of affairs. Even supposing that we thoroughly know the aetiological factors that decide a given result, still we know them only qualitatively, and not in their relative strength. Some of them are so weak as to become suppressed by others, and therefore do not affect the final result. But we never know beforehand which of the determining factors will prove the weaker or the stronger. We only say at the end that those which succeeded must have been the stronger. Hence it is always possible by analysis to recognize the causation with certainty, whereas a prediction of it by synthesis is impossible.

We do not, therefore, mean to maintain that every girl who experiences a disappointment of this kind, of the longing for love that springs from the Oedipus attitude during puberty, will necessarily on that account fall a victim to homosexuality. On the contrary, other kinds of reaction to this trauma are probably commoner. Then, however, there must have been present in this girl special factors that turned the scale, factors outside the trauma, probably of an internal nature. Nor is there any difficulty in pointing them out. It is well known that even in the normal person it takes a certain time before a decision in regard to the sex of the love-object is finally achieved. Homosexual enthusiasms, unduly strong friendships tinged with sensuality, are common enough in both sexes during the first years after puberty. This was also so with our patient, but in her these tendencies undoubtedly showed themselves to be stronger, and lasted longer, than with others. In addition, these presages of later homosexuality had always occupied her conscious life, while the attitude arising from the Oedipus-complex had remained unconscious and had appeared only in such signs as her tender fondling of the little boy. As a school-girl she was for a long time

in love with a strict and unapproachable mistress, obviously a mother-substitute. A long time before the birth of her brother and still longer before the first reprimand at the hands of her father, she had taken a specially keen interest in various young mothers. From very early years, therefore, her libido had flowed in two streams, the one on the surface being one that we may unhesitatingly designate homosexual. This latter was probably a direct and unchanged continuation of an infantile mother-fixation. Possibly the analysis described here actually revealed nothing more than the process by which, on an appropriate occasion, the deeper heterosexual libido-stream was also deflected into the manifest homosexual one.

The analysis showed, further, that the girl had suffered from childhood from a strongly marked 'masculinity complex'. A spirited girl, always ready to fight, she was not at all prepared to be second to her slightly older brother; after inspecting his genital organs she had developed a pronounced envy of the penis, and the thoughts derived from this envy still continued to fill her mind. She was in fact a feminist; she felt it to be unjust that girls should not enjoy the same freedom as boys, and rebelled against the lot of woman in general. At the time of the analysis the idea of pregnancy and child-birth was disagreeable to her, partly, I surmise, on account of the bodily disfigurement connected with them. Her girlish narcissism had betaken itself to this refuge,¹ and ceased to express itself as pride in her good looks. Various clues indicated that she must formerly have taken great pleasure in exhibitionism and scopophilia. Anyone who is anxious that the claims of environment in aetiology should not come short, as opposed to those of heredity, will call attention to the fact that the girl's behaviour, as described above, was exactly what would follow from the combined effect in a person with a strong, mother-fixation of the two influences of her mother's indifference and of her

comparison of her genital organs with her brother's. It is possible here to trace back to the impression of an effective external influence in early life something which one would have been ready to regard as a constitutional peculiarity. But a part even of this acquired disposition, if it has really been acquired, has to be ascribed to the inborn constitution. So we see in practice a continual mingling and blending of what in theory we should try to separate into a pair of opposites—namely, inherited and acquired factors.

An earlier, more tentative conclusion of the analysis might have led to the view that this was a case of late-acquired homosexuality, but deeper consideration of the material undertaken later impels us to conclude that it is rather a case of inborn homosexuality which, as usual, became fixed and unmistakably manifest only in the period following puberty. Each of these classifications does justice only to one part of the state of affairs ascertainable by observation, but neglects the other. It would be best not to attach too much value to this way of stating the problem.

Publications on homosexuality usually do not distinguish clearly enough between the questions of the choice of object, on the one hand, and of the sexual characteristics and sexual attitude of the subject, on the other, as though the answer to the former necessarily involved the answers to the latter. Experience, however, proves the contrary: a man with predominantly male characteristics and also masculine in his love-life may still be inverted in respect to his object, loving only men instead of women. A man in whose character feminine attributes evidently predominate, who may, indeed, behave in love like a woman, might be expected, from this feminine attitude, to choose a man for his love-object; but he may nevertheless be heterosexual, and show no more inversion in respect of his object than an average normal man. The same is true of women; here also mental sexual character and object-choice do not necessarily coincide. The mystery of homosexuality

¹ Cf. Kriemhilde's confession in the *Nibelungenlied*.

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Steinach's¹ experiments, such very important results concerning the influence exerted by the first factor mentioned above on the second and third. Psycho-analysis has a common basis with biology, in that it presupposes an original bisexuality in human beings (as in animals). But psycho-analysis cannot elucidate the intrinsic nature of what in conventional or in biological phraseology is termed 'masculine' and 'feminine': it simply takes over the two concepts and makes them the foundation of its work. When we attempt to reduce them further, we find masculinity vanishing into activity and femininity into passivity, and that does not tell us enough. In what has gone before I have tried to explain how far we may reasonably expect, or how far experience has already proved, that the elucidations yielded by analysis furnish us with the means for altering inversion. When one compares the extent to which we can influence it with the remarkable transformations that Steinach has effected in some cases by his operations, it does not make a very imposing impression. Thus it would be premature, or a harmful exaggeration, if at this stage we were to indulge in hopes of a therapy of inversion that could be generally used. The cases of male homosexuality in which Steinach has been successful fulfilled the condition, which is not always present, of a very patent physical 'hermaphroditism'. Any analogous treatment of female homosexuality is at present quite obscure. If it were to consist in removing the probably hermaphroditic ovaries, and in implanting others, which would, it is hoped, be of a single sex, there would be little prospect of its being applied in practice. A woman who has felt herself to be a man, and has loved in masculine fashion, will hardly let herself be forced into playing the part of a woman when she must pay for this transformation, which is not in every way advantageous, by renouncing all hope of motherhood.

¹ Cf. A. Lipschütz, *Die Pubertät drüse und ihre Wirkungen*.

Skinner, B. F. "A Critique of Psychoanalytic Concepts and Theories" 1954

A Critique of Psychoanalytic Concepts and Theories

Freud's great contribution to Western thought has been described as the application of the principle of cause and effect to human behavior. Freud demonstrated that many features of behavior hitherto unexplained—and often dismissed as hopelessly complex or obscure—could be shown to be the product of circumstances in the history of the individual. Many of the causal relationships he so convincingly demonstrated had been wholly unsuspected—unsuspected, in particular, by the very individuals whose behavior they controlled. Freud greatly reduced the sphere of accident and caprice in our considerations of human conduct. His achievement in this respect appears all the more impressive when we recall that he was never able to appeal to the quantitative proofs characteristic of other sciences. He carried the day with sheer persuasion—with the massing of instances and the delineation of surprising parallels and analogies among seemingly diverse materials.

This was not, however, Freud's own view of the matter. At the age of 70 he summed up his achievement in this way: "My life has been aimed at one goal only: to infer or guess how the mental apparatus is constructed and what forces interplay and counteract in it."¹ It is difficult to describe the mental apparatus he refers to in noncontroversial terms, partly because Freud's conception changed from time to time and partly because its very nature encouraged misinterpretation and misunderstanding. But it is perhaps not too wide of the mark to indicate its principal features as follows: Freud conceived of some realm of the mind, not necessarily having physical extent, but nevertheless capable of topographic description and of subdivision into regions of the conscious, co-conscious, and unconscious.

¹ From *Scientific Monthly*, November 1954.

¹ Jones, E. *Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. New York: Basic Books, 1953, Vol. 1.

Within this space, various mental events—ideas, wishes, memories, emotions, instinctive tendencies, and so on—interacted and combined in many complex ways. Systems of these mental events came to be conceived of almost as subsidiary personalities and were given proper names: the Id, the Ego, and the Superego. These systems divided among themselves a limited store of psychic energy. There were, of course, many other details.

No matter what logicians may eventually make of this mental apparatus, there is little doubt that Freud accepted it as real rather than as a scientific construct or theory. One does not at the age of 70 define the goal of one's life as the exploration of an explanatory fiction. Freud did not use his "mental apparatus" as a postulate system from which he deduced theorems to be submitted to empirical check. If there was any interaction between the mental apparatus and empirical observations, it took the form of modifying the apparatus to account for newly discovered facts. To many followers of Freud the mental apparatus appears to be equally as real, and the exploration of such an apparatus is similarly accepted as the goal of a science of behavior. There is an alternative view, however, which holds that Freud did not discover the mental apparatus but rather invented it, borrowing part of its structure from a traditional philosophy of human conduct but adding many novel features of his own devising.

There are those who will concede that Freud's mental apparatus was a scientific construct rather than an observable empirical system but who, nevertheless, attempt to justify it in the light of scientific method. One may take the line that metaphorical devices are inevitable in the early stages of any science and that although we may look with amusement today upon the "essences," "forces," "phlogistons," and "ethers" of the science of yesterday, these nevertheless were essential to the historical process. It would be difficult to prove or disprove this. However, if we have learned anything about the nature of scientific thinking, if mathematical and logical researches have improved our capacity to represent and analyze empirical data, it is possible that we can avoid some of the mistakes of adolescence. Whether Freud could have done so is past demonstrating, but whether we need similar constructs in the future prosecution of a science of behavior is a question worth considering.

Constructs are convenient and perhaps even necessary in dealing with certain complicated subject matters. As Frenkel-Brunswik shows,² Freud was aware of the problems of scientific methodology and even of the metaphorical nature of some of his own constructs. When this was the case, he justified the constructs as necessary or at least highly convenient.

² Frenkel-Brunswik, E. P. *Scientific Monthly*, 1954, 79, 293.

But awareness of the nature of the metaphor is no defense of it, and if modern science is still occasionally metaphorical, we must remember that theorywise it is also still in trouble. The point is not that metaphor or construct is objectionable but that particular metaphors and constructs have caused trouble and are continuing to do so. Freud recognized the damage worked by his own metaphorical thinking, but he felt that it could not be avoided and that the damage must be put up with. There is reason to disagree with him on this point.

Freud's explanatory scheme followed a traditional pattern of looking for a cause of human behavior inside the organism. His medical training supplied him with powerful supporting analogies. The parallel between the excision of a tumor, for example, and the release of a repressed wish from the unconscious is quite compelling and must have affected Freud's thinking. Now, the pattern of an inner explanation of behavior is best exemplified by doctrines of animism, which are primarily concerned with explaining the spontaneity and evident capriciousness of behavior. The living organism is an extremely complicated system behaving in an extremely complicated way. Much of its behavior appears at first blush to be absolutely unpredictable. The traditional procedure had been to invent an inner determiner, a "demon," "spirit," "homunculus," or "personality" capable of spontaneous change of course or of origination of action. Such an inner determiner offers only a momentary explanation of the behavior of the outer organism, because it must, of course, be accounted for also, but it is commonly used to put the matter beyond further inquiry and to bring the study of a causal series of events to a dead end.

Freud, himself, however, did not appeal to the inner apparatus to account for spontaneity or caprice because he was a thoroughgoing determinist. He accepted the responsibility of explaining, in turn, the behavior of the inner determiner. He did this by pointing to hitherto unnoticed external causes in the environmental and genetic history of the individual. He did not, therefore, need the traditional explanatory system for traditional purposes; but he was unable to eliminate the pattern from his thinking. It led him to represent each of the causal relationships he had discovered as a series of three events. Some environmental condition, very often in the early life of the individual, leaves an effect upon the inner mental apparatus, and this in turn produces the behavioral manifestation or symptom. Environmental event, mental state or process, behavioral symptom—these are the three links in Freud's causal chain. He made no appeal to the middle link to explain spontaneity or caprice. Instead he used it to bridge the gap in space and time between the events he had proved to be causally related.

A possible alternative, which would have had no quarrel with established science, would have been to argue that the environmental variables leave physiological effects which may be inferred from the behavior of the individual, perhaps at a much later date. In one sense, too little is known at the moment about physiological processes to make them useful in a legitimate way for this purpose. On the other hand, too much is known of them, at least in a negative way. Enough is known of the nervous system to place certain dimensional limits upon speculation and to clip the wings of explanatory fictions. Freud accepted, therefore, the traditional fiction of a mental life, avoiding an out-and-out dualism by arguing that eventually physiological counterparts would be discovered. Quite apart from the question of the existence of mental events, let us observe the damage which resulted from this maneuver.

We may touch only briefly upon two classical problems which arise once the conception of a mental life has been adopted. The first of these is to explain how such a life is to be observed. The introspective psychologists had already tried to solve this problem by arguing that introspection is only a special case of the observation upon which all science rests and that man's experience necessarily stands between him and the physical world with which science purports to deal. But it was Freud himself who pointed out that not all of one's mental life was accessible to direct observation—that many events in the mental apparatus were necessarily inferred. Great as this discovery was, it would have been still greater if Freud had taken the next step, advocated a little later by the American movement called Behaviorism, and insisted that conscious, as well as unconscious, events were inferences from the facts. By arguing that the individual organism simply reacts to its environment, rather than to some inner experience of that environment, the bifurcation of nature into physical and psychic can be avoided.³

A second classical problem is how the mental life can be manipulated. In the process of therapy, the analyst necessarily acts upon the patient only through physical means. He manipulates variables occupying a position in the first link of Freud's causal chain. Nevertheless, it is commonly assumed that the mental apparatus is being directly manipulated. Sometimes it is argued that processes are initiated within the individual himself, such as those of free association and transference, and that these in turn act directly

³ Although it was Freud himself who taught us to doubt the face value of introspection, he appears to have been responsible for the view that another sort of direct experience is required if certain activities in the mental apparatus are to be comprehended. Such a requirement is implied in the modern assertion that only those who have been psychoanalyzed can fully understand the meaning of transference or the release of a repressed fear.

The important disadvantages of Freud's conception of mental life can be described somewhat more specifically. The first of these concerns the environmental variables to which Freud so convincingly pointed. The cogency of these variables was frequently missed because the variables were transformed and obscured in the course of being represented in mental life. The physical world of the organism was converted into conscious and unconscious experience, and these experiences were further transmuted as they combined and changed in mental processes. For example, early punishment of sexual behavior is an observable fact which undoubtedly leaves behind a changed organism. But when this change is represented as a state of conscious or unconscious anxiety or guilt, specific details of the punishment are lost. When, in turn, some unusual characteristic of the sexual behavior of the adult individual is related to the supposed guilt, many specific features of the relationship may be missed which would have been obvious if the same features of behavior had been related to the punishing episode. Insofar as the mental life of the individual is used as Freud used it to represent and to carry an environmental history, it is inadequate and misleading.

Freud's theory of the mental apparatus had an equally damaging effect upon his study of behavior as a dependent variable. Inevitably, it stole the show. Little attention was left to behavior per se. Behavior was relegated to the position of a mere mode of expression of the activities of the mental apparatus or the symptoms of an underlying disturbance. Among the problems not specifically treated in the manner which was their due, we may note five.

1. The nature of the act as a unit of behavior was never clarified. The simple *occurrence* of behavior was never well represented. "Thoughts" could "occur" to an individual; he could "have" ideas according to the traditional model; but he could "have" behavior only in giving expression to these inner events. We are much more likely to say that "the thought occurred to me to ask him his name" than that "the act of asking him his name occurred to me." It is the nature of thoughts and ideas that they occur to people, but we have never come to be at home in describing the emission of behavior in a comparable way. This is especially true of verbal behavior. In spite of Freud's valuable analysis of verbal slips and of the techniques of wit and verbal art, he rejected the possibility of an analysis of verbal behavior in its own right rather than as the expression of ideas,

feelings, or other inner events, and therefore missed the importance of this field for the analysis of units of behavior and the conditions of their occurrence.

The behavioral nature of perception was also slighted. To see an object as an object is not mere passive sensing; it is an act, and something very much like it occurs when we see an object although no object is present. Fantasy and dreams were for Freud not the perceptual *behavior* of the individual but pictures painted by an inner artist in some atelier of the mind which the individual then contemplated and perhaps then reported. This division of labor is not essential when the behavioral component of the act of seeing is emphasized.

2. The dimensions of behavior, particularly its dynamic properties, were never adequately represented. We are all familiar with the fact that some of our acts are more likely to occur upon a given occasion than others. But this likelihood is hard to represent and harder to evaluate. The dynamic changes in behavior which are the first concern of the psychoanalyst are primarily changes in probability of action. But Freud chose to deal with this aspect of behavior in other terms—as a question of "libido," "cathexis," "volume of excitation," "instinctive or emotional tendencies," "available quantities of psychic energy," and so on. The delicate question of how probability of action is to be quantified was never answered, because these constructs suggested dimensions to which the quantitative practices of science in general could not be applied.

3. In his emphasis upon the genesis of behavior, Freud made extensive use of processes of learning. These were never treated operationally in terms of changes in behavior but rather as the acquisition of ideas, feelings, and emotions later to be expressed by, or manifested in, behavior. Consider, for example, Freud's own suggestion that sibling rivalry in his own early history played an important part in his theoretical considerations as well as in his personal relationships as an adult.

An infant brother died when Freud himself was only 1½ years old, and as a young child Freud played with a boy somewhat older than himself and presumably more powerful, yet who was, strangely enough, in the nominally subordinate position of being his nephew. To classify such a set of circumstances as sibling rivalry obscures, as we have seen, the many specific properties of the circumstances themselves regarded as independent variables in a science of behavior. To argue that *what was learned* was the effect of these circumstances upon unconscious or conscious aggressive tendencies or feelings of guilt works a similar misrepresentation of the dependent variable. An emphasis upon behavior would lead us to inquire

into the specific acts plausibly assumed to be engendered by these childhood episodes. In very specific terms, how was the behavior of the young Freud shaped by the special reinforcing contingencies arising from the presence of a younger child in the family, by the death of that child, and by later association with an older playmate who nevertheless occupied a subordinate family position? What did the young Freud *learn to do* to achieve parental attention under these difficult circumstances? How did he avoid aversive consequences? Did he exaggerate any illness? Did he feign illness? Did he make a conspicuous display of behavior which brought commendation? Was such behavior to be found in the field of physical prowess or intellectual endeavor? Did he learn to engage in behavior which would in turn increase the repertoires available to him to achieve commendation? Did he strike or otherwise injure young children? Did he learn to injure them verbally by teasing? Was he punished for this, and if so, did he discover other forms of behavior which had the same damaging effect but were immune to punishment?

We cannot, of course, adequately answer questions of this sort at so late a date, but they suggest the kind of inquiry which would be prompted by a concern for the *explicit shaping of behavioral repertoires* under childhood circumstances. What has survived through the years is not aggression and guilt, later to be manifested in behavior, but rather patterns of behavior themselves. It is not enough to say that this is "all that is meant" by sibling rivalry or by its effects upon the mental apparatus. Such an expression obscures, rather than illuminates, the nature of the behavioral changes taking place in the childhood learning process. A similar analysis could be made of processes in the fields of motivation and emotion.

4. An explicit treatment of behavior as a datum, of probability of response as the principal quantifiable property of behavior, and of learning and other processes in terms of changes of probability is usually enough to avoid another pitfall into which Freud, in common with his contemporaries, fell. There are many words in the layman's vocabulary which suggest the activity of an organism yet are not descriptive of behavior in the narrower sense. Freud used many of these freely—for example, the individual is said to discriminate, remember, infer, repress, decide, and so on. Such terms do not refer to specific acts. We say that a man discriminates between two objects when he behaves differently with respect to them, but discriminating is not itself behavior. We say that he represses behavior which has been punished when he engages in other behavior just because it displaces the punished behavior; but repressing is not action. We say that he decides upon a course of conduct either when he enters upon one course to the

exclusion of another, or when he alters some of the variables affecting his own behavior in order to bring this about; but there is no other "act of deciding." The difficulty is that when one uses terms which suggest an activity, one feels it necessary to invent an actor, and the subordinate personalities in the Freudian mental apparatus do, indeed, participate in just these activities rather than in the more specific behavior of the observable organism.

Among these activities are conspicuous instances involving the process of self-control—the so-called "Freudian mechanisms." These need not be regarded as activities of the individual or any subdivision thereof—they are not, for example, what happens when a skillful wish evades a censor—but simply as ways of representing relationships among responses and controlling variables. I have tried to demonstrate this by restating the Freudian mechanisms without reference to Freudian theory [in *Science and Human Behavior*].

5. Since Freud never developed a clear conception of the behavior of the organism and never approached many of the scientific problems peculiar to that subject matter, it is not surprising that he misinterpreted the nature of the observation of one's own behavior. This is admittedly a delicate subject, which presents problems which no one, perhaps, has adequately solved. But the act of self-observation can be represented within the framework of physical science. This involves questioning the reality of sensations, ideas, feelings, and other states of consciousness which many people regard as among the most immediate experiences of their life. Freud himself prepared us for this change. There is, perhaps, no experience more powerful than that which the mystic reports of his awareness of the presence of God. The psychoanalyst explains this in other ways. He himself, however, may insist upon the reality of certain experiences which others wish to question. There are other ways of describing what is actually seen or felt under such circumstances.

Each of us is in particularly close contact with a small part of the universe enclosed within his own skin. Under certain limited circumstances, we may come to react to that part of the universe in unusual ways. But it does not follow that that particular part has any special physical or non-physical properties or that our observations of it differ in any fundamental respect from our observations of the rest of the world. I have tried to show elsewhere⁴ how self-knowledge of this sort arises and why it is likely to be subject to limitations which are troublesome from the point of view of physical science. Freud's representations of these events was a particular

personal contribution influenced by his own cultural history. It is possible that science can now move on to a different description of them. If it is impossible to be wholly nonmetaphorical, at least we may improve upon our metaphors.

The crucial issue here is the Freudian distinction between the conscious and unconscious mind. Freud's contribution has been widely misunderstood. The important point was not that the individual was often unable to describe important aspects of his own behavior or identify important causal relationships but that his ability to describe them was irrelevant to the occurrence of the behavior or to the effectiveness of the causes. We begin by attributing the behavior of the individual to events in his genetic and environmental history. We then note that because of certain cultural practices, the individual may come to describe some of that behavior and some of those causal relationships. We may say that he is conscious of the parts he can describe and unconscious of the rest. But the act of self-description, as of self-observation, plays no part in the determination of action. It is superimposed upon behavior. Freud's argument that we need not be aware of important causes of conduct leads naturally to the broader conclusion that awareness of cause has nothing to do with causal effectiveness.

In addition to these specific consequences of Freud's mental apparatus in obscuring important details among the variables of which human behavior is a function and in leading to the neglect of important problems in the analysis of behavior as a primary datum, we have to note the most unfortunate effect of all. Freud's methodological strategy has prevented the incorporation of psychoanalysis into the body of science proper. It was inherent in the nature of such an explanatory system that its key entities would be unquantifiable in the sense in which entities in science are generally quantifiable, but the spatial and temporal dimensions of these entities have caused other kinds of trouble.

One can sense a certain embarrassment among psychoanalytic writers with respect to the primary entities of the mental apparatus. There is a predilection for terms which avoid the embarrassing question of the spatial dimensions, physical or otherwise, of terms at the primary level. Although it is occasionally necessary to refer to mental events and their qualities and to states of consciousness, the analyst usually moves on in some haste to less committal terms such as *forces*, *processes*, *organizations*, *tensions*, *systems*, and *mechanisms*. But all these imply terms at a lower level. The notion of a conscious or unconscious "force" may be a useful metaphor,

⁴ See page 370 below.

but if this is analogous to force in physics, what is the analogous mass which is analogously accelerated? Human behavior is in a state of flux and undergoing changes which we call "processes," but what is changing in what direction when we speak of, for example, an affective process? Psychological "organizations," "mental systems," "motivational interaction"—these all imply arrangements or relationships among *things*, but what are the things so related or arranged? Until this question has been answered the problem of the dimensions of the mental apparatus can scarcely be approached. It is not likely that the problem can be solved by working out independent units appropriate to the mental apparatus, although it has been proposed to undertake such a step in attempting to place psychoanalysis on a scientific footing.

Before one attempts to work out units of transference or scales of anxiety, or systems of mensuration appropriate to the regions of consciousness, it is worth asking whether there is not an alternative program for a *rapprochement* with physical science which would make such a task unnecessary. Freud could hope for an eventual union with physics or physiology only through the discovery of neurological mechanisms which would be the analogs of, or possibly only other aspects of, the features of his mental apparatus. Since this depended upon the prosecution of a science of neurology far beyond its current state of knowledge, it was not an attractive future. Freud appears never to have considered the possibility of bringing the concepts and theories of a psychological science into contact with the rest of physical and biological science by the simple expedient of an operational definition of terms. This would have placed the mental apparatus in jeopardy as a life goal, but it would have brought him back to the observable, manipulable, and preeminently physical variables with which he was in the last analysis dealing.

16

Psychology in the Understanding of Mental Disease

Any survey of the contributions which psychology can make to our understanding of mental disease will depend upon how psychology is defined. In practice, the methods and concepts of all four of the disciplines represented at this Conference overlap extensively. Narrowly considered, however, the special province of psychology may be taken to be the description of the behavior of the individual as a whole and the explanation of that behavior in terms of environmental factors and conditions. More specifically, psychology is concerned with recording and measuring human behavior and its various aspects, and with relating the quantities so measured to variables in the past and current environment. Many psychologists, of course, have broader interests. In addition to forces which are currently acting upon the organism, or have acted upon it in the past, they may be concerned with variables in its genetic history, the physiology of its parts, or, at the other extreme, its social environment or cultural history. A narrower delineation of the field is, though arbitrary, desirable for our present purposes.

Mental disease appears to refer to modes of behavior which are troublesome or dangerous either to the individual himself or to others. Behavior may be troublesome or dangerous by its very nature or because of the circumstances under which it occurs. It is not strictly correct to describe such behavior as "atypical," since extreme or unrepresentative values of many properties of behavior do not always present problems appropriately described as the result of disease. Genius is atypical but, presumably, healthy. It is probably also not of any great value to characterize trouble-some or dangerous behavior as "nonadaptive," or as violating some prin-

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REVIEWS

Verbal behavior. By B. F. SKINNER. (The Century Psychology Series.) Pp. viii, 478. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957.

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1. A great many linguists and philosophers concerned with language have expressed the hope that their studies might ultimately be embedded in a framework provided by behaviorist psychology, and that refractory areas of investigation, particularly those in which meaning is involved, will in this way be opened up to fruitful exploration. Since this volume is the first large-scale attempt to incorporate the major aspects of linguistic behavior within a behaviorist framework, it merits and will undoubtedly receive careful attention. Skinner is noted for his contributions to the study of animal behavior. The book under review is the product of study of linguistic behavior extending over more than twenty years. Earlier versions of it have been fairly widely circulated, and there are quite a few references in the psychological literature to its major ideas.

The problem to which this book is addressed is that of giving a 'functional analysis' of verbal behavior. By functional analysis, Skinner means identification of the variables that control this behavior and specification of how they interact to determine a particular verbal response. Furthermore, the controlling variables are to be described completely in terms of such notions as stimulus, reinforcement, deprivation, which have been given a reasonably clear meaning in animal experimentation. In other words, the goal of the book is to provide a way to predict and control verbal behavior by observing and manipulating the physical environment of the speaker.

Skinner feels that recent advances in the laboratory study of animal behavior permit us to approach this problem with a certain optimism, since 'the basic processes and relations which give verbal behavior its special characteristics are now fairly well understood ... the results [of this experimental work] have been surprisingly free of species restrictions. Recent work has shown that the methods can be extended to human behavior without serious modification' (3).¹

¹ Skinner's confidence in recent achievements in the study of animal behavior and their applicability to complex human behavior does not appear to be widely shared. In many recent publications of confirmed behaviorists there is a prevailing note of skepticism with regard to the scope of these achievements. For representative comments, see the contributions to *Modern learning theory* (by Estes et al.; New York, 1954); Bugelski, *Psychology of learning* (New York, 1956); Koch, in *Nebraska symposium on motivation* 58 (Lincoln, 1956); Verplanck, Learned and innate behavior, *Psych. rev.* 52.139 (1955). Perhaps the strongest view is that of Harlow, who has asserted (Mice, monkeys, men, and motives, *Psych. rev.* 60.23-32 [1953]) that 'a strong case can be made for the proposition that the importance of the psychological problems studied during the last 15 years has decreased as a negatively accelerated function approaching an asymptote of complete indifference.' Tinbergen, a leading representative of a different approach to animal behavior studies (comparative ethology), concludes a discussion of 'functional analysis' with the comment that 'we may

It is important to see clearly just what it is in Skinner's program and claims that makes them appear so bold and remarkable. It is not primarily the fact that he has set functional analysis as his problem, or that he limits himself to study of 'observables', i.e. input-output relations. What is so surprising is the particular limitations he has imposed on the way in which the observables of behavior are to be studied, and, above all, the particularly simple nature of the 'function' which, he claims, describes the causation of behavior. One would naturally expect that prediction of the behavior of a complex organism (or machine) would require, in addition to information about external stimulation, knowledge of the internal structure of the organism, the ways in which it processes input information and organizes its own behavior. These characteristics of the organism are in general a complicated product of inborn structure, the genetically determined course of maturation, and past experience. Insofar as independent neurophysiological evidence is not available, it is obvious that inferences concerning the structure of the organism are based on observation of behavior and outside events. Nevertheless, one's estimate of the relative importance of external factors and internal structure in the determination of behavior will have an important effect on the direction of research on linguistic (or any other) behavior, and on the kinds of analogies from animal behavior studies that will be considered relevant or suggestive.

Putting it differently, anyone who sets himself the problem of analyzing the causation of behavior will (in the absence of independent neurophysiological evidence) concern himself with the only data available, namely the record of inputs to the organism and the organism's present response, and will try to describe the function specifying the response in terms of the history of inputs. This is nothing more than the definition of his problem. There are no possible grounds for argument here, if one accepts the problem as legitimate, though Skinner has often advanced and defended this definition of a problem as if it were a thesis which other investigators reject. The differences that arise between those who affirm and those who deny the importance of the specific 'contribution of the organism' to learning and performance concern the particular character and complexity of this function, and the kinds of observations and research necessary for arriving at a precise specification of it. If the contribution of the organism is complex, the only hope of predicting behavior even in a gross way will be through a very indirect program of research that begins by studying the detailed character of the behavior itself and the particular capacities of the organism involved.

Skinner's thesis is that external factors consisting of present stimulation and the history of reinforcement (in particular the frequency, arrangement, and withholding of reinforcing stimuli) are of overwhelming importance, and that the general principles revealed in laboratory studies of these phenomena provide the basis for understanding the complexities of verbal behavior. He con-

now draw the conclusion that the causation of behavior is immensely more complex than was assumed in the generalizations of the past. A number of internal and external factors act upon complex central nervous structures. Second, it will be obvious that the facts at our disposal are very fragmentary indeed—*The study of instinct* 74 (Oxford, 1951).

dently and repeatedly voices his claim to have demonstrated that the contribution of the speaker is quite trivial and elementary, and that precise prediction of verbal behavior involves only specification of the few external factors that he has isolated experimentally with lower organisms.

Careful study of this book (and of the research on which it draws) reveals, however, that these astonishing claims are far from justified. It indicates, furthermore, that the insights that have been achieved in the laboratories of the reinforcement theorist, though quite genuine, can be applied to complex human behavior only in the most gross and superficial way, and that speculative attempts to discuss linguistic behavior in these terms alone omit from consideration factors of fundamental importance that are, no doubt, amenable to scientific study, although their specific character cannot at present be precisely formulated. Since Skinner's work is the most extensive attempt to accommodate human behavior involving higher mental faculties within a strict behaviorist schema of the type that has attracted many linguists and philosophers, as well as psychologists, a detailed documentation is of independent interest. The magnitude of the failure of this attempt to account for verbal behavior serves as a kind of measure of the importance of the factors omitted from consideration, and an indication of how little is really known about this remarkably complex phenomenon.

The force of Skinner's argument lies in the enormous wealth and range of examples for which he proposes a functional analysis. The only way to evaluate the success of his program and the correctness of his basic assumptions about verbal behavior is to review these examples in detail and to determine the precise character of the concepts in terms of which the functional analysis is presented. §2 of this review describes the experimental context with respect to which these concepts are originally defined. §§3–4 deal with the basic concepts 'stimulus', 'response', and 'reinforcement', §§6–10 with the new descriptive machinery developed specifically for the description of verbal behavior. In §5 we consider the status of the fundamental claim, drawn from the laboratory, which serves as the basis for the analogic guesses about human behavior that have been proposed by many psychologists. The final section (§11) will consider some ways in which further linguistic work may play a part in clarifying some of these problems.

2. Although this book makes no direct reference to experimental work, it can be understood only in terms of the general framework that Skinner has developed for the description of behavior. Skinner divides the responses of the animal into two main categories. *Respondents* are purely reflex responses elicited by particular stimuli. *Operants* are emitted responses, for which no obvious stimulus can be discovered. Skinner has been concerned primarily with operant behavior. The experimental arrangement that he introduced consists basically of a box with a bar attached to one wall in such a way that when the bar is pressed, a food pellet is dropped into a tray (and the bar press is recorded). A rat placed in the box will soon press the bar, releasing a pellet into the tray. This state of affairs, resulting from the bar press, increases the *strength* of the bar-

pressing operant. The food pellet is called a *reinforcer*; the event, a reinforcing event. The strength of an operant is defined by Skinner in terms of the rate of response during extinction (i.e. after the last reinforcement and before return to the preconditioning rate).

Suppose that release of the pellet is conditional on the flashing of a light. Then the rat will come to press the bar only when the light flashes. This is called *stimulus discrimination*. The response is called a *discriminated operant* and the light is called the *occasion* for its emission; this is to be distinguished from elicitation of a response by a stimulus in the case of the respondent.² Suppose that the apparatus is so arranged that bar-pressing of only a certain character (e.g. duration) will release the pellet. The rat will then come to press the bar in the required way. This process is called *response differentiation*. By successive slight changes in the conditions under which the response will be reinforced it is possible to shape the response of a rat or a pigeon in very surprising ways in a very short time, so that rather complex behavior can be produced by a process of successive approximation.

A stimulus can become reinforcing by repeated association with an already reinforcing stimulus. Such a stimulus is called a *secondary reinforcer*. Like many contemporary behaviorists, Skinner considers money, approval, and the like to be secondary reinforcers which have become reinforcing because of their association with food etc.³ Secondary reinforcers can be *generalized* by associating them with a variety of different primary reinforcers.

Another variable that can affect the rate of the bar-pressing operant is drive, which Skinner defines operationally in terms of hours of deprivation. His major scientific book, *Behavior of organisms*, is a study of the effects of food-deprivation and conditioning on the strength of the bar-pressing response of healthy mature rats. Probably Skinner's most original contribution to animal behavior studies has been his investigation of the effects of intermittent reinforcement, arranged in various different ways, presented in *Behavior of organisms* and extended (with pecking of pigeons as the operant under investigation) in the recent *Schedules of reinforcement* by Ferster and Skinner (1957). It is apparently

² In *Behavior of organisms* (New York, 1938), Skinner remarks that 'although a conditioned operant is the result of the correlation of the response with a particular reinforcement, a relation between it and a discriminative stimulus acting prior to the response is the almost universal rule' (178-9). Even emitted behavior is held to be produced by some sort of 'originating force' (51) which, in the case of operant behavior is not under experimental control. The distinction between eliciting stimuli, discriminated stimuli, and 'originating forces' has never been adequately clarified, and becomes even more confusing when private internal events are considered to be discriminated stimuli (see below).

³ In a famous experiment, chimpanzees were taught to perform complex tasks to receive tokens which had become secondary reinforcers because of association with food. The idea that money, approval, prestige, etc. actually acquire their motivating effects on human behavior according to this paradigm is unproved, and not particularly plausible. Many psychologists within the behaviorist movement are quite skeptical about this (cf. fn. 23). As in the case of most aspects of human behavior, the evidence about secondary reinforcement is so fragmentary, conflicting, and complex that almost any view can find some support.

these studies that Skinner has in mind when he refers to the recent advances in the study of animal behavior.⁴

The notions 'stimulus', 'response', 'reinforcement' are relatively well defined with respect to the bar-pressing experiments and others similarly restricted. Before we can extend them to real-life behavior, however, certain difficulties must be faced. We must decide, first of all, whether any physical event to which the organism is capable of reacting is to be called a stimulus on a given occasion, or only one to which the organism in fact reacts; and correspondingly, we must decide whether any part of behavior is to be called a response, or only one connected with stimuli in lawful ways. Questions of this sort pose something of a dilemma for the experimental psychologist. If he accepts the broad definitions, characterizing any physical event impinging on the organism as a stimulus and any part of the organism's behavior as a response, he must conclude that behavior has not been demonstrated to be lawful. In the present state of our knowledge, we must attribute an overwhelming influence on actual behavior to ill-defined factors of attention, set, volition, and caprice. If we accept the narrower definitions, then behavior is lawful by definition (if it consists of responses); but this fact is of limited significance, since most of what the animal does will simply not be considered behavior. Hence the psychologist either must admit that behavior is not lawful (or that he cannot at present show that it is—not at all a damaging admission for a developing science), or must restrict his attention to those highly limited areas in which it is lawful (e.g. with adequate controls, bar-pressing in rats; lawfulness of the observed behavior provides, for Skinner, an implicit definition of a good experiment).

Skinner does not consistently adopt either course. He utilizes the experimental results as evidence for the scientific character of his system of behavior, and analogic guesses (formulated in terms of a metaphoric extension of the technical vocabulary of the laboratory) as evidence for its scope. This creates the illusion of a rigorous scientific theory with a very broad scope, although in fact the terms used in the description of real-life and of laboratory behavior may be mere homonyms, with at most a vague similarity of meaning. To substantiate this

⁴ Skinner's remark quoted above about the generality of his basic results must be understood in the light of the experimental limitations he has imposed. If it were true in any deep sense that the basic processes in language are well understood and free of species restrictions, it would be extremely odd that language is limited to man. With the exception of a few scattered observations (cf. his article, *A case history in scientific method*, *The American psychologist* 11.221-33 [1956]), Skinner is apparently basing this claim on the fact that qualitatively similar results are obtained with bar-pressing of rats and pecking of pigeons under special conditions of deprivation and various schedules of reinforcement. One immediately questions how much can be based on these facts, which are in part at least an artifact traceable to experimental design and the definition of 'stimulus' and 'response' in terms of 'smooth dynamic curves' (see below). The dangers inherent in any attempt to 'extrapolate' to complex behavior from the study of such simple responses as bar-pressing should be obvious, and have often been commented on (cf. e.g. Harlow, op.cit.). The generality of even the simplest results is open to serious question. Cf. in this connection Bitterman, Wodinsky, and Candaland, *Some comparative psychology*, *Am. jour. of psych.* 71.94-110 (1958), where it is shown that there are important qualitative differences in solution of comparable elementary problems by rats and fish.

evaluation, a critical account of his book must show that with a literal reading (where the terms of the descriptive system have something like the technical meanings given in Skinner's definitions) the book covers almost no aspect of linguistic behavior, and that with a metaphoric reading, it is no more scientific than the traditional approaches to this subject matter, and rarely as clear and careful.⁵

3. Consider first Skinner's use of the notions 'stimulus' and 'response'. In *Behavior of organisms* (9) he commits himself to the narrow definitions for these terms. A part of the environment and a part of behavior are called stimulus (eliciting, discriminated, or reinforcing) and response, respectively, only if they are lawfully related; that is, if the 'dynamic laws' relating them show smooth and reproducible curves. Evidently stimuli and responses, so defined, have not been shown to figure very widely in ordinary human behavior.⁶ We can, in the face of presently available evidence, continue to maintain the lawfulness of the relation between stimulus and response only by depriving them of their objective character. A typical example of 'stimulus control' for Skinner would be the response to a piece of music with the utterance *Mozart* or to a painting with the response *Dutch*. These responses are asserted to be 'under the control of extremely subtle properties' of the physical object or event (108). Suppose instead of saying *Dutch* we had said *Clashes with the wallpaper, I thought you liked abstract work, Never saw it before, Tilted, Hanging too low, Beautiful, Hideous, Remember our camping trip last summer?*, or whatever else might come into our minds when looking at a picture (in Skinnerian translation, whatever other responses exist in sufficient strength). Skinner could only say that each of these responses is under the control of some other stimulus property of the physical object. If we look at a red chair and say *red*, the response is under the control of the stimulus 'redness'; if we say *chair*, it is under the control of the collection of properties (for Skinner, the object) 'chairness' (110), and similarly for any other response. This device is as simple as it is empty. Since properties are free for the asking

⁵ An analogous argument, in connection with a different aspect of Skinner's thinking, is given by Scriven in *A study of radical behaviorism = Univ. of Minn. studies in philosophy of science*, Vol. 1. Cf. Verplanck's contribution to *Modern learning theory* (283-8) for more general discussion of the difficulties in formulating an adequate definition of 'stimulus' and 'response'. He concludes, quite correctly, that in Skinner's sense of the word, stimuli are not objectively identifiable independently of the resulting behavior, nor are they manipulable. Verplanck presents a clear discussion of many other aspects of Skinner's system, commenting on the untestability of many of the so-called 'laws of behavior' and the limited scope of many of the others, and the arbitrary and obscure character of Skinner's notion of 'lawful relation'; and, at the same time, noting the importance of the experimental data that Skinner has accumulated.

⁶ In *Behavior of organisms*, Skinner apparently was willing to accept this consequence. He insists (41-2) that the terms of casual description in the popular vocabulary are not validly descriptive until the defining properties of stimulus and response are specified, the correlation is demonstrated experimentally, and the dynamic changes in it are shown to be lawful. Thus, in describing a child as hiding from a dog, 'it will not be enough to dignify the popular vocabulary by appealing to essential properties of "dogness" or "hidingness" and to suppose them intuitively known.' But this is exactly what Skinner does in the book under review, as we will see directly.

(we have as many of them as we have nonsynonymous descriptive expressions in our language, whatever this means exactly), we can account for a wide class of responses in terms of Skinnerian functional analysis by identifying the 'controlling stimuli'. But the word 'stimulus' has lost all objectivity in this usage. Stimuli are no longer part of the outside physical world; they are driven back into the organism. We identify the stimulus when we hear the response. It is clear from such examples, which abound, that the talk of 'stimulus control' simply disguises a complete retreat to mentalistic psychology. We cannot predict verbal behavior in terms of the stimuli in the speaker's environment, since we do not know what the current stimuli are until he responds. Furthermore, since we cannot control the property of a physical object to which an individual will respond, except in highly artificial cases, Skinner's claim that his system, as opposed to the traditional one, permits the practical control of verbal behavior⁷ is quite false.

Other examples of 'stimulus control' merely add to the general mystification. Thus a proper noun is held to be a response 'under the control of a specific person or thing' (as controlling stimulus, 113). I have often used the words *Eisenhower* and *Moscow*, which I presume are proper nouns if anything is, but have never been 'stimulated' by the corresponding objects. How can this fact be made compatible with this definition? Suppose that I use the name of a friend who is not present. Is this an instance of a proper noun under the control of the friend as stimulus? Elsewhere it is asserted that a stimulus controls a response in the sense that presence of the stimulus increases the probability of the response. But it is obviously untrue that the probability that a speaker will produce a full name is increased when its bearer faces the speaker. Furthermore,

⁷ 253 f. and elsewhere, repeatedly. As an example of how well we can control behavior using the notions developed in this book, Skinner shows here how he would go about evoking the response *pencil*. The most effective way, he suggests, is to say to the subject 'Please say *pencil*' (our chances would, presumably, be even further improved by use of 'aversive stimulation', e.g. holding a gun to his head). We can also 'make sure that no pencil or writing instrument is available, then hand our subject a pad of paper appropriate to pencil sketching, and offer him a handsome reward for a recognizable picture of a cat.' It would also be useful to have voices saying *pencil* or *pen* and ... in the background; signs reading *pencil* or *pen and ...*; or to place a 'large and unusual pencil in an unusual place clearly in sight'. 'Under such circumstances, it is highly probable that our subject will say *pencil*.' 'The available techniques are all illustrated in this sample.' These contributions of behavior theory to the practical control of human behavior are amply illustrated elsewhere in the book, as when Skinner shows (113-4) how we can evoke the response *red* (the device suggested is to hold a red object before the subject and say 'Tell me what color this is').

In fairness, it must be mentioned that there are certain nontrivial applications of 'operant conditioning' to the control of human behavior. A wide variety of experiments have shown that the number of plural nouns (for example) produced by a subject will increase if the experimenter says 'right' or 'good' when one is produced (similarly, positive attitudes on a certain issue, stories with particular content, etc.; cf. Krasner, Studies of the conditioning of verbal behavior, *Psych. bull.*, Vol. 55 [1958], for a survey of several dozen experiments of this kind, mostly with positive results). It is of some interest that the subject is usually unaware of the process. Just what insight this gives into normal verbal behavior is not obvious. Nevertheless, it is an example of positive and not totally expected results using the Skinnerian paradigm.

how can one's own name be a proper noun in this sense? A multitude of similar questions arise immediately. It appears that the word 'control' here is merely a misleading paraphrase for the traditional 'denote' or 'refer'. The assertion (115) that so far as the speaker is concerned, the relation of reference is 'simply the probability that the speaker will emit a response of a given form in the presence of a stimulus having specified properties' is surely incorrect if we take the words 'presence', 'stimulus', and 'probability' in their literal sense. That they are not intended to be taken literally is indicated by many examples, as when a response is said to be 'controlled' by a situation or state of affairs as 'stimulus'. Thus, the expression *a needle in a haystack* 'may be controlled as a unit by a particular type of situation' (116); the words in a single part of speech, e.g. all adjectives, are under the control of a single set of subtle properties of stimuli (121); 'the sentence *The boy runs a store* is under the control of an extremely complex stimulus situation' (335); '*He is not at all well* may function as a standard response under the control of a state of affairs which might also control *He is ailing*' (325); when an envoy observes events in a foreign country and reports upon his return, his report is under 'remote stimulus control' (416); the statement *This is war* may be a response to a 'confusing international situation' (441); the suffix *-ed* is controlled by that 'subtle property of stimuli which we speak of as action-in-the-past' (121) just as the *-s* in *The boy runs* is under the control of such specific features of the situation as its 'currency' (332). No characterization of the notion 'stimulus control' that is remotely related to the bar-pressing experiment (or that preserves the faintest objectivity) can be made to cover a set of examples like these, in which, for example, the 'controlling stimulus' need not even impinge on the responding organism.

Consider now Skinner's use of the notion 'response'. The problem of identifying units in verbal behavior has of course been a primary concern of linguists, and it seems very likely that experimental psychologists should be able to provide much-needed assistance in clearing up the many remaining difficulties in systematic identification. Skinner recognizes (20) the fundamental character of the problem of identification of a unit of verbal behavior, but is satisfied with an answer so vague and subjective that it does not really contribute to its solution. The unit of verbal behavior—the verbal operant—is defined as a class of responses of identifiable form functionally related to one or more controlling variables. No method is suggested for determining in a particular instance what are the controlling variables, how many such units have occurred, or where their boundaries are in the total response. Nor is any attempt made to specify how much or what kind of similarity in form or 'control' is required for two physical events to be considered instances of the same operant. In short, no answers are suggested for the most elementary questions that must be asked of anyone proposing a method for description of behavior. Skinner is content with what he calls an 'extrapolation' of the concept of operant developed in the laboratory to the verbal field. In the typical Skinnerian experiment, the problem of identifying the unit of behavior is not too crucial. It is defined, by fiat, as a recorded peck or bar-press, and systematic variations in the rate of this operant and its

resistance to extinction are studied as a function of deprivation and scheduling of reinforcement (pellets). The operant is thus defined with respect to a particular experimental procedure. This is perfectly reasonable, and has led to many interesting results. It is, however, completely meaningless to speak of extrapolating this concept of operant to ordinary verbal behavior. Such 'extrapolation' leaves us with no way of justifying one or another decision about the units in the 'verbal repertoire'.

Skinner specifies 'response strength' as the basic datum, the basic dependent variable in his functional analysis. In the bar-pressing experiment, response strength is defined in terms of rate of emission during extinction. Skinner has argued⁸ that this is 'the only datum that varies significantly and in the expected direction under conditions which are relevant to the "learning process".' In the book under review, response strength is defined as 'probability of emission' (22). This definition provides a comforting impression of objectivity, which, however, is quickly dispelled when we look into the matter more closely. The term 'probability' has some rather obscure meaning for Skinner in this book.⁹ We are told, on the one hand, that 'our evidence for the contribution of each variable [to response strength] is based on observation of frequencies alone' (28). At the same time, it appears that frequency is a very misleading measure of strength, since, for example, the frequency of a response may be 'primarily attributable to the frequency of occurrence of controlling variables' (27). It is not clear how the frequency of a response can be attributable to anything BUT the frequency of occurrence of its controlling variables if we accept Skinner's view that the behavior occurring in a given situation is 'fully determined' by the relevant controlling variables (175, 228). Furthermore, although the evidence for the contribution of each variable to response strength is based on observation of frequencies alone, it turns out that 'we base the notion of strength upon several kinds of evidence' (22), in particular (22-8): emission of the response (particularly in unusual circumstances), energy level (stress), pitch level, speed and delay of emission, size of letters etc. in writing, immediate repetition, and—a final factor, relevant but misleading—over-all frequency.

Of course, Skinner recognizes that these measures do not co-vary, because (among other reasons) pitch, stress, quantity, and reduplication may have in-

⁸ Are theories of learning necessary?, *Psych. rev.* 57.193-216 (1950).

⁹ And elsewhere. In his paper Are theories of learning necessary?, Skinner considers the problem how to extend his analysis of behavior to experimental situations in which it is impossible to observe frequencies, rate of response being the only valid datum. His answer is that 'the notion of probability is usually extrapolated to cases in which a frequency analysis cannot be carried out. In the field of behavior we arrange a situation in which frequencies are available as data, but we use the notion of probability in analyzing or formulating instances of even types of behavior which are not susceptible to this analysis' (199). There are, of course, conceptions of probability not based directly on frequency, but I do not see how any of these apply to the cases that Skinner has in mind. I see no way of interpreting the quoted passage other than as signifying an intention to use the word 'probability' in describing behavior quite independently of whether the notion of probability is at all relevant.

ternal linguistic functions.¹⁰ However, he does not hold these conflicts to be very important, since the proposed factors indicative of strength are 'fully understood by everyone' in the culture (27). For example, 'if we are shown a prized work of art and exclaim *Beautiful!*', the speed and energy of the response will not be lost on the owner.' It does not appear totally obvious that in this case the way to impress the owner is to shriek *Beautiful* in a loud, high-pitched voice, repeatedly, and with no delay (high response strength). It may be equally effective to look at the picture silently (long delay), and then to murmur *Beautiful* in a soft, low-pitched voice (by definition, very low response strength).

It is not unfair, I believe, to conclude from Skinner's discussion of response strength, the 'basic datum' in functional analysis, that his 'extrapolation' of the notion of probability can best be interpreted as, in effect, nothing more than a decision to use the word 'probability', with its favorable connotations of objectivity, as a cover term to paraphrase such low-status words as 'interest', 'intention', 'belief', and the like. This interpretation is fully justified by the way in which Skinner uses the terms 'probability' and 'strength'. To cite just one example, Skinner defines the process of confirming an assertion in science as one of 'generating additional variables to increase its probability' (425), and more generally, its strength (425–9). If we take this suggestion quite literally, the degree of confirmation of a scientific assertion can be measured as a simple function of the loudness, pitch, and frequency with which it is proclaimed, and a general procedure for increasing its degree of confirmation would be, for instance, to train machine guns on large crowds of people who have been instructed to shout it. A better indication of what Skinner probably has in mind here is given by his description of how the theory of evolution, as an example, is confirmed. This 'single set of verbal responses ... is made more plausible—is strengthened—by several types of construction based upon verbal responses in geology, paleontology, genetics, and so on' (427). We are no doubt to interpret the terms 'strength' and 'probability' in this context as paraphrases of more familiar locutions such as 'justified belief' or 'warranted assertability', or something of the sort. Similar latitude of interpretation is presumably expected when we read that 'frequency of effective action accounts in turn for what we may call the listener's "belief"' (88) or that 'our belief in what someone tells us is similarly a function of, or identical with, our tendency to act upon the verbal stimuli which he provides' (160).¹¹

¹⁰ Fortunately, 'In English this presents no great difficulty' since, for example, 'relative pitch levels ... are not ... important' (25). No reference is made to the numerous studies of the function of relative pitch levels and other intonational features in English.

¹¹ The vagueness of the word 'tendency', as opposed to 'frequency', saves the latter quotation from the obvious incorrectness of the former. Nevertheless, a good deal of stretching is necessary. If 'tendency' has anything like its ordinary meaning, the remark is clearly false. One may believe strongly the assertion that Jupiter has four moons, that many of Sophocles' plays have been irretrievably lost, that the earth will burn to a crisp in ten million years, etc., without experiencing the slightest tendency to act upon these verbal stimuli. We may, of course, turn Skinner's assertion into a very unilluminating truth by defining 'tendency to act' to include tendencies to answer questions in certain ways, under motivation to say what one believes is true.

I think it is evident, then, that Skinner's use of the terms 'stimulus', 'control', 'response', and 'strength' justify the general conclusion stated in the last paragraph of §2 above. The way in which these terms are brought to bear on the actual data indicates that we must interpret them as mere paraphrases for the popular vocabulary commonly used to describe behavior, and as having no particular connection with the homonymous expressions used in the description of laboratory experiments. Naturally, this terminological revision adds no objectivity to the familiar 'mentalistic' mode of description.

4. The other fundamental notion borrowed from the description of bar-pressing experiments is 'reinforcement'. It raises problems which are similar, and even more serious. In *Behavior of organisms*, 'the operation of reinforcement is defined as the presentation of a certain kind of stimulus in a temporal relation with either a stimulus or response. A reinforcing stimulus is defined as such by its power to produce the resulting change [in strength]. There is no circularity about this: some stimuli are found to produce the change, others not, and they are classified as reinforcing and non-reinforcing accordingly' (62). This is a perfectly appropriate definition¹² for the study of schedules of reinforcement. It is perfectly useless, however, in the discussion of real-life behavior, unless we can somehow characterize the stimuli which are reinforcing (and the situations and conditions under which they are reinforcing). Consider first of all the status of the basic principle that Skinner calls the 'law of conditioning' (law of effect). It reads: 'if the occurrence of an operant is followed by presence of a reinforcing stimulus, the strength is increased' (*Behavior of organisms* 21). As 'reinforcement' was defined, this law becomes a tautology.¹³ For Skinner, learning is just change in response strength.¹⁴ Although the statement that presence of reinforcement is a sufficient condition for learning and maintenance of behavior is vacuous, the claim that it is a necessary condition may have some content, depending on how the class of reinforcers (and appropriate situations) is characterized. Skinner does make it very clear that in his view reinforcement is a necessary condition for language learning and for the continued availability of linguistic responses in the adult.¹⁵ However, the looseness of the term 'reinforcement' as

¹² One should add, however, that it is in general not the stimulus as such that is reinforcing, but the stimulus in a particular situational context. Depending on experimental arrangement, a particular physical event or object may be reinforcing, punishing, or unnoticed. Because Skinner limits himself to a particular, very simple experimental arrangement, it is not necessary for him to add this qualification, which would not be at all easy to formulate precisely. But it is of course necessary if he expects to extend his descriptive system to behavior in general.

¹³ This has been frequently noted.

¹⁴ See, for example, Are theories of learning necessary? 199. Elsewhere, he suggests that the term 'learning' be restricted to complex situations, but these are not characterized.

¹⁵ 'A child acquires verbal behavior when relatively unpatterned vocalizations, selectively reinforced, gradually assume forms which produce appropriate consequences in a given verbal community' (31). 'Differential reinforcement shapes up all verbal forms, and when a prior stimulus enters into the contingency, reinforcement is responsible for its resulting control ... The availability of behavior, its probability or strength, depends on whether reinforcements *continue* in effect and according to what schedules' (203-4). Elsewhere, frequently.

Skinner uses it in the book under review makes it entirely pointless to inquire into the truth or falsity of this claim. Examining the instances of what Skinner calls 'reinforcement', we find that not even the requirement that a reinforcer be an identifiable stimulus is taken seriously. In fact, the term is used in such a way that the assertion that reinforcement is necessary for learning and continued availability of behavior is likewise empty.

To show this, we consider some example of 'reinforcement'. First of all, we find a heavy appeal to automatic self-reinforcement. Thus, 'a man talks to himself ... because of the reinforcement he receives' (163); 'the child is reinforced automatically when he duplicates the sounds of airplanes, streetcars ...' (164); 'the young child alone in the nursery may automatically reinforce his own exploratory verbal behavior when he produces sounds which he has heard in the speech of others' (58); 'the speaker who is also an accomplished listener "knows when he has correctly echoed a response" and is reinforced thereby' (68); thinking is 'behaving which automatically affects the behavior and is reinforcing because it does so' (438; cutting one's finger should thus be reinforcing, and an example of thinking); 'the verbal fantasy, whether overt or covert, is automatically reinforcing to the speaker as listener. Just as the musician plays or composes what he is reinforced by hearing, or as the artist paints what reinforces him visually, so the speaker engaged in verbal fantasy says what he is reinforced by hearing or writes what he is reinforced by reading' (439); similarly, care in problem solving, and rationalization, are automatically self-reinforcing (442-3). We can also reinforce someone by emitting verbal behavior as such (since this rules out a class of aversive stimulations, 167), by not emitting verbal behavior (keeping silent and paying attention, 199), or by acting appropriately on some future occasion (152: 'the strength of [the speaker's] behavior is determined mainly by the behavior which the listener will exhibit with respect to a given state of affairs'; this Skinner considers the general case of 'communication' or 'letting the listener know'). In most such cases, of course, the speaker is not present at the time when the reinforcement takes place, as when 'the artist ... is reinforced by the effects his works have upon ... others' (224), or when the writer is reinforced by the fact that his 'verbal behavior may reach over centuries or to thousands of listeners or readers at the same time. The writer may not be reinforced often or immediately, but his net reinforcement may be great' (206; this accounts for the great 'strength' of his behavior). An individual may also find it reinforcing to injure someone by criticism or by bringing bad news, or to publish an experimental result which upsets the theory of a rival (154), to describe circumstances which would be reinforcing if they were to occur (165), to avoid repetition (222), to 'hear' his own name though in fact it was not mentioned or to hear nonexistent words in his child's babbling (259), to clarify or otherwise intensify the effect of a stimulus which serves an important discriminative function (416), etc.

From this sample, it can be seen that the notion of reinforcement has totally lost whatever objective meaning it may ever have had. Running through these examples, we see that a person can be reinforced though he emits no response at all, and that the reinforcing 'stimulus' need not impinge on the 'reinforced person'

or need not even exist (it is sufficient that it be imagined or hoped for). When we read that a person plays what music he likes (165), says what he likes (165), thinks what he likes (438-9), reads what books he likes (163), etc., BECAUSE he finds it reinforcing to do so, or that we write books or inform others of facts BECAUSE we are reinforced by what we hope will be the ultimate behavior of reader or listener, we can only conclude that the term 'reinforcement' has a purely ritual function. The phrase 'X is reinforced by Y (stimulus, state of affairs, event, etc.)' is being used as a cover term for 'X wants Y', 'X likes Y', 'X wishes that Y were the case', etc. Invoking the term 'reinforcement' has no explanatory force, and any idea that this paraphrase introduces any new clarity or objectivity into the description of wishing, liking, etc., is a serious delusion. The only effect is to obscure the important differences among the notions being paraphrased. Once we recognize the latitude with which the term 'reinforcement' is being used, many rather startling comments lose their initial effect—for instance, that the behavior of the creative artist is 'controlled entirely by the contingencies of reinforcement' (150). What has been hoped for from the psychologist is some indication how the casual and informal description of everyday behavior in the popular vocabulary can be explained or clarified in terms of the notions developed in careful experiment and observation, or perhaps replaced in terms of a better scheme. A mere terminological revision, in which a term borrowed from the laboratory is used with the full vagueness of the ordinary vocabulary, is of no conceivable interest.

It seems that Skinner's claim that all verbal behavior is acquired and maintained in 'strength' through reinforcement is quite empty, because his notion of reinforcement has no clear content, functioning only as a cover term for any factor, detectable or not, related to acquisition or maintenance of verbal behavior.¹⁶ Skinner's use of the term 'conditioning' suffers from a similar difficulty. Pavlovian and operant conditioning are processes about which psychologists have developed real understanding. Instruction of human beings is not. The claim that instruction and imparting of information are simply matters of conditioning (357-66) is pointless. The claim is true, if we extend the term 'conditioning' to cover these processes, but we know no more about them after having revised this term in such a way as to deprive it of its relatively clear and objective character. It is, as far as we know, quite false, if we use 'conditioning' in its literal sense. Similarly, when we say that 'it is the function of predication to facilitate the transfer of response from one term to another or from one object to another' (361), we have said nothing of any significance. In what sense is this true of the predication *Whales are mammals?* Or, to take Skinner's example, what point is there in saying that the effect of *The telephone is out of order* on the listener is to bring behavior formerly controlled by the stimulus *out of order* under control of the stimulus *telephone* (or the telephone itself) by a process of simple conditioning (362)? What laws of conditioning hold in this case? Further-

¹⁶ Talk of schedules of reinforcement here is entirely pointless. How are we to decide, for example, according to what schedules covert reinforcement is 'arranged', as in thinking or verbal fantasy, or what the scheduling is of such factors as silence, speech, and appropriate future reactions to communicated information?

more, what behavior is 'controlled' by the stimulus *out of order*, in the abstract? Depending on the object of which this is predicated, the present state of motivation of the listener, etc., the behavior may vary from rage to pleasure, from fixing the object to throwing it out, from simply not using it to trying to use it in the normal way (e.g. to see if it is really out of order), and so on. To speak of 'conditioning' or 'bringing previously available behavior under control of a new stimulus' in such a case is just a kind of play-acting at science. Cf. also footnote 43.

5. The claim that careful arrangement of contingencies of reinforcement by the verbal community is a necessary condition for language learning has appeared, in one form or another, in many places.¹⁷ Since it is based not on actual observation, but on analogies to laboratory study of lower organisms, it is important to determine the status of the underlying assertion within experimental psychology proper. The most common characterization of reinforcement (one which Skinner explicitly rejects, incidentally) is in terms of drive reduction. This characterization can be given substance by defining drives in some way independently of what in fact is learned. If a drive is postulated on the basis of the fact that learning takes place, the claim that reinforcement is necessary for learning will again become as empty as it is in the Skinnerian framework. There is an extensive literature on the question of whether there can be learning without drive-reduction (latent learning). The 'classical' experiment of Blodgett indicated that rats who had explored a maze without reward showed a marked drop in number of errors (as compared to a control group which had not explored the maze) upon introduction of a food reward, indicating that the rat had learned the structure of the maze without reduction of the hunger drive. Drive-reduction theorists countered with an exploratory drive which was reduced during the prereward learning, and claimed that a slight decrement in errors could be noted before food reward. A wide variety of experiments, with somewhat conflicting results, have been carried out with a similar design.¹⁸ Few investigators still doubt the existence of the phenomenon. Hilgard, in his general review of learning theory,¹⁹ concludes that 'there is no longer any doubt but that, under appropriate circumstances, latent learning is demonstrable.'

More recent work has shown that novelty and variety of stimulus are sufficient

¹⁷ See, for example, Miller and Dollard, *Social learning and imitation* 82-3 (New York, 1941), for a discussion of the 'meticulous training' that they seem to consider necessary for a child to learn the meanings of words and syntactic patterns. The same notion is implicit in Mowrer's speculative account of how language might be acquired, in *Learning theory and personality dynamics*, Chapter 23 (New York, 1950). Actually, the view appears to be quite general.

¹⁸ For a general review and analysis of this literature, see Thistlthwaite, A critical review of latent learning and related experiments, *Psych. bull.* 48.97-129 (1951). MacCorquodale and Meehl, in their contribution to *Modern learning theory*, carry out a serious and considered attempt to handle the latent learning material from the standpoint of drive-reduction theory, with (as they point out) not entirely satisfactory results. Thorpe reviews the literature from the standpoint of the ethologist, adding also material on homing and topographical orientation (*Learning and instinct in animals* [Cambridge, 1956]).

¹⁹ *Theories of learning* 214 (1956).

to arouse curiosity in the rat and to motivate it to explore (visually), and in fact, to learn (since on a presentation of two stimuli, one novel, one repeated, the rat will attend to the novel one);²⁰ that rats will learn to choose the arm of a single-choice maze that leads to a complex maze, running through this being their only 'reward';²¹ that monkeys can learn object discriminations and maintain their performance at a high level of efficiency with visual exploration (looking out of a window for 30 seconds) as the only reward;²² and, perhaps most strikingly of all, that monkeys and apes will solve rather complex manipulation problems that are simply placed in their cages, and will solve discrimination problems with only exploration and manipulation as incentives.²³ In these cases, solving the problem is apparently its own 'reward'. Results of this kind can be handled by reinforcement theorists only if they are willing to set up curiosity, exploration, and manipulation drives, or to speculate somehow about acquired drives²⁴ for which there is no evidence outside of the fact that learning takes place in these cases.

²⁰ Berlyne, Novelty and curiosity as determinants of exploratory behavior, *Brit. jour. of psych.* 41.68–80 (1950); id., Perceptual curiosity in the rat, *Jour. of comp. physiol. psych.* 48.238–46 (1955); Thompson and Solomon, Spontaneous pattern discrimination in the rat, *ibid.* 47.104–7 (1954).

²¹ Montgomery, The role of the exploratory drive in learning, *ibid.* 60.3. Many other papers in the same journal are designed to show that exploratory behavior is a relatively independent primary 'drive' aroused by novel external stimulation.

²² Butler, Discrimination learning by Rhesus monkeys to visual-exploration motivation, *ibid.* 46.95–8 (1953). Later experiments showed that this 'drive' is highly persistent, as opposed to derived drives which rapidly extinguish.

²³ Harlow, Harlow, and Meyer, Learning motivated by a manipulation drive, *Jour. exp. psych.* 40.228–34 (1950), and later investigations initiated by Harlow. Harlow has been particularly insistent on maintaining the inadequacy of physiologically based drives and homeostatic need states for explaining the persistence of motivation and rapidity of learning in primates. He points out, in many papers, that curiosity, play, exploration, and manipulation are, for primates, often more potent drives than hunger and the like, and that they show none of the characteristics of acquired drives. Hebb also presents behavioral and supporting neurological evidence in support of the view that in higher animals there is a positive attraction in work, risk, puzzle, intellectual activity, mild fear and frustration, etc. (*Drives and the CNS, Psych. rev.* 62.243–54 [1955]). He concludes that 'we need not work out tortuous and improbable ways to explain why men work for money, why children learn without pain, why people dislike doing nothing.'

In a brief note (Early recognition of the manipulative drive in monkeys, *British journal of animal behaviour* 3.71–2 [1955]), W. Dennis calls attention to the fact that early investigators (Romanes, 1882; Thorndike, 1901), whose 'perception was relatively unaffected by learning theory, did note the intrinsically motivated behavior of monkeys', although, he asserts, no similar observations on monkeys have been made until Harlow's experiments. He quotes Romanes (*Animal intelligence* [1882]) as saying that 'much the most striking feature in the psychology of this animal, and the one which is least like anything met with in other animals, was the tireless spirit of investigation.' Analogous developments, in which genuine discoveries have blinded systematic investigators to the important insights of earlier work, are easily found within recent structural linguistics as well.

²⁴ Thus J. S. Brown, in commenting on a paper of Harlow's in *Current theory and research in motivation* (Lincoln, 1953), argues that 'in probably every instance [of the experiments cited by Harlow] an ingenious drive-reduction theorist could find some fragment of fear, insecurity, frustration, or whatever, that he could insist was reduced and hence was reinforcing' (53). The same sort of thing could be said for the ingenious phlogiston or ether theorist.

There is a variety of other kinds of evidence that has been offered to challenge the view that drive-reduction is necessary for learning. Results on sensory-sensory conditioning have been interpreted as demonstrating learning without drive-reduction.²⁵ Olds has reported reinforcement by direct stimulation of the brain, from which he concludes that reward need not satisfy a physiological need or withdraw a drive stimulus.²⁶ The phenomenon of imprinting, long observed by zoologists, is of particular interest in this connection. Some of the most complex patterns of behavior of birds, in particular, are directed towards objects and animals of the type to which they have been exposed at certain critical early periods of life.²⁷ Imprinting is the most striking evidence for the innate disposition of the animal to learn in a certain direction, and to react appropriately to patterns and objects of certain restricted types, often only long after the original learning has taken place. It is, consequently, unrewarded learning, though the resulting patterns of behavior may be refined through reinforcement. Acquisition of the typical songs of song birds is, in some cases, a type of imprinting. Thorpe reports studies that show 'that some characteristics of the normal song have been learnt in the earliest youth, before the bird itself is able to produce any kind of full song'.²⁸ The phenomenon of imprinting has recently been investigated under laboratory conditions and controls with positive results.²⁹

Phenomena of this general type are certainly familiar from everyday experience. We recognize people and places to which we have given no particular attention. We can look up something in a book and learn it perfectly well with no other motive than to confute reinforcement theory, or out of boredom, or idle curiosity. Everyone engaged in research must have had the experience of working with feverish and prolonged intensity to write a paper which no one else will read or to solve a problem which no one else thinks important and which will bring no conceivable reward—which may only confirm a general opinion that the researcher is wasting his time on irrelevancies. The fact that rats and monkeys do likewise is interesting, and important to show in careful experiment. In fact, studies of behavior of the type mentioned above have an independent and positive significance that far outweighs their incidental importance in bringing into question the claim that learning is impossible without drive-reduction. It is not at all unlikely that insights arising from animal behavior studies with this broadened scope may have the kind of relevance to such complex activities as verbal behavior that reinforcement theory has, so far, failed to exhibit. In any event, in the light of presently available evidence, it is difficult to see how anyone

²⁵ Cf. Birch and Bitterman, Reinforcement and learning: The process of sensory integration, *Psych. rev.* 56.292-308 (1949).

²⁶ See, for example, his paper A physiological study of reward in McClelland (ed.), *Studies in motivation* 134-43 (New York, 1955).

²⁷ See Thorpe, op.cit., particularly 115-8 and 337-76, for an excellent discussion of this phenomenon, which has been brought to prominence particularly by the work of K. Lorenz (cf. *Der Kumpan in der Umwelt des Vogels*, parts of which are reprinted in English translation in Schiller (ed.), *Instinctive behavior* 83-128 (New York, 1957)).

²⁸ Op.cit. 372.

²⁹ See e.g. Jaynes, Imprinting: Interaction of learned and innate behavior, *Jour. of comp. physiol. psych.* 49.201-6 (1956), where the conclusion is reached that 'the experiments prove that without any observable reward young birds of this species follow a moving stimulus object and very rapidly come to prefer that object to others.'

can be willing to claim that reinforcement is necessary for learning, if reinforcement is taken seriously as something identifiable independently of the resulting change in behavior.

Similarly, it seems quite beyond question that children acquire a good deal of their verbal and nonverbal behavior by casual observation and imitation of adults and other children.³⁰ It is simply not true that children can learn language only through 'meticulous care' on the part of adults who shape their verbal repertoire through careful differential reinforcement, though it may be that such care is often the custom in academic families. It is a common observation that a young child of immigrant parents may learn a second language in the streets, from other children, with amazing rapidity, and that his speech may be completely fluent and correct to the last allophone, while the subtleties that become second nature to the child may elude his parents despite high motivation and continued practice. A child may pick up a large part of his vocabulary and 'feel' for sentence structure from television, from reading, from listening to adults, etc. Even a very young child who has not yet acquired a minimal repertoire from which to form new utterances may imitate a word quite well on an early try, with no attempt on the part of his parents to teach it to him. It is also perfectly obvious that, at a later stage, a child will be able to construct and understand utterances which are quite new, and are, at the same time, acceptable sentences in his language. Every time an adult reads a newspaper, he undoubtedly comes upon countless new sentences which are not at all similar, in a simple, physical sense, to any that he has heard before, and which he will recognize as sentences and understand; he will also be able to detect slight distortions or misprints. Talk of 'stimulus generalization' in such a case simply perpetuates the mystery under a new title. These abilities indicate that there must be fundamental processes at work quite independently of 'feedback' from the environment. I have been able to find no support whatsoever for the doctrine of Skinner and others that slow and careful shaping of verbal behavior through differential reinforcement is an absolute necessity. If reinforcement theory really requires the

³⁰ Of course it is perfectly possible to incorporate this fact within the Skinnerian framework. If, for example, a child watches an adult using a comb and then, with no instruction, tries to comb his own hair, we can explain this act by saying that he performs it because he finds it reinforcing to do so, or because of the reinforcement provided by behaving like a person who is 'reinforcing' (cf. 164). Similarly, an automatic explanation is available for any other behavior. It seems strange at first that Skinner pays so little attention to the literature on latent learning and related topics, considering the tremendous reliance that he places on the notion of reinforcement; I have seen no reference to it in his writings. Similarly, Keller and Schoenfeld, in what appears to be the only text written under predominantly Skinnerian influence, *Principles of psychology* (New York, 1950), dismiss the latent-learning literature in one sentence as 'beside the point', serving only 'to obscure, rather than clarify, a fundamental principle' (the law of effect, 41). However, this neglect is perfectly appropriate in Skinner's case. To the drive-reductionist, or anyone else for whom the notion 'reinforcement' has some substantive meaning, these experiments and observations are important (and often embarrassing). But in the Skinnerian sense of the word, neither these results nor any conceivable others can cast any doubt on the claim that reinforcement is essential for the acquisition and maintenance of behavior. Behavior certainly has some concomitant circumstances, and whatever they are, we can call them 'reinforcement'.

assumption that there be such meticulous care, it seems best to regard this simply as a *reductio ad absurdum* argument against this approach. It is also not easy to find any basis (or, for that matter, to attach very much content) to the claim that reinforcing contingencies set up by the verbal community are the single factor responsible for maintaining the strength of verbal behavior. The sources of the 'strength' of this behavior are almost a total mystery at present. Reinforcement undoubtedly plays a significant role, but so do a variety of motivational factors about which nothing serious is known in the case of human beings.

As far as acquisition of language is concerned, it seems clear that reinforcement, casual observation, and natural inquisitiveness (coupled with a strong tendency to imitate) are important factors, as is the remarkable capacity of the child to generalize, hypothesize, and 'process information' in a variety of very special and apparently highly complex ways which we cannot yet describe or begin to understand, and which may be largely innate, or may develop through some sort of learning or through maturation of the nervous system. The manner in which such factors operate and interact in language acquisition is completely unknown. It is clear that what is necessary in such a case is research, not dogmatic and perfectly arbitrary claims, based on analogies to that small part of the experimental literature in which one happens to be interested.

The pointlessness of these claims becomes clear when we consider the well-known difficulties in determining to what extent inborn structure, maturation, and learning are responsible for the particular form of a skilled or complex performance.³¹ To take just one example,³² the gaping response of a nestling thrush is at first released by jarring of the nest, and, at a later stage, by a moving object of specific size, shape, and position relative to the nestling. At this later stage the response is directed towards the part of the stimulus object corresponding to the parent's head, and characterized by a complex configuration of stimuli that can be precisely described. Knowing just this, it would be possible to construct a speculative, learning-theoretic account of how this sequence of behavior patterns might have developed through a process of differential reinforcement, and it would no doubt be possible to train rats to do something similar. However, there appears to be good evidence that these responses to fairly complex 'sign stimuli' are genetically determined and mature without learning. Clearly, the possibility cannot be discounted. Consider now the comparable case of a child imitating new words. At an early stage we may find rather gross correspondences. At a later stage, we find that repetition is of course far from exact (i.e.

³¹ Tinbergen (op.cit., Chapter VI) reviews some aspects of this problem, discussing the primary role of maturation in the development of many complex motor patterns (e.g. flying, swimming) in lower organisms, and the effect of an 'innate disposition to learn' in certain specific ways and at certain specific times. Cf. also Schiller, *Instinctive behavior* 265-88, for a discussion of the role of maturing motor patterns in apparently insightful behavior in the chimpanzee.

Lenneberg (*Language, evolution, and purposive behavior*, unpublished) presents a very interesting discussion of the part that biological structure may play in the acquisition of language, and the dangers in neglecting this possibility.

³² From among many cited by Tinbergen, op.cit. (this on page 85).

it is not mimicry, a fact which itself is interesting), but that it reproduces the highly complex configuration of sound features that constitute the phonological structure of the language in question. Again, we can propose a speculative account of how this result might have been obtained through elaborate arrangement of reinforcing contingencies. Here too, however, it is possible that ability to select out of the complex auditory input those features that are phonologically relevant may develop largely independently of reinforcement, through genetically determined maturation. To the extent that this is true, an account of the development and causation of behavior that fails to consider the structure of the organism will provide no understanding of the real processes involved.

It is often argued that experience, rather than innate capacity to handle information in certain specific ways, must be the factor of overwhelming dominance in determining the specific character of language acquisition, since a child speaks the language of the group in which he lives. But this is a superficial argument. As long as we are speculating, we may consider the possibility that the brain has evolved to the point where, given an input of observed Chinese sentences, it produces (by an 'induction' of apparently fantastic complexity and suddenness) the 'rules' of Chinese grammar, and given an input of observed English sentences, it produces (by, perhaps, exactly the same process of induction) the rules of English grammar; or that given an observed application of a term to certain instances it automatically predicts the extension to a class of complexly related instances. If clearly recognized as such, this speculation is neither unreasonable nor fantastic; nor, for that matter, is it beyond the bounds of possible study. There is of course no known neural structure capable of performing this task in the specific ways that observation of the resulting behavior might lead us to postulate; but for that matter, the structures capable of accounting for even the simplest kinds of learning have similarly defied detection.³³

Summarizing this brief discussion, it seems that there is neither empirical evidence nor any known argument to support any SPECIFIC claim about the relative importance of 'feedback' from the environment and the 'independent contribution of the organism' in the process of language acquisition.

6. We now turn to the system that Skinner develops specifically for the description of verbal behavior. Since this system is based on the notions 'stimulus', 'response', and 'reinforcement', we can conclude from the preceding sections that it will be vague and arbitrary. For reasons noted in §1, however, I think it is important to see in detail how far from the mark any analysis phrased solely in these terms must be and how completely this system fails to account for the facts of verbal behavior.

Consider first the term 'verbal behavior' itself. This is defined as 'behavior

³³ Cf. Lashley, In search of the engram, *Symposium of the Society for Experimental Biology* 4.454-82 (1950). Sperry, On the neural basis of the conditioned response, *British journal of animal behaviour* 3.41-4 (1955), argues that to account for the experimental results of Lashley and others, and for other facts that he cites, it is necessary to assume that high-level cerebral activity of the type of insight, expectancy, etc. is involved even in simple conditioning. He states that 'we still lack today a satisfactory picture of the underlying neural mechanism' of the conditioned response.

reinforced through the mediation of other persons' (2). The definition is clearly much too broad. It would include as 'verbal behavior', for example, a rat pressing the bar in a Skinner-box, a child brushing his teeth, a boxer retreating before an opponent, and a mechanic repairing an automobile. Exactly how much of ordinary linguistic behavior is 'verbal' in this sense, however, is something of a question: perhaps, as I have pointed out above, a fairly small fraction of it, if any substantive meaning is assigned to the term 'reinforced'. This definition is subsequently refined by the additional provision that the mediating response of the reinforcing person (the 'listener') must itself 'have been conditioned *precisely in order to reinforce* the behavior of the speaker' (225, italics his). This still covers the examples given above, if we can assume that the 'reinforcing' behavior of the psychologist, the parent, the opposing boxer, and the paying customer are the result of appropriate training, which is perhaps not unreasonable. A significant part of the fragment of linguistic behavior covered by the earlier definition will no doubt be excluded by the refinement, however. Suppose, for example, that while crossing the street I hear someone shout *Watch out for the car* and jump out of the way. It can hardly be proposed that my jumping (the mediating, reinforcing response in Skinner's usage) was conditioned (that is, I was trained to jump) precisely in order to reinforce the behavior of the speaker. Similarly for a wide class of cases. Skinner's assertion that with this refined definition 'we narrow our subject to what is traditionally recognized as the verbal field' (225) appears to be grossly in error.

7. Verbal operants are classified by Skinner in terms of their 'functional' relation to discriminated stimulus, reinforcement, and other verbal responses. A *mand* is defined as 'a verbal operant in which the response is reinforced by a characteristic consequence and is therefore under the functional control of relevant conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation' (35). This is meant to include questions, commands, etc. Each of the terms in this definition raises a host of problems. A *mand* such as *Pass the salt* is a class of responses. We cannot tell by observing the form of a response whether it belongs to this class (Skinner is very clear about this), but only by identifying the controlling variables. This is generally impossible. Deprivation is defined in the bar-pressing experiment in terms of length of time that the animal has not been fed or permitted to drink. In the present context, however, it is quite a mysterious notion. No attempt is made here to describe a method for determining 'relevant conditions of deprivation' independently of the 'controlled' response. It is of no help at all to be told (32) that it can be characterized in terms of the operations of the experimenter. If we define deprivation in terms of elapsed time, then at any moment a person is in countless states of deprivation.³⁴ It appears that we must decide that the relevant condition of deprivation was (say) salt-deprivation, on the basis of the fact that the speaker asked for salt (the reinforcing community which 'sets up'

³⁴ Furthermore, the motivation of the speaker does not, except in the simplest cases, correspond in intensity to the duration of deprivation. An obvious counter-example is what Hebb has called the 'salted-nut phenomenon' (*Organization of behavior* 199 [New York, 1949]). The difficulty is of course even more serious when we consider 'deprivations' not related to physiological drives.

the mand is in a similar predicament). In this case, the assertion that a mand is under the control of relevant deprivation is empty, and we are (contrary to Skinner's intention) identifying the response as a mand completely in terms of form. The word 'relevant' in the definition above conceals some rather serious complications.

In the case of the mand *Pass the salt*, the word 'deprivation' is not out of place, though it appears to be of little use for functional analysis. Suppose however that the speaker says *Give me the book*, *Take me for a ride*, or *Let me fix it*. What kinds of deprivation can be associated with these mands? How do we determine or measure the relevant deprivation? I think we must conclude in this case, as before, either that the notion 'deprivation' is relevant at most to a minute fragment of verbal behavior, or else that the statement 'X is under Y-deprivation' is just an odd paraphrase for 'X wants Y', bearing a misleading and unjustifiable connotation of objectivity.

The notion 'aversive control' is just as confused. This is intended to cover threats, beating, and the like (33). The manner in which aversive stimulation functions is simply described. If a speaker has had a history of appropriate reinforcement (e.g. if a certain response was followed by 'cessation of the threat of such injury—of events which have previously been followed by such injury and which are therefore conditioned aversive stimuli') then he will tend to give the proper response when the threat which had previously been followed by the injury is presented. It would appear to follow from this description that a speaker will not respond properly to the mand *Your money or your life* (38) unless he has a past history of being killed. But even if the difficulties in describing the mechanism of aversive control are somehow removed by a more careful analysis, it will be of little use for identifying operants for reasons similar to those mentioned in the case of deprivation.

It seems, then, that in Skinner's terms there is in most cases no way to decide whether a given response is an instance of a particular mand. Hence it is meaningless, within the terms of his system, to speak of the *characteristic* consequences of a mand, as in the definition above. Furthermore, even if we extend the system so that mands can somehow be identified, we will have to face the obvious fact that most of us are not fortunate enough to have our requests, commands, advice, and so on characteristically reinforced (they may nevertheless exist in considerable 'strength'). These responses could therefore not be considered mands by Skinner. In fact, Skinner sets up a category of 'magical mands' (48–9) to cover the case of 'mands which cannot be accounted for by showing that they have ever had the effect specified or any similar effect upon similar occasions' (the word 'ever' in this statement should be replaced by 'characteristically'). In these pseudo mands, 'the speaker simply describes the reinforcement appropriate to a given state of deprivation or aversive stimulation'. In other words, given the meaning that we have been led to assign to 'reinforcement' and 'deprivation', the speaker asks for what he wants. The remark that 'a speaker appears to create new mands on the analogy of old ones' is also not very helpful.

Skinner's claim that his new descriptive system is superior to the traditional one 'because its terms can be defined with respect to experimental operations'

(45) is, we see once again, an illusion. The statement 'X wants Y' is not clarified by pointing out a relation between rate of bar-pressing and hours of food-deprivation; replacing 'X wants Y' by 'X is deprived of Y' adds no new objectivity to the description of behavior. His further claim for the superiority of the new analysis of mands is that it provides an objective basis for the traditional classification into requests, commands, etc. (38–41). The traditional classification is in terms of the intention of the speaker. But intention, Skinner holds, can be reduced to contingencies of reinforcement, and, correspondingly, we can explain the traditional classification in terms of the reinforcing behavior of the listener. Thus a question is a mand which 'specifies verbal action, and the behavior of the listener permits us to classify it as a request, a command, or a prayer' (39). It is a request if 'the listener is independently motivated to reinforce the speaker'; a command if 'the listener's behavior is ... reinforced by reducing a threat'; a prayer if the mand 'promotes reinforcement by generating an emotional disposition'. The mand is advice if the listener is positively reinforced by the consequences of mediating the reinforcement of the speaker; it is a warning if 'by carrying out the behavior specified by the speaker the listener escapes from aversive stimulation'; and so on. All this is obviously wrong if Skinner is using the words 'request', 'command', etc., in anything like the sense of the corresponding English words. The word 'question' does not cover commands. *Please pass the salt* is a request (but not a question), whether or not the listener happens to be motivated to fulfill it; not everyone to whom a request is addressed is favorably disposed. A response does not cease to be a command if it is not followed; nor does a question become a command if the speaker answers it because of an implied or imagined threat. Not all advice is good advice, and a response does not cease to be advice if it is not followed. Similarly, a warning may be misguided; heeding it may cause aversive stimulation, and ignoring it might be positively reinforcing. In short, the entire classification is beside the point. A moment's thought is sufficient to demonstrate the impossibility of distinguishing between requests, commands, advice, etc., on the basis of the behavior or disposition of the particular listener. Nor can we do this on the basis of the typical behavior of all listeners. Some advice is never taken, is always bad, etc., and similarly with other kinds of mands. Skinner's evident satisfaction with this analysis of the traditional classification is extremely puzzling.

8. Mands are operants with no specified relation to a prior stimulus. A *tact*, on the other hand, is defined as 'a verbal operant in which a response of given form is evoked (or at least strengthened) by a particular object or event or property of an object or event' (81). The examples quoted in the discussion of stimulus control (§3) are all tacts. The obscurity of the notion 'stimulus control' makes the concept of the tact rather mystical. Since, however, the tact is 'the most important of verbal operants', it is important to investigate the development of this concept in more detail.

We first ask why the verbal community 'sets up' tacts in the child—that is, how the parent is reinforced by setting up the tact. The basic explanation for this behavior of the parent (85–6) is the reinforcement he obtains by the fact that his contact with the environment is extended; to use Skinner's example, the

child may later be able to call him to the telephone. (It is difficult to see, then, how first children acquire tacts, since the parent does not have the appropriate history of reinforcement). Reasoning in the same way, we may conclude that the parent induces the child to walk so that he can make some money delivering newspapers. Similarly, the parent sets up an 'echoic repertoire' (e.g. a phonemic system) in the child because this makes it easier to teach him new vocabulary, and extending the child's vocabulary is ultimately useful to the parent. 'In all these cases we explain the behavior of the reinforcing listener by pointing to an improvement in the possibility of controlling the speaker whom he reinforces' (56). Perhaps this provides the explanation for the behavior of the parent in inducing the child to walk: the parent is reinforced by the improvement in his control of the child when the child's mobility increases. Underlying these modes of explanation is a curious view that it is somehow more scientific to attribute to a parent a desire to control the child or enhance his own possibilities for action than a desire to see the child develop and extend his capacities. Needless to say, no evidence is offered to support this contention.

Consider now the problem of explaining the response of the listener to a tact. Suppose, for example, that B hears A say *fox* and reacts appropriately, looks around, runs away, aims his rifle, etc. How can we explain B's behavior? Skinner rightly rejects analyses of this offered by Watson and Bertrand Russell. His own equally inadequate analysis proceeds as follows (87-8). We assume (1) 'that in the history of [B] the stimulus *fox* has been an occasion upon which looking around has been followed by seeing a fox' and (2) 'that the listener has some current "interest in seeing foxes"—that behavior which depends upon a seen fox for its execution is strong, and that the stimulus supplied by a fox is therefore reinforcing'. B carries out the appropriate behavior, then, because 'the heard stimulus *fox* is the occasion upon which turning and looking about is frequently followed by the reinforcement of seeing a fox'; i.e. his behavior is a discriminated operant. This explanation is unconvincing. B may never have seen a fox and may have no current interest in seeing one, and yet may react appropriately to the stimulus *fox*.³⁵ Since exactly the same behavior may take place when neither of the assumptions is fulfilled, some other mechanism must be operative here.

Skinner remarks several times that his analysis of the tact in terms of stimulus control is an improvement over the traditional formulations in terms of reference and meaning. This is simply not true. His analysis is fundamentally the same as the traditional one, though much less carefully phrased. In particular, it differs only by indiscriminate paraphrase of such notions as denotation (reference) and connotation (meaning), which have been kept clearly apart in traditional formulations, in terms of the vague concept 'stimulus control'. In one traditional formulation a descriptive term is said to denote a set of entities and to connote or designate a certain property or condition that an entity must possess

³⁵ Just as he may have the appropriate reaction, both emotional and behavioral, to such utterances as *The volcano is erupting* or *There's a homicidal maniac in the next room* without any previous pairing of the verbal and the physical stimulus. Skinner's discussion of Pavlovian conditioning in language (154) is similarly unconvincing.

or fulfil if the term is to apply to it.³⁶ Thus the term *vertebrate* refers to (denotes, is true of) vertebrates and connotes the property 'having a spine' or something of the sort. This connoted defining property is called the meaning of the term. Two terms may have the same reference but different meanings. Thus it is apparently true that the creatures with hearts are all and only the vertebrates. If so, then the term *creature with a heart* refers to vertebrates and designates the property 'having a heart'. This is presumably a different property (a different general condition) from having a spine; hence the terms *vertebrate* and *creature with a heart* are said to have different meanings. This analysis is not incorrect (for at least one sense of meaning), but its many limitations have frequently been pointed out.³⁷ The major problem is that there is no good way to decide whether two descriptive terms designate the same property.³⁸ As we have just seen, it is not sufficient that they refer to the same objects. *Vertebrate* and *creature with a spine* would be said to designate the same property (distinct from that designated by *creature with a heart*). If we ask why this is so, the only answer appears to be that the terms are synonymous. The notion 'property' thus seems somehow

³⁶ Mill, *A system of logic* (1843). Carnap gives a recent reformulation in Meaning and synonymy in natural languages, *Phil. studies* 6.33–47 (1955), defining the meaning (intension) of a predicate 'Q' for a speaker X as 'the general condition which an object y must fulfill in order for X to be willing to ascribe the predicate "Q" to y'. The connotation of an expression is often said to constitute its 'cognitive meaning' as opposed to its 'emotive meaning', which is, essentially, the emotional reaction to the expression.

Whether or not this is the best way to approach meaning, it is clear that denotation, cognitive meaning, and emotive meaning are quite different things. The differences are often obscured in empirical studies of meaning, with much consequent confusion. Thus Osgood has set himself the task of accounting for the fact that a stimulus comes to be a sign for another stimulus (a buzzer becomes a sign for food, a word for a thing, etc.). This is clearly (for linguistic signs) a problem of denotation. The method that he actually develops for quantifying and measuring meaning (cf. Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, *The measurement of meaning* [Urbana, 1957]) applies, however, only to emotive meaning. Suppose, for example, that A hates both Hitler and science intensely, and considers both highly potent and 'active', while B, agreeing with A about Hitler, likes science very much, although he considers it rather ineffective and not too important. Then A may assign to 'Hitler' and 'science' the same position on the semantic differential, while B will assign 'Hitler' the same position as A did, but 'science' a totally different position. Yet A does not think that 'Hitler' and 'science' are synonymous or that they have the same reference, and A and B may agree precisely on the cognitive meaning of 'science'. Clearly it is the attitude toward the things (the emotive meaning of the words) that is being measured here. There is a gradual shift in Osgood's account from denotation to cognitive meaning to emotive meaning. The confusion is caused, no doubt, by the fact that the term 'meaning' is used in all three senses (and others). [See Carroll's review of the book by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum in this number of *LANGUAGE*.]

³⁷ Most clearly by Quine. See *From a logical point of view* (Cambridge, 1953), especially Chapters 2, 3, and 7.

³⁸ A method for characterizing synonymy in terms of reference is suggested by Goodman, On likeness of meaning, *Analysis* 10.1–7 (1949). Difficulties are discussed by Goodman, On some differences about meaning, *ibid.* 13.90–6 (1953). Carnap (op.cit.) presents a very similar idea (§6), but somewhat misleadingly phrased, since he does not bring out the fact that only extensional (referential) notions are being used.

language-bound, and appeal to 'defining properties' sheds little light on questions of meaning and synonymy.

Skinner accepts the traditional account in toto, as can be seen from his definition of a tact as a response under control of a property (stimulus) of some physical object or event. We have found that the notion 'control' has no real substance, and is perhaps best understood as a paraphrase of 'denote' or 'connote' or, ambiguously, both. The only consequence of adopting the new term 'stimulus control' is that the important differences between reference and meaning are obscured. It provides no new objectivity. The stimulus controlling the response is determined by the response itself; there is no independent and objective method of identification (see §3 above). Consequently, when Skinner defines 'synonymy' as the case in which 'the same stimulus leads to quite different responses' (118), we can have no objection. The responses *chair* and *red* made alternatively to the same object are not synonymous, because the stimuli are called different. The responses *vertebrate* and *creature with a spine* would be considered synonymous because they are controlled by the same property of the object under investigation; in more traditional and no less scientific terms, they evoke the same concept. Similarly, when metaphorical extension is explained as due to 'the control exercised by properties of the stimulus which, though present at reinforcement, do not enter into the contingency respected by the verbal community' (92; traditionally, accidental properties), no objection can be raised which has not already been levelled against the traditional account. Just as we could 'explain' the response *Mozart* to a piece of music in terms of subtle properties of the controlling stimuli, we can, with equal facility, explain the appearance of the response *sun* when no sun is present, as in *Juliet is [like] the sun*. 'We do so by noting that Juliet and the sun have common properties, at least in their effect on the speaker' (93). Since any two objects have indefinitely many properties in common, we can be certain that we will never be at a loss to explain a response of the form *A is like B*, for arbitrary A and B. It is clear, however, that Skinner's recurrent claim that his formulation is simpler and more scientific than the traditional account has no basis in fact.

Tacts under the control of private stimuli (Bloomfield's 'displaced speech') form a large and important class (130–46), including not only such responses as *familiar* and *beautiful*, but also verbal responses referring to past, potential, or future events or behavior. For example, the response *There was an elephant at the zoo* 'must be understood as a response to current stimuli, including events within the speaker himself' (143).³⁹ If we now ask ourselves what proportion of

³⁹ In general, the examples discussed here are badly handled, and the success of the proposed analyses is overstated. In each case, it is easy to see that the proposed analysis, which usually has an air of objectivity, is not equivalent to the analyzed expression. To take just one example, the response *I am looking for my glasses* is certainly not equivalent to the proposed paraphrases: 'When I have behaved in this way in the past, I have found my glasses and have then stopped behaving in this way', or 'Circumstances have arisen in which I am inclined to emit any behavior which in the past has led to the discovery of my glasses; such behavior includes the behavior of looking in which I am now engaged.' One may look for one's glasses for the first time; or one may emit the same behavior in

the tacts in actual life are responses to (descriptions of) actual current outside stimulation, we can see just how large a role must be attributed to private stimuli. A minute amount of verbal behavior, outside the nursery, consists of such remarks as *This is red* and *There is a man*. The fact that 'functional analysis' must make such a heavy appeal to obscure internal stimuli is again a measure of its actual advance over traditional formulations.

9. Responses under the control of prior verbal stimuli are considered under a different heading from the tact. An *echoic operant* is a response which 'generates a sound pattern similar to that of the stimulus' (55). It covers only cases of immediate imitation.⁴⁰ No attempt is made to define the sense in which a child's echoic response is 'similar' to the stimulus spoken in the father's bass voice; it seems, though there are no clear statements about this, that Skinner would not accept the account of the phonologist in this respect, but nothing else is offered. The development of an echoic repertoire is attributed completely to differential reinforcement. Since the speaker will do no more, according to Skinner, than what is demanded of him by the verbal community, the degree of accuracy insisted on by this community will determine the elements of the repertoire, whatever these may be (not necessarily phonemes). 'In a verbal community which does not insist on a precise correspondence, an echoic repertoire may remain slack and will be less successfully applied to novel patterns'. There is no discussion of such familiar phenomena as the accuracy with which a child will pick up a second language or a local dialect in the course of playing with other children, which seem sharply in conflict with these assertions. No anthropological evidence is cited to support the claim that an effective phonemic system does not develop (this is the substance of the quoted remark) in communities that do not insist on precise correspondence.

A verbal response to a written stimulus (reading) is called 'textual behavior'.

looking for one's glasses as in looking for one's watch, in which case *I am looking for my glasses* and *I am looking for my watch* are equivalent, under the Skinnerian paraphrase. The difficult questions of purposiveness cannot be handled in this superficial manner.

⁴⁰ Skinner takes great pains, however, to deny the existence in human beings (or parrots) of any innate faculty or tendency to imitate. His only argument is that no one would suggest an innate tendency to read, yet reading and echoic behavior have similar 'dynamic properties'. This similarity, however, simply indicates the grossness of his descriptive categories.

In the case of parrots, Skinner claims that they have no instinctive capacity to imitate, but only to be reinforced by successful imitation (59). Given Skinner's use of the word 'reinforcement', it is difficult to perceive any distinction here, since exactly the same thing could be said of any other instinctive behavior. For example, where another scientist would say that a certain bird instinctively builds a nest in a certain way, we could say in Skinner's terminology (equivalently) that the bird is instinctively reinforced by building the nest in this way. One is therefore inclined to dismiss this claim as another ritual introduction of the word 'reinforce'. Though there may, under some suitable clarification, be some truth in it, it is difficult to see how many of the cases reported by competent observers can be handled if 'reinforcement' is given some substantive meaning. Cf. Thorpe, op.cit. 353 f.; Lorenz, *King Solomon's ring* 85-8 (New York, 1952); even Mowrer, who tries to show how imitation might develop through secondary reinforcement, cites a case, op.cit. 694, which he apparently believes, but where this could hardly be true. In young children, it seems most implausible to explain imitation in terms of secondary reinforcement.

Other verbal responses to verbal stimuli are called 'intraverbal operants'. Paradigm instances are the response *four* to the stimulus *two plus two* or the response *Paris* to the stimulus *capital of France*. Simple conditioning may be sufficient to account for the response *four* to *two plus two*,⁴¹ but the notion of intraverbal response loses all meaning when we find it extended to cover most of the facts of history and many of the facts of science (72, 129); all word association and 'flight of ideas' (73-6); all translations and paraphrase (77); reports of things seen, heard, or remembered (315); and, in general, large segments of scientific, mathematical, and literary discourse. Obviously the kind of explanation that might be proposed for a student's ability to respond with *Paris* to *capital of France*, after suitable practice, can hardly be seriously offered to account for his ability to make a judicious guess in answering the questions (to him new) *What is the seat of the French government?*, ... *the source of the literary dialect?*, ... *the chief target of the German blitzkrieg?*, etc., or his ability to prove a new theorem, translate a new passage, or paraphrase a remark for the first time or in a new way.

The process of 'getting someone to see a point', to see something your way, or to understand a complex state of affairs (e.g. a difficult political situation or a mathematical proof) is, for Skinner, simply a matter of increasing the strength of the listener's already available behavior.⁴² Since 'the process is often exemplified by relatively intellectual scientific or philosophical discourse', Skinner considers it 'all the more surprising that it may be reduced to echoic, textual, or intraverbal supplementation' (269). Again, it is only the vagueness and latitude with which the notions 'strength' and 'intraverbal response' are used that save this from absurdity. If we use these terms in their literal sense, it is clear that understanding a statement cannot be equated to shouting it frequently in a high-pitched voice (high response strength), and a clever and convincing argument cannot be accounted for on the basis of a history of pairings of verbal responses.⁴³

⁴¹ Though even this possibility is limited. If we were to take these paradigm instances seriously, it should follow that a child who knows how to count from one to 100 could learn an arbitrary 10×10 matrix with these numbers as entries as readily as the multiplication table.

⁴² Similarly, 'the universality of a literary work refers to the number of potential readers inclined to say the same thing' (275; i.e. the most 'universal' work is a dictionary of clichés and greetings); a speaker is 'stimulating' if he says what we are about to say ourselves (272); etc.

⁴³ Similarly, consider Skinner's contention (362-5) that communication of knowledge or facts is just the process of making a new response available to the speaker. Here the analogy to animal experiments is particularly weak. When we train a rat to carry out some peculiar act, it makes sense to consider this a matter of adding a response to his repertoire. In the case of human communication, however, it is very difficult to attach any meaning to this terminology. If A imparts to B the information (new to B) that the railroads face collapse, in what sense can the response *The railroads face collapse* be said to be now, but not previously, available to B? Surely B could have said it before (not knowing whether it was true), and known that it was a sentence (as opposed to *Collapse face railroads the*). Nor is there any reason to assume that the response has increased in strength, whatever this means exactly (e.g. B may have no interest in the fact, or he may want it suppressed). It is not clear how we can characterize this notion of 'making a response available' without reducing Skinner's account of 'imparting knowledge' to a triviality.

10. A final class of operants, called *autoclitics*, includes those that are involved in assertion, negation, quantification, qualification of responses, construction of sentences, and the 'highly complex manipulations of verbal thinking'. All these acts are to be explained 'in terms of behavior which is evoked by or acts upon other behavior of the speaker' (313). Autoclitics are, then, responses to already given responses, or rather, as we find in reading through this section, they are responses to covert or incipient or potential verbal behavior. Among the autoclitics are listed such expressions as *I recall*, *I imagine*, *for example*, *assume*, *let X equal ...*, the terms of negation, the *is* of predication and assertion, *all*, *some*, *if*, *then*, and, in general, all morphemes other than nouns, verbs, and adjectives, as well as grammatical processes of ordering and arrangement. Hardly a remark in this section can be accepted without serious qualification. To take just one example, consider Skinner's account of the autoclitic *all* in *All swans are white* (329). Obviously we cannot assume that this is a tact to all swans as stimulus. It is suggested, therefore, that we take *all* to be an autoclitic modifying the whole sentence *Swans are white*. *All* can then be taken as equivalent to *always*, or *always it is possible to say*. Notice, however, that the modified sentence *Swans are white* is just as general as *All swans are white*. Furthermore, the proposed translation of *all* is incorrect if taken literally. It is just as possible to say *Swans are green* as to say *Swans are white*. It is not always possible to say either (e.g. while you are saying something else or sleeping). Probably what Skinner means is that the sentence can be paraphrased '*X is white* is true, for each swan *X*'. But this paraphrase cannot be given within his system, which has no place for *true*.

Skinner's account of grammar and syntax as autoclitic processes (Chapter 13) differs from a familiar traditional account mainly in the use of the pseudoscientific terms 'control' or 'evoke' in place of the traditional 'refer'. Thus in *The boy runs*, the final *s* of *runs* is a tact under control of such 'subtle properties of a situation' as 'the nature of running as an *activity* rather than an object or property of an object'.⁴⁴ (Presumably, then, in *The attempt fails*, *The difficulty remains*, *His anxiety increases*, etc., we must also say that the *s* indicates that the object described as the attempt is carrying out the activity of failing, etc.) In *the boy's gun*, however, the *s* denotes possession (as, presumably, in *the boy's arrival*, ... *story*, ... *age*, etc.) and is under the control of this 'relational aspect of the situation' (336). The 'relational autoclitic of order' (whatever it may mean to call the order of a set of responses a response to them) in *The boy runs the store* is under the control of an 'extremely complex stimulus situation', namely, that the boy is running the store (335). *And in the hat and the shoe* is under the control of the property 'pair'. *Through in the dog went through the hedge* is under the control of the 'relation between the going dog and the hedge' (342). In general, nouns are evoked by objects, verbs by actions, and so on.

Skinner considers a sentence to be a set of key responses (nouns, verbs, adjectives) on a skeletal frame (346). If we are concerned with the fact that Sam

⁴⁴ 332. On the next page, however, the *s* in the same example indicates that 'the object described as *the boy* possesses the property of running.' The difficulty of even maintaining consistency with a conceptual scheme like this is easy to appreciate.

rented a leaky boat, the raw responses to the situation are *rent*, *boat*, *leak*, and *Sam*. Autoclitics (including order) which qualify these responses, express relations between them, and the like, are then added by a process called 'composition' and the result is a grammatical sentence, one of many alternatives among which selection is rather arbitrary. The idea that sentences consist of lexical items placed in a grammatical frame is of course a traditional one, within both philosophy and linguistics. Skinner adds to it only the very implausible speculation that in the internal process of composition, the nouns, verbs, and adjectives are chosen first and then are arranged, qualified, etc., by autoclitic responses to these internal activities.⁴⁵

This view of sentence structure, whether phrased in terms of autoclitics, syncategorematic expressions, or grammatical and lexical morphemes, is inadequate. *Sheep provide wool* has no (physical) frame at all, but no other arrangement of these words is an English sentence. The sequences *furiously sleep ideas green colorless* and *friendly young dogs seem harmless* have the same frames, but only one is a sentence of English (similarly, only one of the sequences formed by reading these from back to front). *Struggling artists can be a nuisance* has the same frame as *marking papers can be a nuisance*, but is quite different in sentence structure, as can be seen by replacing *can be* by *is* or *are* in both cases. There are many other similar and equally simple examples. It is evident that more is involved in sentence structure than insertion of lexical items in grammatical frames; no approach to language that fails to take these deeper processes into account can possibly achieve much success in accounting for actual linguistic behavior.

11. The preceding discussion covers all the major notions that Skinner introduces in his descriptive system. My purpose in discussing the concepts one by one was to show that in each case, if we take his terms in their literal meaning, the description covers almost no aspect of verbal behavior, and if we take them metaphorically, the description offers no improvement over various traditional formulations. The terms borrowed from experimental psychology simply lose their objective meaning with this extension, and take over the full vagueness of ordinary language. Since Skinner limits himself to such a small set of terms for paraphrase, many important distinctions are obscured. I think that this analysis supports the view expressed in §1 above, that elimination of the independent contribution of the speaker and learner (a result which Skinner considers of great importance, cf. 311-2) can be achieved only at the cost of eliminating all significance from the descriptive system, which then operates at a level so gross and crude that no answers are suggested to the most elementary questions.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ One might just as well argue that exactly the opposite is true. The study of hesitation pauses has shown that these tend to occur before the large categories—noun, verb, adjective; this finding is usually described by the statement that the pauses occur where there is maximum uncertainty or information. Insofar as hesitation indicates on-going composition (if it does at all), it would appear that the 'key responses' are chosen only after the 'grammatical frame'. Cf. C. E. Osgood, unpublished paper; Goldman-Eisler, Speech analysis and mental processes, *Language and speech* 1.67 (1958).

⁴⁶ E.g. what are in fact the actual units of verbal behavior? Under what conditions will a physical event capture the attention (be a stimulus) or be a reinforcer? How do we decide

The questions to which Skinner has addressed his speculations are hopelessly premature. It is futile to inquire into the causation of verbal behavior until much more is known about the specific character of this behavior; and there is little point in speculating about the process of acquisition without much better understanding of what is acquired.

Anyone who seriously approaches the study of linguistic behavior, whether linguist, psychologist, or philosopher, must quickly become aware of the enormous difficulty of stating a problem which will define the area of his investigations, and which will not be either completely trivial or hopelessly beyond the range of present-day understanding and technique. In selecting functional analysis as his problem, Skinner has set himself a task of the latter type. In an extremely interesting and insightful paper,⁴⁷ K. S. Lashley has implicitly delimited a class of problems which can be approached in a fruitful way by the linguist and psychologist, and which are clearly preliminary to those with which Skinner is concerned. Lashley recognizes, as anyone must who seriously considers the data, that the composition and production of an utterance is not simply a matter of stringing together a sequence of responses under the control of outside stimulation and intraverbal association, and that the syntactic organization of an utterance is not something directly represented in any simple way in the physical structure of the utterance itself. A variety of observations lead him to conclude that syntactic structure is 'a generalized pattern imposed on the specific acts as they occur', and that 'a consideration of the structure of the sentence and other motor sequences will show ... that there are, behind the overtly expressed sequences, a multiplicity of integrative processes which can only be inferred from the final results of their activity'. He also comments on the great difficulty of determining the 'selective mechanisms' used in the actual construction of a particular utterance.

Although present-day linguistics cannot provide a precise account of these integrative processes, imposed patterns, and selective mechanisms, it can at least set itself the problem of characterizing these completely. It is reasonable to regard the grammar of a language *L* ideally as a mechanism that provides

what stimuli are in 'control' in a specific case? When are stimuli 'similar'? And so on. (It is not interesting to be told e.g. that we say *Stop* to an automobile or billiard ball because they are sufficiently similar to reinforcing people [46].)

The use of unanalyzed notions like 'similar' and 'generalization' is particularly disturbing, since it indicates an apparent lack of interest in every significant aspect of the learning or the use of language in new situations. No one has ever doubted that in some sense, language is learned by generalization, or that novel utterances and situations are in some way similar to familiar ones. The only matter of serious interest is the specific 'similarity'. Skinner has, apparently, no interest in this. Keller and Schoenfeld (*op.cit.*) proceed to incorporate these notions (which they identify) into their Skinnerian 'modern objective psychology' by defining two stimuli to be similar when 'we make the same sort of response to them' (124; but when are responses of the 'same sort'?). They do not seem to notice that this definition converts their 'principle of generalization' (116), under any reasonable interpretation of this, into a tautology. It is obvious that such a definition will not be of much help in the study of language learning or construction of new responses in appropriate situations.

⁴⁷ The problem of serial order in behavior, in Jeffress (ed.), *Hixon symposium on cerebral mechanisms in behavior* (New York, 1951).

an enumeration of the sentences of L in something like the way in which a deductive theory gives an enumeration of a set of theorems. ('Grammar', in this sense of the word, includes phonology.) Furthermore, the theory of language can be regarded as a study of the formal properties of such grammars, and, with a precise enough formulation, this general theory can provide a uniform method for determining, from the process of generation of a given sentence, a structural description which can give a good deal of insight into how this sentence is used and understood. In short, it should be possible to derive from a properly formulated grammar a statement of the integrative processes and generalized patterns imposed on the specific acts that constitute an utterance. The rules of a grammar of the appropriate form can be subdivided into the two types, optional and obligatory; only the latter must be applied in generating an utterance. The optional rules of the grammar can be viewed, then, as the selective mechanisms involved in the production of a particular utterance. The problem of specifying these integrative processes and selective mechanisms is nontrivial and not beyond the range of possible investigation. The results of such a study might, as Lashley suggests, be of independent interest for psychology and neurology (and conversely). Although such a study, even if successful, would by no means answer the major problems involved in the investigation of meaning and the causation of behavior, it surely will not be unrelated to these. It is at least possible, furthermore, that such notions as 'semantic generalization', to which such heavy appeal is made in all approaches to language in use, conceal complexities and specific structure of inference not far different from those that can be studied and exhibited in the case of syntax, and that consequently the general character of the results of syntactic investigations may be a corrective to oversimplified approaches to the theory of meaning.

The behavior of the speaker, listener, and learner of language constitutes, of course, the actual data for any study of language. The construction of a grammar which enumerates sentences in such a way that a meaningful structural description can be determined for each sentence does not in itself provide an account of this actual behavior. It merely characterizes abstractly the ability of one who has mastered the language to distinguish sentences from nonsentences, to understand new sentences (in part), to note certain ambiguities, etc. These are very remarkable abilities. We constantly read and hear new sequences of words, recognize them as sentences, and understand them. It is easy to show that the new events that we accept and understand as sentences are not related to those with which we are familiar by any simple notion of formal (or semantic or statistical) similarity or identity of grammatical frame. Talk of generalization in this case is entirely pointless and empty. It appears that we recognize a new item as a sentence not because it matches some familiar item in any simple way, but because it is generated by the grammar that each individual has somehow and in some form internalized. And we understand a new sentence, in part, because we are somehow capable of determining the process by which this sentence is derived in this grammar.

Suppose that we manage to construct grammars having the properties outlined above. We can then attempt to describe and study the achievement of the speaker, listener, and learner. The speaker and the listener, we must assume,

have already acquired the capacities characterized abstractly by the grammar. The speaker's task is to select a particular compatible set of optional rules. If we know, from grammatical study, what choices are available to him and what conditions of compatibility the choices must meet, we can proceed meaningfully to investigate the factors that lead him to make one or another choice. The listener (or reader) must determine, from an exhibited utterance, what optional rules were chosen in the construction of the utterance. It must be admitted that the ability of a human being to do this far surpasses our present understanding. The child who learns a language has in some sense constructed the grammar for himself on the basis of his observation of sentences and nonsentences (i.e. corrections by the verbal community). Study of the actual observed ability of a speaker to distinguish sentences from nonsentences, detect ambiguities, etc., apparently forces us to the conclusion that this grammar is of an extremely complex and abstract character, and that the young child has succeeded in carrying out what from the formal point of view, at least, seems to be a remarkable type of theory construction. Furthermore, this task is accomplished in an astonishingly short time, to a large extent independently of intelligence, and in a comparable way by all children. Any theory of learning must cope with these facts.

It is not easy to accept the view that a child is capable of constructing an extremely complex mechanism for generating a set of sentences, some of which he has heard, or that an adult can instantaneously determine whether (and if so, how) a particular item is generated by this mechanism, which has many of the properties of an abstract deductive theory. Yet this appears to be a fair description of the performance of the speaker, listener, and learner. If this is correct, we can predict that a direct attempt to account for the actual behavior of speaker, listener, and learner, not based on a prior understanding of the structure of grammars, will achieve very limited success. The grammar must be regarded as a component in the behavior of the speaker and listener which can only be inferred, as Lashley has put it, from the resulting physical acts. The fact that all normal children acquire essentially comparable grammars of great complexity with remarkable rapidity suggests that human beings are somehow specially designed to do this, with data-handling or 'hypothesis-formulating' ability of unknown character and complexity.⁴⁸ The study of linguistic structure

⁴⁸ There is nothing essentially mysterious about this. Complex innate behavior patterns and innate 'tendencies to learn in specific ways' have been carefully studied in lower organisms. Many psychologists have been inclined to believe that such biological structure will not have an important effect on acquisition of complex behavior in higher organisms, but I have not been able to find any serious justification for this attitude. Some recent studies have stressed the necessity for carefully analyzing the strategies available to the organism, regarded as a complex 'information-processing system' (cf. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A study of thinking* [New York, 1956]; Newell, Shaw, and Simon, *Elements of a theory of human problem solving*, *Psych. rev.* 65.151-66 [1958]), if anything significant is to be said about the character of human learning. These may be largely innate, or developed by early learning processes about which very little is yet known. (But see Harlow, *The formation of learning sets*, *Psych. rev.* 56.51-65 (1949), and many later papers, where striking shifts in the character of learning are shown as a result of early training; also Hebb, *Organization of behavior* 109 ff.) They are undoubtedly quite complex. Cf. Lenneberg, op.cit., and Lees, review of Chomsky's *Syntactic structures* in *Lg.* 33.406 f. (1957), for discussion of the topics mentioned in this section.

may ultimately lead to some significant insights into this matter. At the moment the question cannot be seriously posed, but in principle it may be possible to study the problem of determining what the built-in structure of an information-processing (hypothesis-forming) system must be to enable it to arrive at the grammar of a language from the available data in the available time. At any rate, just as the attempt to eliminate the contribution of the speaker leads to a 'mentalistic' descriptive system that succeeds only in blurring important traditional distinctions, a refusal to study the contribution of the child to language learning permits only a superficial account of language acquisition, with a vast and unanalyzed contribution attributed to a step called 'generalization' which in fact includes just about everything of interest in this process. If the study of language is limited in these ways, it seems inevitable that major aspects of verbal behavior will remain a mystery.

The measurement of meaning. By CHARLES E. OSGOOD, GEORGE J. SUCI, and PERCY H. TANNENBAUM. Pp. [vii], 342. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Reviewed by JOHN B. CARROLL, *Harvard University*

The title of this book provides scant indication of the wide-angle view which the authors have given of a variety of subjects in psycholinguistics and the study of communication processes in both their theoretical and their practical aspects. One can find a little of everything, from pure psychological theory (in the tradition of Clark L. Hull), personality theory, and attitude research, to journalism and advertising. All this is by way of presenting the rationale and the uses of the measuring technique which Osgood has called the *semantic differential* (hereafter SD). Linguists will be most concerned to learn how the authors have dealt with what they call *meaning* and how the SD can aid in the development of the branch of linguistics which is covered by the widely used and misused term *semantics*.

Both in the introduction and towards the close of the book (318) the reader is warned that it represents largely a 'progress report'; he is asked therefore to discount the 'tone of assurance not actually felt'. Certainly he cannot but admire the energy and imagination with which the studies described in this volume have been pursued; he will take note of the fact that psychologists here, there, and everywhere have been quick to adopt the SD as a tool of broad usefulness.¹ But he will ponder. Indeed, the authors predict (320) that he will raise questions—about whether the SD is really a measure of 'meaning', about whether there are really only three main dimensions of the 'semantic space', and about how much the results of SD research can contribute to our understanding of the nature of meaning.

¹ For example, see Carolyn K. Staats and Arthur W. Staats, Meaning established by classical conditioning, *J. exper. psychol.* 54.74-80 (1957); W. E. Lambert, J. Havelka, and C. Crosby, The influence of language-acquisition contexts on bilingualism, *J. abn. soc. psychol.* 56.239-44 (1958).

APA "Ethical Standards of Psychologists," 1968

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ETHICAL STANDARDS OF PSYCHOLOGISTS¹

The psychologist believes in the dignity and worth of the individual human being. He is committed to increasing man's understanding of himself and others. While pursuing this endeavor, he protects the welfare of any person who may seek his service or of any subject, human or animal, that may be the object of his study. He does not use his professional position or relationships, nor does he knowingly permit his own service to be used by others, for purposes inconsistent with these values. While demanding for himself freedom of inquiry and communication, he accepts the responsibility this freedom confers: for competence where he claims it, for objectivity in the report of his findings, and for consideration of the best interests of his colleagues and of society.

SPECIFIC PRINCIPLES

Principle 1. Responsibility. The psychologist,² committed to increasing man's understanding of man, places high value on objectivity and integrity, and maintains the highest standards in the services he offers.

- a. As a scientist, the psychologist believes that society will be best served when he investigates where his judgment indicates investigation is needed; he plans his research in a such a way to minimize the possibility that his findings will be misleading; and he publishes full reports of his work, never discarding without explanation data which may modify the interpretation of results.
- b. As a teacher, the psychologist recognizes his primary obligation to help others acquire knowledge and skill, and to maintain high standards of scholarship.
- c. As a practitioner, the psychologist knows that he bears a heavy social responsibility because his work may touch intimately the lives of others.

Principle 2. Competence. The maintenance of high standards of professional competence is a responsibility shared by all psychologists, in the interest of the public and of the profession as a whole.

- a. Psychologists discourage the practice of psychology by unqualified persons and assist the public in identifying psychologists competent to give dependable professional service. When a psychologist or a person identifying himself as a psychologist violates ethical standards, psychologists who know firsthand of such activities attempt to rectify the situation. When

¹Reprinted from *Casebook on Ethical Standards of Psychologists*. Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association, 1967.

²A student of psychology who assumes the role of psychologist shall be considered a psychologist for the purpose of this code of ethics.

such a situation cannot be dealt with informally, it is called to the attention of the appropriate local, state, or national committee on professional ethics, standards, and practices.

- b. The psychologist recognizes the boundaries of his competence and the limitations of his techniques and does not offer services or use techniques that fail to meet professional standards established in particular fields. The psychologist who engages in practice assists his client in obtaining professional help for all important aspects of his problem that fall outside the boundaries of his own competence. This principle requires, for example, that provision be made for the diagnosis and treatment of relevant medical problems and for referral to or consultation with other specialists.
- c. The psychologist in clinical work recognizes that his effectiveness depends in good part upon his ability to maintain sound interpersonal relations, that temporary or more enduring aberrations in his own personality may interfere with this ability or distort his appraisals of others. There he refrains from undertaking any activity in which his personal problems are likely to result in inferior professional services or harm to a client; or, if he is already engaged in such an activity when he becomes aware of his personal problems, he seeks competent professional assistance to determine whether he should continue or terminate his services to his client.

Principle 3. Moral and Legal Standards. The psychologist in the practice of his profession shows sensible regard for the social codes and moral expectations of the community in which he works, recognizing that violations of accepted moral and legal standards on his part may involve his clients, students, or colleagues in damaging personal conflicts and impugn his own name and the reputation of his profession.

Principle 4. Misrepresentation. The psychologist avoids misrepresentation of his own professional qualifications, affiliations, and purposes, and

those of the institutions and organizations with which he is associated.

- a. A psychologist does not claim either directly or by implication professional qualifications that differ from his actual qualifications, nor does he misrepresent his affiliation with any institution, organization, or individual, nor lead others to assume he has affiliations that he does not have. The psychologist is responsible for correcting others who misrepresent his professional qualifications or affiliations.
- b. The psychologist does not misrepresent an institution or organization with which he is affiliated by ascribing to it characteristics that it does not have.
- c. A psychologist does not use his affiliation with the American Psychological Association or its divisions for purposes that are not consonant with the stated purpose of the Association.
- d. A psychologist does not associate himself with or permit his name to be used in connection with any services or products in such a way as to misrepresent them, the degree of his responsibility for them, or the nature of his affiliation.

Principle 5. Public Statements. Modesty, scientific caution, and due regard for the limits of present knowledge characterize all statements of psychologists who supply information to the public, either directly or indirectly.

- a. Psychologists who interpret the science of psychology or the services of psychologists to clients or to the general public have an obligation to report fairly and accurately. Exaggeration, sensationalism, superficiality, and other kinds of misrepresentation are avoided.
- b. When information about psychological procedures and techniques is given, care is taken to indicate that they should be used only by persons adequately trained in their use.
- c. A psychologist who engages in radio or television activities does not participate in commercial announcements recommending purchase or use of a product.

Principle 6. Confidentiality. Safeguarding information about an individual that has been obtained by the psychologist in the course of his teaching, practice, or investigation is a primary obligation of the psychologist. Such information is not communicated to others unless certain important conditions are met.

- a. Information received in confidence is revealed only after most careful deliberation and when there is clear and imminent danger to an individual or to society, and then only to appropriate professional workers or public authorities.
- b. Information obtained in clinical or consulting relationships, or evaluative data concerning children, students, employees, and others are discussed only for professional purposes and only with persons clearly con-

cerned with the case. Written and oral reports should present only data germane to the purposes of the evaluation; every effort should be made to avoid undue invasion of privacy.

- c. Clinical and other materials are used in classroom teaching and writing only when identity of the persons involved is adequately disguised.
- d. The confidentiality of professional communications about individuals is maintained. Only when the originator and other persons involved give their express permission is a confidential professional communication shown to the individual concerned. The psychologist is responsible for informing the client of the limits of the confidentiality.
- e. Only after explicit permission has been granted is the identity of research subjects published. When data have been published without permission for identification, the psychologist assumes responsibility for adequately disguising their sources.
- f. The psychologist makes provisions for the maintenance of confidentiality in the preservation and ultimate disposition of confidential records.

Principle 7. Client Welfare. The psychologist respects the integrity and protects the welfare of the person or group with whom he is working.

- a. The psychologist in industry, education, and other situations in which conflicts of interest may arise among various parties, as between management and labor, or between the client and employer of the psychologist, defines for himself the nature and direction of his loyalties and responsibilities and keeps all parties concerned informed of these commitments.
- b. When there is a conflict among professional workers, the psychologist is concerned primarily with the welfare of any client involved and only secondarily with the interest of his own professional group.
- c. The psychologist attempts to terminate a clinical or consulting relationship when it is reasonably clear to the psychologist that the client is not benefiting from it.
- d. The psychologist who asks that an individual reveal personal information in the course of interviewing, testing, or evaluation, or who allows such information to be divulged to him, does so only after making certain that the responsible person is fully aware of the purposes of the interview, testing, or evaluation and of the ways in which the information may be used.
- e. In cases involving referral, the responsibility of the psychologist for the welfare of the client continues until this responsibility is assumed by the professional person to whom the client is referred or until the relationship with the psychologist making the referral has been terminated by mutual agreement. In situations where referral, consultation, or other changes in the conditions of the treatment are indicated and the client refuses referral, the psychologist carefully weighs the possible harm to the client, to himself, and to his profession that might ensue from continuing the relationship.

- f. The psychologist who uses physical tests for didactic purposes protects the examinee and test results are kept confidential.
- g. When potentially embarrassing information is presented to students, efforts are made to protect the students.
- h. Care must be taken for clinical work to protect the client from actual or implied censure.
- i. In the use of accepted special care needs to be taken to assure himself that he provides suitable safety.

Principle 8. Client Relationship. The psychologist informs his client of the important aspects of the relationship that might affect the client's welfare.

- a. Aspects of the relationship that might affect the client's welfare include the use of interview methods, observation of an interview, and the like.
- b. When the client is in a position of authority (as in the case of a patient), the psychologist is responsible for the client's welfare.
- c. The psychologist does not enter into intimate relationships with close friends, etc., unless the client's welfare might be jeopardized.

Principle 9. Impersonal Services. The psychologist provides impersonal services for the public or gives personalized advice in the context of a professional relationship given by means of publications, newspaper or magazine articles, television programs, mail-order services, etc.

- a. The preparation of recommendations based on personal knowledge is unethical unless such knowledge is obtained from a continuing client or from a source that can be assured to be reliable.
- b. The information given will be adequate to be interpreted by the client and can be embellished with subjective knowledge of the client's personality traits.
- c. After intensive interviews, reports must not make reference to employment or place beyond the psychological relationship.

- f. The psychologist who requires the taking of psychological tests for didactic, classification, or research purposes protects the examinees by ensuring that the tests and test results are used in a professional manner.
- g. When potentially disturbing subject matter is presented to students, it is discussed objectively, and efforts are made to handle constructively any difficulties that arise.
- h. Care must be taken to ensure an appropriate setting for clinical work to protect both client and psychologist from actual or imputed harm and the profession from censure.
- i. In the use of accepted drugs for therapeutic purposes special care needs to be exercised by the psychologist to assure himself that the collaborating physician provides suitable safeguards for the client.

Principle 8. Client Relationship. The psychologist informs his prospective client of the important aspects of the potential relationship that might affect the client's decision to enter the relationship.

- a. Aspects of the relationship likely to affect the client's decision include the recording of an interview, the use of interview material for training purposes, and observation of an interview by other persons.
- b. When the client is not competent to evaluate the situation (as in the case of a child), the person responsible for the client is informed of the circumstances which may influence the relationship.
- c. The psychologist does not normally enter into a professional relationship with members of his own family, intimate friends, close associates, or others whose welfare might be jeopardized by such a dual relationship.

Principle 9. Impersonal Services. Psychological services for the purpose of diagnosis, treatment, or personalized advice are provided only in the context of a professional relationship and are not given by means of public lectures or demonstrations, newspaper or magazine articles, radio or television programs, mail, or similar media.

- a. The preparation of personnel reports and recommendations based on test data secured solely by mail is unethical unless such appraisals are an integral part of a continuing client relationship with a company, as a result of which the consulting psychologist has intimate knowledge of the client's personnel situation and can be assured thereby that his written appraisals will be adequate to the purpose and will be properly interpreted by the client. These reports must not be embellished with such detailed analyses of the subject's personality traits as would be appropriate only after intensive interviews with the subject. The reports must not make specific recommendations as to employment or placement of the subject which go beyond the psychologist's knowledge of the job re-

quirements of the company. The reports must not purport to eliminate the company's need to carry on such other regular employment or personnel practices as appraisal of the work history, checking of references, past performance in the company.

Principle 10. Announcement of Services. A psychologist adheres to professional rather than commercial standards in making known his availability for professional services.

- a. A psychologist does not directly solicit clients for individual diagnosis or therapy.
- b. Individual listings in telephone directories are limited to name, highest relevant degree, certification status, address, and telephone number. They may also include identification in a few words of the psychologist's major areas of practice; for example, child therapy, personnel selection, industrial psychology. Agency listings are equally modest.
- c. Announcements of individual private practice are limited to a simple statement of the name, highest relevant degree, certification or diplomate status, address, telephone number, office hours, and a brief explanation of the types of services rendered. Announcements of agencies may list names of staff members with their qualifications. They conform in other particulars with the same standards as individual announcements, making certain that the true nature of the organization is apparent.
- d. A psychologist or agency announcing nonclinical professional services may use brochures that are descriptive of services rendered but not evaluative. They may be sent to professional persons, schools, business firms, government agencies, and other similar organizations.
- e. The use in a brochure of "testimonials from satisfied users" is unacceptable. The offer of a free trial of services is unacceptable if it operates to misrepresent in any way the nature or the efficacy of the services rendered by the psychologist. Claims that a psychologist has unique skills or unique devices not available to others in the profession are made only if the special efficacy of these unique skills or devices has been demonstrated by scientifically acceptable evidence.
- f. The psychologist must not encourage (nor, within his power, even allow) a client to have exaggerated ideas as to the efficacy of services rendered. Claims made to clients about the efficacy of his services must not go beyond those which the psychologist would be willing to subject to professional scrutiny through publishing his results and his claims in a professional journal.

Principle 11. Interprofessional Relations. A psychologist acts with integrity in regard to colleagues in psychology and in other professions.

- a. A psychologist does not normally offer professional services to a person receiving psychological assistance from another professional worker except by agreement

- with the other worker or after the termination of the client's relationship with the other professional worker.
- b. The welfare of clients and colleagues requires that psychologists in joint practice or corporate activities make an orderly and explicit arrangement regarding the conditions of their association and its possible termination. Psychologists who serve as employers of other psychologists have an obligation to make similar appropriate arrangements.

Principle 12. Remuneration. Financial arrangements in professional practice are in accord with professional standards that safeguard the best interest of the client and the profession.

- a. In establishing rates for professional services, the psychologist considers carefully both the ability of the client to meet the financial burden and the charges made by other professional persons engaged in comparable work. He is willing to contribute a portion of his services to work for which he receives little or no financial return.
- b. No commission or rebate or any other form of remuneration is given or received for referral of clients for professional services.
- c. The psychologist in clinical or counseling practice does not use his relationships with clients to promote, for personal gain or the profit of an agency, commercial enterprises of any kind.
- d. A psychologist does not accept a private fee or any other form of remuneration for professional work with a person who is entitled to his services through an institution or agency. The policies of a particular agency may make explicit provision for private work with its clients by members of its staff, and in such instances the client must be fully apprised of all policies affecting him.

Principle 13. Test Security. Psychological tests and other assessment devices, the value of which depends in part on the naïveté of the subject, are not reproduced or described in popular publications in ways that might invalidate the techniques. Access to such devices is limited to persons with professional interests who will safeguard their use.

- a. Sample items made up to resemble those of tests being discussed may be reproduced in popular articles and elsewhere, but scorable tests and actual test items are not reproduced except in professional publications.
- b. The psychologist is responsible for the control of psychological tests and other devices and procedures used for instruction when their value might be damaged by revealing to the general public their specific contents or underlying principles.

Principle 14. Test Interpretation. Test scores, like test materials, are released only to persons who are qualified to interpret and use them properly.

- a. Materials for reporting test scores to parents, or which are designed for self-appraisal purposes in schools, social agencies, or industry are closely supervised by qualified psychologists or counselors with provisions for referring and counseling individuals when needed.
- b. Test results or other assessment data used for evaluation or classification are communicated to employers, relatives, or other appropriate persons in such a manner as to guard against misinterpretation or misuse. In the usual case, an interpretation of the test result rather than the score is communicated.
- c. When test results are communicated directly to parents and students, they are accompanied by adequate interpretive aids or advice.

Principle 15. Test Publication. Psychological tests are offered for commercial publication only to publishers who present their tests in a professional way and distribute them only to qualified users.

- a. A test manual, technical handbook, or other suitable report on the test is provided which describes the method of constructing and standardizing the test and summarizes the validation research.
- b. The populations for which the test has been developed and the purposes for which it is recommended are stated in the manual. Limitations upon the test's dependability, and aspects of its validity on which research is lacking or incomplete, are clearly stated. In particular, the manual contains a warning regarding interpretations likely to be made which have not yet been substantiated by research.
- c. The catalog and manual indicate the training or professional qualifications required for sound interpretation of the test.
- d. The test manual and supporting documents take into account the principles enunciated in the *Standard for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals*.
- e. Test advertisements are factual and descriptive rather than emotional and persuasive.

Principle 16. Research Precautions. The psychologist assumes obligations for the welfare of his research subjects, both animal and human.

- a. Only when a problem is of scientific significance and is not practicable to investigate it in any other way is the psychologist justified in exposing research subjects, whether children or adults, to physical or emotional stress as part of an investigation.
- b. When a reasonable possibility of injurious after-effects exists, research is conducted only when the subjects or their responsible agents are fully informed of this possibility and agree to participate nevertheless.
- c. The psychologist seriously considers the possibility of harmful aftereffects and avoids them, or removes them as soon as permitted by the design of the experiment.
- d. A psychologist using animals in research adheres to the provisions of the Rules Regarding Animals, drawn up by the Committee on Precautions and Standards.

Animal Experiments
Psychological Association
e. Investigations of drugs (for example, psychedelic, or similar) only in such settings as facilities maintained by subjects.

Principle 17. Publication. Published material is signed to those who have contributed to it, in proportion to their share of these.

- a. Major contribution by several persons is recognized by joint authorship, and the person who has made the major contribution is identified as such.
- b. Minor contribution by one or more persons, extensive clerical or secretarial work, and other minor contributions are acknowledged in footnotes or in an index.
- c. Acknowledgment that a paper has been unpublished as well as the names of persons directly influenced by it.
- d. A psychologist who has contributed to a paper in a symposium, with his name or editor among the other committee members.

Principle 18. Responsibility. A psychologist is responsible for the welfare of his research subjects, both animal and human.

Animal Experimentation and adopted by the American Psychological Association.

- e. Investigations of human subjects using experimental drugs (for example, hallucinogenic, psychotomimetic, psychedelic, or similar substances) should be conducted only in such settings as clinics, hospitals, or research facilities maintaining appropriate safeguards for the subjects.

Principle 17. Publication Credit. Credit is assigned to those who have contributed to a publication, in proportion to their contribution, and only to these.

- a. Major contributions of a professional character, made by several persons to a common project, are recognized by joint authorship. The experimenter or author who has made the principal contribution to a publication is identified as the first listed.
- b. Minor contributions of a professional character, extensive clerical or similar nonprofessional assistance, and other minor contributions are acknowledged in footnotes or in an introductory statement.
- c. Acknowledgment through specific citations is made for unpublished as well as published material that has directly influenced the research or writing.
- d. A psychologist who compiles and edits for publication the contributions of others publishes the symposium or report under the title of the committee or symposium, with his own name appearing as chairman or editor among those of the other contributors or committee members.

Principle 18. Responsibility toward Organization. A psychologist respects the rights and rep-

utation of the institute or organization with which his is associated.

- a. Materials prepared by a psychologist as a part of his regular work under specific direction of his organization are the property of that organization. Such materials are released for use or publication by a psychologist in accordance with policies of authorization, assignment of credit, and related matters which have been established by his organization.
- b. Other material resulting incidentally from activity supported by any agency, and for which the psychologist rightly assumes individual responsibility, is published with disclaimer for any responsibility on the part of the supporting agency.

Principle 19. Promotional Activities. The psychologist associated with the development or promotion of psychological devices, books, or other products offered for commercial sale is responsible for ensuring that such devices, books, or products are presented in a professional and factual way.

- a. Claims regarding performance, benefits, or results are supported by scientifically acceptable evidence.
- b. The psychologist does not use professional journals for the commercial exploitation of psychological products, and the psychologist-editor guards against such misuse.
- c. The psychologist with a financial interest in the sale or use of a psychological product is sensitive to possible conflict of interest in his promotion of such products and avoids compromise of his professional responsibilities and objectives.

APA Diagnostic and Statistical Manual II, 1968

Section 3

THE DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

I: MENTAL RETARDATION¹ (310—315)

Mental retardation refers to subnormal general intellectual functioning which originates during the developmental period and is associated with impairment of either learning and social adjustment or maturation, or both. (These disorders were classified under "Chronic brain syndrome with mental deficiency" and "Mental deficiency" in DSM-I.) The diagnostic classification of mental retardation relates to IQ as follows²:

310 Borderline mental retardation—IQ 68—83

311 Mild mental retardation—IQ 52—67

312 Moderate mental retardation—IQ 36—51

313 Severe mental retardation—IQ 20—35

314 Profound mental retardation—IQ under 20

Classifications 310-314 are based on the statistical distribution of levels of intellectual functioning for the population as a whole. The range of intelligence subsumed under each classification corresponds to one standard deviation, making the heuristic assumption that intelligence is normally distributed. It is recognized that the intelligence quotient should not be the only criterion used in making a diagnosis of mental retardation or in evaluating its severity. It should serve only to help in making a clinical judgment of the patient's adaptive behavioral capacity. This judgment should also be based on an evaluation of the patient's developmental history and present functioning, including academic and vocational achievement, motor skills, and social and emotional maturity.

315 Unspecified mental retardation

This classification is reserved for patients whose intellectual functioning

has not or cannot be evaluated precisely but which is recognized as clearly subnormal.

Clinical Subcategories of Mental Retardation

These will be coded as fourth digit subdivisions following each of the categories 310-315. When the associated condition is known more specifically, particularly when it affects the entire organism or an organ system other than the central nervous system, it should be coded additionally in the specific field affected.

.0 Following infection and intoxication

This group is to classify cases in which mental retardation is the result of residual cerebral damage from intracranial infections, serums, drugs, or toxic agents. Examples are:

Cytomegalic inclusion body disease, congenital. A maternal viral disease, usually mild or subclinical, which may infect the fetus and is recognized by the presence of inclusion bodies in the cellular

elements in the urine, cerebrospinal fluid, and tissues.

Rubella, congenital. Affecting the fetus in the first trimester and usually accompanied by a variety of congenital anomalies of the ear, eye and heart.

Syphilis, congenital. Two types are described, an early meningo-vascular disease and a diffuse encephalitis leading to juvenile paresis.

Toxoplasmosis, congenital. Due to infection by a protozoan-like organism, Toxoplasma, contracted in utero. May be detected by serological tests in both mother and infant.

Encephalopathy associated with other prenatal infections. Occasionally fetal damage from maternal epidemic cerebrospinal meningitis, equine encephalomyelitis, influenza, etc. has been reported. The relationships have not as yet been definitely established.

Encephalopathy due to postnatal cerebral infection. Both focal and generalized types of cerebral infection are included and are to be given further anatomic and etiologic specification.

Encephalopathy, congenital, associated with maternal toxemia of pregnancy. Severe and prolonged toxemia of pregnancy, particularly eclampsia, may be associated with mental retardation.

Encephalopathy, congenital, associated with other maternal intoxications. Examples are carbon monoxide, lead, arsenic, quinine, ergot, etc.

¹ For a fuller definition of terms see the "Manual on Terminology and Classification in Mental Retardation," (Supplement to *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, Second Edition, 1961) from which most of this section has been adapted.

² The IQs specified are for the Revised Stanford-Binet Tests of Intelligence, Forms L and M. Equivalent values for other tests are listed in the manual cited in the footnote above.

Bilirubin encephalopathy (Kernicterus). Frequently due to Rh, A, B, O blood group incompatibility between fetus and mother but may also follow prematurity, severe neonatal sepsis or any condition producing high levels of serum bilirubin. Choreaathetosis is frequently associated with this form of mental retardation.

Post-immunization encephalopathy. This may follow inoculation with serum, particularly anti-tetanus serum, or vaccines such as small-

pox, rabies, and typhoid.

Encephalopathy, other, due to intoxication. May result from such toxic agents as lead, carbon monoxide, tetanus and botulism exotoxin.

.1 Following trauma or physical agent

Further specification within this category follows:

Encephalopathy due to prenatal injury. This includes prenatal irradiation and asphyxia, the latter following maternal anoxia, anemia, and hypotension.

Encephalopathy due to mechanical injury at birth. These are attributed to difficulties of labor due to malposition, malpresentation, disproportion, or other complications leading to dystocia which may increase the probability of damage to the infant's brain at birth, resulting in tears of the meninges, blood vessels, and brain substance. Other reasons include venous-sinus thrombosis, arterial embolism and thrombosis. These may result in sequelae which are indistinguishable from those of other injuries, damage or organic impairment of the brain.

Encephalopathy due to asphyxia at birth. Attributable to the anoxemia following interference with placental circulation due to premature separation, placenta praevia, cord difficulties, and other interferences with oxygenation of the placental circulation.

Encephalopathy due to postnatal injury. The diagnosis calls for evidence of severe trauma such as a fractured skull, prolonged unconsciousness, etc., followed by a marked change in development. Postnatal asphyxia, infarction, thrombosis, laceration, and contusion of the brain would be included and the nature of the injury specified.

.2 With disorders of metabolism, growth or nutrition

All conditions associated with mental retardation directly due to metabolic, nutritional, or growth dysfunction should be classified here, includ-

ing disorders of lipid, carbohydrate and protein metabolism, and deficiencies of nutrition.

Cerebral lipiodosis, infantile (Tay-Sach's disease). This is caused by a single recessive autosomal gene and has infantile and juvenile forms. In the former there is gradual deterioration, blindness after the pathognomonic "cherry-red spot," with death occurring usually before age three.

Cerebral lipoidosis, late infantile (Bielschowsky's disease). This differs from the preceding by presenting retinal optic atrophy instead of the "cherry-red spot."

Cerebral lipiodosis, juvenile (Spielmeyer-Vogt disease). This usually appears between the ages of five and ten with involvement of the motor systems, frequent seizures, and pigmentary degeneration of the retina. Death follows in five to ten years.

Cerebral lipiodosis, late juvenile (Kufs' disease). This is categorized under mental retardation only when it occurs at an early age.

Lipid histiocytosis of kerasin type (Gaucher's disease). As a rule this condition causes retardation only when it affects infants. It is characterized by Gaucher's cells in lymph nodes, spleen or marrow.

Lipid histiocytosis of phosphatide type (Niemann-Pick's disease). Distinguished from Tay-Sach's disease by enlargement of liver and spleen. Biopsy of spleen, lymph or marrow show characteristic "foam cells."

Phenylketonuria. A metabolic disorder, genetically transmitted as a simple autosomal recessive gene, preventing the conversion of phenylalanine into tyrosine with an accumulation of phenylalanine, which in turn is converted to phenylpyruvic acid detectable in the urine.

Hepatolenticular degeneration (Wilson's disease). Genetically transmitted as a simple autosomal recessive. It is due to inability of ceruloplasmin to bind copper, which in turn damages the brain. Rare in children.

Porphyria. Genetically transmitted as a dominant and characterized by excretion of porphyrins in the urine. It is rare in children, in whom it may cause irreversible deterioration.

Galactosemia. A condition in which galactose is not metabolized, causing its accumulation in the blood. If milk is not removed from the diet, generalized organ deficiencies, mental deterioration and death may result.

Glucogenosis (Von Gierke's disease). Due to a deficiency in glycogen-metabolizing enzymes with deposition of glycogen in various organs, including the brain.

Hypoglycemia. Caused by various conditions producing hypoglycemia which, in the infant, may result in epilepsy and mental defect. Diagnosis may be confirmed by glucose tolerance tests.

3 Associated with gross brain disease (postnatal)

This group includes all diseases and conditions associated with neoplasms, but not growths that are secondary to trauma or infection. The category also includes a number of postnatal diseases and conditions in which the structural reaction is evident but the etiology is unknown or uncertain, though frequently presumed to be of hereditary or familial nature. Structural reactions may be degenerative, infiltrative, inflammatory, proliferative, sclerotic, or reparative.

Neurofibromatosis (Neurofibroblastomatosis, von Recklinghausen's disease). A disease transmitted by a dominant autosomal gene but with reduced penetrance and variable expressivity. It is characterized by cutaneous pigmentation ("café au lait" patches) and neurofibromas of nerve, skin and central nervous system with intellectual capacity varying from normal to severely retarded.

Trigeminal cerebral angioma (Sturge-Weber-Dimitri's disease). A condition characterized by a "port wine stain" or cutaneous angioma, usually in the distribution of the trigeminal nerve, accompanied by vascular malformation over the meninges of the parietal and occipital lobes with underlying cerebral maldevelopment.

Tuberous sclerosis (Epiloia, Bourneville's disease). Transmitted by a dominant autosomal gene, characterized by multiple gliotic nodules in the central nervous system, and associated with adenoma sebaceum of the face and tumors in other organs. Retarded development and seizures may appear early and increase in severity along with tumor growth.

Intracranial neoplasm, other. Other relatively rare neoplastic diseases leading to mental retardation should be included in this category and specified when possible.

Encephalopathy associated with diffuse sclerosis of the brain. This category includes a number of similar conditions differing to some extent in their pathological and clinical features but characterized

by diffuse demyelination of the white matter with resulting diffuse glial sclerosis and accompanied by intellectual deterioration. These diseases are often familial in character and when possible should be specified under the following:

Acute infantile diffuse sclerosis (Krabbe's disease).

Diffuse chronic infantile sclerosis (Merzbacher-Pelizaeus disease, Aplasia axialis extracorticalis congenita).

Infantile metachromatic leukodystrophy (Greenfield's disease).

Juvenile metachromatic leukodystrophy (Scholz' disease).

Progressive subcortical encephalopathy (Encephalitis periaxialis diffusa, Schilder's disease).

Spinal sclerosis (Friedreich's ataxia). Characterized by cerebellar degeneration, early onset followed by dementia.

Encephalopathy, other, due to unknown or uncertain cause with the structural reactions manifest. This category includes cases of mental retardation associated with progressive neuronal degeneration or other structural defects which cannot be classified in a more specific diagnostic category.

4 Associated with diseases and conditions due to unknown pre-natal influence

This category is for classifying conditions known to have existed at the time of or prior to birth but for which no definite etiology can be established. These include the primary cranial anomalies and congenital defects of undetermined origin as follows:

Anencephaly (including hemianencephaly).

Malformations of the gyri. This includes agyria, macrogyria (pachygyria) and microgyria.

Porencephaly, congenital. Characterized by large funnel-shaped cavities occurring anywhere in the cerebral hemispheres. Specify, if possible, whether the porencephaly is a result of asphyxia at birth or postnatal trauma.

Multiple-congenital anomalies of the brain.

Other cerebral defects, congenital.

Craniosynostosis. The most common conditions included in this category are acrocephaly (oxycephaly) and scaphocephaly. These may or may not be associated with mental retardation.

Hydrocephalus, congenital. Under this heading is included only that type of hydrocephalus present at birth or occurring soon after delivery. All other types of hydrocephalus, secondary to other conditions, should be classified under the specific etiology when known.

Hypertelorism (Greig's disease). Characterized by abnormal development of the sphenoid bone increasing the distance between the eyes.

Macrocephaly (Megalencephaly). Characterized by an increased size and weight of the brain due partially to proliferation of glia.

Microcephaly, primary. True microcephaly is probably transmitted as a single autosomal recessive. When it is caused by other conditions it should be classified according to the primary condition, with secondary microcephaly as a supplementary term.

Laurence-Moon-Biedl syndrome. Characterized by mental retardation associated with retinitis pigmentosa, adiposo-genital dys trophy, and polydactyly.

.5 With chromosomal abnormality

This group includes cases of mental retardation associated with chromosomal abnormalities. These may be divided into two sub-groups, those associated with an abnormal number of chromosomes and those with abnormal chromosomal morphology.

Autosomal trisomy of group G. (Trisomy 21, Langdon-Down disease, Mongolism). This is the only common form of mental retardation due to chromosomal abnormality. (The others are relatively rare.) It ranges in degree from moderate to severe with infrequent cases of mild retardation. Other congenital defects are frequently present, and the intellectual development decelerates with time.

Autosomal trisomy of group E.

Sex chromosome anomalies. The only condition under the category which has any significant frequency is Klinefelter's syndrome.

Abnormal number of chromosomes, other. In this category would be included monosomy G, and possibly others as well as other forms of mosaicism.

Short arm deletion of chromosome 5—group B (Cri du chat). A quite rare condition characterized by congenital abnormalities and a cat-like cry during infancy which disappears with time.

Short arm deletion of chromosome 18—group E.

Abnormal morphology of chromosomes, other. This category includes a variety of translocations, ring chromosomes, fragments, and iso-chromosomes associated with mental retardation.

.6 Associated with prematurity

This category includes retarded patients who had a birth weight of less than 2500 grams (5.5 pounds) and/or a gestational age of less than 38 weeks at birth, and who do not fall into any of the preceding categories. This diagnosis should be used only if the patient's mental retardation cannot be classified more precisely under categories .0 to .5 above.

.7 Following major psychiatric disorder

This category is for mental retardation following psychosis or other major psychiatric disorder in early childhood when there is no evidence of cerebral pathology. To make this diagnosis there must be good evidence that the psychiatric disturbance was extremely severe. For example, retarded young adults with residual schizophrenia should not be classified here.

.8 With psycho-social (environmental) deprivation

This category is for the many cases of mental retardation with no clinical or historical evidence of organic disease or pathology but for which there is some history of psycho-social deprivation. Cases in this group are classified in terms of psycho-social factors which appear to bear some etiological relationship to the condition as follows:

Cultural-familial mental retardation. Classification here requires that evidence of retardation be found in at least one of the parents and in one or more siblings, presumably, because some degree of cultural deprivation results from familial retardation. The degree of retardation is usually mild.

Associated with environmental deprivation. An individual deprived of normal environmental stimulation in infancy and early childhood may prove unable to acquire the knowledge and skills required to function normally. This kind of deprivation tends to be more severe than that associated with familial mental retardation (q.v.).

This type of deprivation may result from severe sensory impairment, even in an environment otherwise rich in stimulation. More rarely

it may result from severe environmental limitations or atypical cultural milieus. The degree of retardation is always marginal or mild.

.9 With other [and unspecified] condition.

II. ORGANIC BRAIN SYNDROMES

(Disorders caused by or associated with impairment of brain tissue function)

These disorders are manifested by the following symptoms:

- (a) Impairment of orientation
- (b) Impairment of memory
- (c) Impairment of all intellectual functions such as comprehension, calculation, knowledge, learning, etc.
- (d) Impairment of judgment
- (e) Liability and shallowness of affect

The organic brain syndrome is a basic mental condition characteristically resulting from diffuse impairment of brain tissue function from whatever cause. Most of the basic symptoms are generally present to some degree regardless of whether the syndrome is mild, moderate or severe.

The syndrome may be the only disturbance present. It may also be associated with psychotic symptoms and behavioral disturbances. The severity of the associated symptoms is affected by and related to not only the precipitating organic disorder but also the patient's inherent personality patterns, present emotional conflicts, his environmental situation, and interpersonal relations.

These brain syndromes are grouped into psychotic and non-psychotic disorders according to the severity of functional impairment. The psychotic level of impairment is described on page 23 and the non-psychotic on pages 31-32.

It is important to distinguish "acute" from "chronic" brain disorders because of marked differences in the course of illness, prognosis and treatment. The terms indicate primarily whether the brain pathology and its accompanying organic brain syndrome is reversible. Since the same etiology may produce either temporary or permanent brain damage, a brain disorder which appears reversible (acute) at the beginning may prove later to have left permanent damage and a persistent organic brain syndrome which will then be diagnosed "chronic". Some

brain syndromes occur in either form. Some occur only in acute forms (e.g. *Delirium tremens*). Some occur only in chronic form (e.g. *Alcoholic deterioration*). The acute and chronic forms may be indicated for those disorders coded in four digits by the addition of a fifth qualifying digit: .x1 *acute* and .x2 *chronic*.

THE PSYCHOSES

Psychoses are described in two places in this Manual, here with the organic brain syndromes and later with the functional psychoses. The general discussion of psychosis appears here because organic brain syndromes are listed first in DSM-II.

Patients are described as psychotic when their mental functioning is sufficiently impaired to interfere grossly with their capacity to meet the ordinary demands of life. The impairment may result from a serious distortion in their capacity to recognize reality. Hallucinations and delusions, for example, may distort their perceptions. Alterations of mood may be so profound that the patient's capacity to respond appropriately is grossly impaired. Deficits in perception, language and memory may be so severe that the patient's capacity for mental grasp of his situation is effectively lost.

Some confusion results from the different meanings which have become attached to the word "psychosis." Some non-organic disorders, (295-298), in the well-developed form in which they were first recognized, typically rendered patients psychotic. For historical reasons these disorders are still classified as psychoses, even though it now generally is recognized that many patients for whom these diagnoses are clinically justified are not in fact psychotic. This is true particularly in the incipient or convalescent stages of the illness. To reduce confusion, when one of these disorders listed as a "psychosis" is diagnosed in a patient who is not psychotic, the qualifying phrase *not psychotic* or *not presently psychotic* should be noted and coded .x6 with a fifth digit.

Example: 295.06 *Schizophrenia, simple type, not psychotic*.

It should be noted that this Manual permits an organic condition to be classified as a psychosis only if the patient is psychotic during the episode being diagnosed.

If the specific physical condition underlying one of these disorders is known, indicate it with a separate, additional diagnosis.

II. A. PSYCHOSES ASSOCIATED WITH ORGANIC BRAIN SYNDROMES (290—294)

290 Senile and Pre-senile dementia

290.0 Senile dementia

This syndrome occurs with senile brain disease, whose causes are largely unknown. The category does not include the pre-senile psychoses nor other degenerative diseases of the central nervous system. While senile brain disease derives its name from the age group in which it is most commonly seen, its diagnosis should be based on the brain disorder present and not on the patient's age at times of onset. Even mild cases will manifest some evidence of organic brain syndrome: self-centeredness, difficulty in assimilating new experiences, and childish emotionality. Deterioration may be minimal or progress to vegetative existence. (This condition was called "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with senile brain disease" in DSM-II.)

290.1 Pre-senile dementia

This category includes a group of cortical brain diseases presenting clinical pictures similar to those of senile dementia but appearing characteristically in younger age groups. Alzheimer's and Pick's diseases are the two best known forms, each of which has a specific brain pathology. (In DSM-I Alzheimer's disease was classified as "Chronic Brain Syndrome with other disturbance of metabolism." Pick's disease was "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with disease of unknown cause.") When the impairment is not of psychotic proportion the patient should be classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with senile or pre-senile brain disease*.

291 Alcoholic psychoses

Alcoholic psychoses are psychoses caused by poisoning with alcohol (see page 23). When a pre-existing psychotic, psychoneurotic or other disorder is aggravated by modest alcohol intake, the underlying condition, not the alcoholic psychosis, is diagnosed.

Simple drunkenness, when not specified as psychotic, is classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with alcohol*.

In accordance with ICD-8, this Manual subdivides the alcoholic psychoses into *Delirium tremens*, *Korsakoff's psychosis*, *Other alcoholic hallucinosis* and *Alcoholic paranoia*. DSM-II also adds three further

subdivisions: *Acute alcohol intoxication*, *Alcoholic deterioration* and *Pathological intoxication*. (In DSM-I "Acute Brain Syndrome, alcohol intoxication" included what is now *Delirium tremens*, *Other alcoholic hallucinosis*, *Acute alcohol intoxication* and *Pathological intoxication*.)

291.0 Delirium tremens

This is a variety of acute brain syndrome characterized by delirium, coarse tremors, and frightening visual hallucinations usually becoming more intense in the dark. Because it was first identified in alcoholics and until recently was thought always to be due to alcohol ingestion, the term is restricted to the syndrome associated with alcohol. It is distinguished from *Other alcoholic hallucinosis* by the tremors and the disordered sensorium. When this clinical picture is due to a nutritional deficiency rather than to alcohol poisoning, it is classified under *Psychosis associated with metabolic or nutritional disorder*.

291.1 Korsakoff's psychosis (alcoholic) Also "Korsakoff"

This is a variety of chronic brain syndrome associated with longstanding alcohol use and characterized by memory impairment, disorientation, peripheral neuropathy and particularly by confabulation. Like delirium tremens, Korsakoff's psychosis is identified with alcohol because of an initial error in identifying its cause, and therefore the term is confined to the syndrome associated with alcohol. The similar syndrome due to nutritional deficiency unassociated with alcohol is classified *Psychosis associated with metabolic or nutritional disorder*.

291.2 Other alcoholic hallucinosis

Hallucinoses caused by alcohol which cannot be diagnosed as delirium tremens, Korsakoff's psychosis, or alcoholic deterioration fall in this category. A common variety manifests accusatory or threatening auditory hallucinations in a state of relatively clear consciousness. This condition must be distinguished from schizophrenia in combination with alcohol intoxication, which would require two diagnoses.

291.3 Alcohol paranoid state ((Alcoholic paranoia))

This term describes a paranoid state which develops in chronic alcoholics, generally male, and is characterized by excessive jealousy and delusions of infidelity by the spouse. Patients diagnosed under pri-

mary paranoid states or schizophrenia should not be included here even if they drink to excess.

291.4* Acute alcohol intoxication*

All varieties of acute brain syndromes of psychotic proportion caused by alcohol are included here if they do not manifest features of delirium tremens, alcoholic hallucinosis, or pathological intoxication. This diagnosis is used alone when there is no other psychiatric disorder or as an additional diagnosis with other psychiatric conditions including alcoholism. The condition should not be confused with *simple drunkenness*, which does not involve psychosis. (All patients with this disorder would have been diagnosed "Acute Brain Syndrome, alcohol intoxication" in DSM-I.)

291.5* Alcoholic deterioration*

All varieties of chronic brain syndromes of psychotic proportion caused by alcohol and not having the characteristic features of Korsakov's psychosis are included here. (This condition and Korsakov's psychosis were both included under "Chronic Brain Syndrome, alcohol intoxication with psychotic reaction" in DSM-I.)

291.6* Pathological intoxication*

This is an acute brain syndrome manifested by psychosis after minimal alcohol intake. (In DSM-I this diagnosis fell under "Acute Brain Syndrome, alcohol intoxication.")

291.9 Other [and unspecified] alcoholic psychosis

This term refers to all varieties of alcoholic psychosis not classified above.

292 Psychosis associated with intracranial infection

292.0 General paralysis

This condition is characterized by physical signs and symptoms of parenchymatosus syphilis of the nervous system, and usually by positive serology, including the paretic gold curve in the spinal fluid. The condition may simulate any of the other psychoses and brain syndromes. If the impairment is not of psychotic proportion it is classified *Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection*. If the specific underlying physical condition is known, indicate it with a separate, additional diagnosis. (This category was included under "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with central nervous system syphilis (meningoencephalitic)" in DSM-I.)

292.1 Psychosis with other syphilis of central nervous system

This includes all other varieties of psychosis attributed to intracranial infection by **Spirochaeta pallida**. The syndrome sometimes has features of organic brain syndrome. The acute infection is usually produced by meningo-vascular inflammation and responds to systemic antisiphilitic treatment. The chronic condition is generally due to gummatia. If not of psychotic proportion, the disorder is classified *Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection*. (In DSM-I "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with other central nervous system syphilis" and "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial infection" covered this category.)

292.2 Psychosis with epidemic encephalitis (von Economo's encephalitis)

This term is confined to the disorder attributed to the viral epidemic encephalitis that followed World War I. Virtually no cases have been reported since 1926. The condition, however, is differentiated from other encephalitis. It may present itself as acute delirium and sometimes its outstanding feature is apparent indifference to persons and events ordinarily of emotional significance, such as the death of a family member. It may appear as a chronic brain syndrome and is sometimes dominated by involuntary, compulsive behavior. If not of psychotic proportions, the disorder is classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection*. (This category was classified under "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial infection other than syphilis" in DSM-I.)

292.3 Psychosis with other and unspecified encephalitis

This category includes disorders attributed to encephalitic infections other than epidemic encephalitis and also to encephalitis not otherwise specified.¹ When possible the type of infection should be indicated. If not of psychotic proportion, the disorder is classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection*.

292.9 Psychosis with other [and unspecified] intracranial infection

This category includes all acute and chronic conditions due to non-syphilitic and non-encephalitic infections, such as meningitis and

¹ A list of important encephalitides may be found in "A Guide to the Control of Mental Disorders," American Public Health Association Inc., New York 1962, pp. 40 ff.

brain abscess. Many of these disorders will have been diagnosed as the acute form early in the course of the illness. If not of psychotic proportion, the disorder should be classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection*. (In DSM-I the acute variety was classified as "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial infection" and the chronic variety as "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial infection other than syphilis.")

293 Psychosis associated with other cerebral condition

This major category, as its name indicates, is for all psychoses associated with cerebral conditions *other* than those previously defined. For example, the degenerative diseases following do *not* include the previous senile dementia. If the specific underlying physical condition is known, indicate it with a separate, additional diagnosis.

293.0 Psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis

This is a chronic disorder attributed to cerebral arteriosclerosis. It may be impossible to differentiate it from senile dementia and pre-senile dementia, which may coexist with it. Careful consideration of the patient's age, history, and symptoms may help determine the predominant pathology. Commonly, the organic brain syndrome is the only mental disturbance present, but other reactions, such as depression or anxiety, may be superimposed. If not of psychotic proportion, the condition is classified under *Non-psychotic OBS with circulatory disturbance*. (In DSM-I this was called "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with cerebral arteriosclerosis.")

293.1 Psychosis with other cerebrovascular disturbance

This category includes such circulatory disturbances as cerebral thrombosis, cerebral embolism, arterial hypertension, cardio-renal disease and cardiac disease, particularly in decompensation. It excludes conditions attributed to arteriosclerosis. The diagnosis is determined by the underlying organ pathology, which should be specified with an additional diagnosis. (In DSM-I this category was divided between "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with circulatory disturbance" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with circulatory disturbance other than cerebral arteriosclerosis.")

293.2 Psychosis with epilepsy

This category is to be used only for the condition associated with "idiopathic" epilepsy. Most of the etiological agents underlying chronic brain syndromes can and do cause convulsions, particularly

syphilis, intoxication, trauma, cerebral arteriosclerosis, and intracranial neoplasms. When the convulsions are symptomatic of such diseases, the brain syndrome is classified under those disturbances rather than here. The disturbance most commonly encountered here is the clouding of consciousness before or after a convulsive attack. Instead of a convolution, the patient may show only a dazed reaction with deep confusion, bewilderment and anxiety. The epileptic attack may also take the form of an episode of excitement with hallucinations, fears, and violent outbreaks. (In DSM-I this was included in "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with convulsive disorder" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with convulsive disorder.")

293.3 Psychosis with intracranial neoplasm

Both primary and metastatic neoplasms are classified here. Reactions to neoplasms other than in the cranium should not receive this diagnosis. (In DSM-I this category included "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial neoplasm" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with intracranial neoplasm.")

293.4 Psychosis with degenerative disease of the central nervous system

This category includes degenerative brain diseases not listed previously. (In DSM-I this was part of "Acute Brain Syndrome with disease of unknown or uncertain cause" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with diseases of unknown or uncertain cause.")

293.5 Psychosis with brain trauma

This category includes those disorders which develop immediately after severe head injury or brain surgery and the post-traumatic chronic brain disorders. It does not include permanent brain damage which produces only focal neurological changes without significant changes in sensorium and affect. Generally, trauma producing a chronic brain syndrome is diffuse and causes permanent brain damage. If not of psychotic proportions, a post-traumatic personality disorder associated with an organic brain syndrome is classified as a *Non-psychotic OBS with brain trauma*. If the brain injury occurs in early life and produces a developmental defect of intelligence, the condition is also diagnosed *Mental retardation*. A head injury may precipitate or accelerate the course of a chronic brain disease, especially cerebral arteriosclerosis. The differential diagnosis may be extremely difficult. If, before the injury, the patient had symptoms of circulatory disturbance, particularly arteriosclerosis,

and now shows signs of psychosis, he should be classified *Psychosis with cerebral arteriosclerosis*. (In DSM-I this category was divided between "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with trauma" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with brain trauma.")

293.9 Psychosis with other [and unspecified] cerebral condition

This category is for cerebral conditions other than those listed above, and conditions for which it is impossible to make a more precise diagnosis. [Medical record librarians will include here *Psychoses with cerebral condition, not otherwise specified*.]

294 Psychosis associated with other physical condition

The following psychoses are caused by general systemic disorders and are distinguished from the *cerebral* conditions previously described. If the specific underlying physical condition is known, indicate it with a separate, additional diagnosis.

294.0 Psychosis with endocrine disorder

This category includes disorders caused by the complications of diabetes other than cerebral arteriosclerosis and disorders of the thyroid, pituitary, adrenals, and other endocrine glands. (In DSM-I "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with other disturbances of metabolism, growth or nutrition" included the chronic variety of these disorders. DSM-I defined these conditions as "disorders of metabolism" but they here are considered endocrine disorders.)

294.1 Psychosis with metabolic or nutritional disorder

This category includes disorders caused by pellagra, avitaminosis and metabolic disorders. (In DSM-I this was part of "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with metabolic disturbance" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome associated with other disturbance of metabolism, growth or nutrition.")

294.2 Psychosis with systemic infection

This category includes disorders caused by severe general systemic infections, such as pneumonia, typhoid fever, malaria and acute rheumatic fever. Care must be taken to distinguish these reactions from other disorders, particularly manic depressive illness and schizophrenia, which may be precipitated by even a mild attack of infectious disease. (In DSM-I this was confined to "Acute Brain Syndrome associated with systemic infection.")

294.3 Psychosis with drug or poison intoxication (other than alcohol)

This category includes disorders caused by some drugs (including psychedelic drugs), hormones, heavy metals, glasses, and other intoxicants except alcohol. (In DSM-I these conditions were divided between "Acute Brain Syndrome, drug or poison intoxication" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome, associated with intoxication." The former excluded alcoholic acute brain syndromes, while the latter included alcoholic chronic brain syndromes.)

294.4 Psychosis with childbirth

Almost any type of psychosis may occur during pregnancy and the post-partum period and should be specifically diagnosed. This category is not a substitute for a differential diagnosis and excludes other psychoses arising during the puerperium. Therefore, this diagnosis should not be used unless all other possible diagnoses have been excluded.

294.8 Psychosis with other and undiagnosed physical condition

This is a residual category for psychoses caused by physical conditions other than those listed earlier. It also includes brain syndromes caused by physical conditions which have not been diagnosed. (In DSM-I this condition was divided between "Acute Brain Syndrome of unknown cause" and "Chronic Brain Syndrome of unknown cause." However, these categories also included the category now called *Psychosis with other [and unspecified] cerebral condition*.)

[294.9 Psychosis with unspecified physical condition]

This is not a diagnosis but is included for use by medical record librarians only.

II. B. NON-PSYCHOTIC ORGANIC BRAIN SYNDROMES (309)

309 Non-psychotic organic brain syndromes ((Mental disorders not specified as psychotic associated with physical conditions))

This category is for patients who have an organic brain syndrome but are not psychotic. If psychoses are present they should be diagnosed as previously indicated. Refer to pages 22-23 for description of organic brain syndromes in adults.

In children mild brain damage often manifests itself by hyperactivity, short attention span, easy distractability, and impulsiveness. Some-

times the child is withdrawn, listless, perseverative, and unresponsive. In exceptional cases there may be great difficulty in initiating action. These characteristics often contribute to a negative interaction between parent and child. If the organic handicap is the major etiological factor and the child is not psychotic, the case should be classified here.

If the interactional factors are of major secondary importance, supply a second diagnosis under *Behavior disorders of childhood and adolescence*; if these interactional factors predominate give only a diagnosis from this latter category.

309.0 Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial infection

309.1 Non-psychotic OBS with drug, poison, or systemic intoxication

309.13* Non-psychotic OBS with alcohol* (simple drunkenness)

309.14* Non-psychotic OBS with other drug, poison, or systemic intoxication*

309.2 Non-psychotic OBS with brain trauma

309.3 Non-psychotic OBS with circulatory disturbance

309.4 Non-psychotic OBS with epilepsy

309.5 Non-psychotic OBS with disturbance of metabolism, growth or nutrition

309.6 Non-psychotic OBS with senile or presenile brain disease

309.7 Non-psychotic OBS with intracranial neoplasm

309.8 Non-psychotic OBS with degenerative disease of central nervous system

309.9 Non-psychotic OBS with other [and unspecified] physical condition

[.91* Acute brain syndrome, not otherwise specified*]

[.92* Chronic brain syndrome, not otherwise specified*]

III. PSYCHOSES NOT ATTRIBUTED TO PHYSICAL CONDITIONS LISTED PREVIOUSLY (295—298)

This major category is for patients whose psychosis is not caused by physical conditions listed previously. Nevertheless, some of these patients may show additional signs of an organic condition. If these or-

ganic signs are prominent the patient should receive the appropriate additional diagnosis.

295 Schizophrenia

This large category includes a group of disorders manifested by characteristic disturbances of thinking, mood and behavior. Disturbances in thinking are marked by alterations of concept formation which may lead to misinterpretation of reality and sometimes to delusions and hallucinations, which frequently appear psychologically self-protective. Corollary mood changes include ambivalent, constricted and inappropriate emotional responsiveness and loss of empathy with others. Behavior may be withdrawn, regressive and bizarre. The schizophrenias, in which the mental status is attributable primarily to a *thought* disorder, are to be distinguished from the *Major affective illnesses* (q.v.) which are dominated by a *mood* disorder. The *Paranoid states* (q.v.) are distinguished from schizophrenia by the narrowness of their distortions of reality and by the absence of other psychotic symptoms.

295.0 Schizophrenia, simple type

This psychosis is characterized chiefly by a slow and insidious reduction of external attachments and interests and by apathy and indifference leading to impoverishment of interpersonal relations, mental deterioration, and adjustment on a lower level of functioning. In general, the condition is less dramatically psychotic than are the hebephrenic, catatonic, and paranoid types of schizophrenia. Also, it contrasts with schizoid personality, in which there is little or no progression of the disorder.

295.1 Schizophrenia, hebephrenic type

This psychosis is characterized by disorganized thinking, shallow and inappropriate affect, unpredictable giggling, silly and regressive behavior and mannerisms, and frequent hypochondriacal complaints. Delusions and hallucinations, if present, are transient and not well organized.

295.2 Schizophrenia, catatonic type

295.23* Schizophrenia, catatonic type, excited*

295.24* Schizophrenia, catatonic type, withdrawn*

It is frequently possible and useful to distinguish two subtypes of catatonic schizophrenia. One is marked by excessive and sometimes violent motor activity and excitement and the other by generalized

inhibition manifested by stupor, mutism, negativism, or waxy flexibility. In time, some cases deteriorate to a vegetative state.

295.3 Schizophrenia, paranoid type

This type of schizophrenia is characterized primarily by the presence of persecutory or grandiose delusions, often associated with hallucinations. Excessive religiosity is sometimes seen. The patient's attitude is frequently hostile and aggressive, and his behavior tends to be consistent with his delusions. In general the disorder does not manifest the gross personality disorganization of the hebephrenic and catatonic types, perhaps because the patient uses the mechanism of projection, which ascribes to others characteristics he cannot accept in himself. Three subtypes of the disorder may sometimes be differentiated, depending on the predominant symptoms: hostile, grandiose, and hallucinatory.

295.4 Acute schizophrenic episode

This diagnosis does not apply to acute episodes of schizophrenic disorders described elsewhere. This condition is distinguished by the acute onset of schizophrenic symptoms, often associated with confusion, perplexity, ideas of reference, emotional turmoil, dreamlike dissociation, and excitement, depression, or fear. The acute onset distinguishes this condition from simple schizophrenia. In time these patients may take on the characteristics of catatonic, hebephrenic or paranoid schizophrenia, in which case their diagnosis should be changed accordingly. In many cases the patient recovers within weeks, but sometimes his disorganization becomes progressive. More frequently remission is followed by recurrence. (In DSM-I this condition was listed as "Schizophrenia, acute undifferentiated type.")

295.5 Schizophrenia, latent type

This category is for patients having clear symptoms of schizophrenia but no history of a psychotic schizophrenic episode. Disorders sometimes designated as incipient, pre-psychotic, pseudoneurotic, pseudo-psychopathic, or borderline schizophrenia are categorized here. (This category includes some patients who were diagnosed in DSM-I under "Schizophrenic reaction, chronic undifferentiated type." Others formerly included in that DSM-I category are now classified under *Schizophrenia, other [and unspecified] types* (q.v.).)

295.6 Schizophrenia, residual type

This category is for patients showing signs of schizophrenia but

who, following a psychotic schizophrenic episode, are no longer psychotic.

295.7 Schizophrenia, schizo-affective type

This category is for patients showing a mixture of schizophrenic symptoms and pronounced elation or depression. Within this category it may be useful to distinguish excited from depressed types as follows:

295.73* Schizophrenia, schizo-affective type, excited*

295.74* Schizophrenia, schizo-affective type, depressed*

295.8* Schizophrenia, childhood type*

This category is for cases in which schizophrenic symptoms appear before puberty. The condition may be manifested by autistic, atypical, and withdrawn behavior; failure to develop identity separate from the mother's; and general unevenness, gross immaturity and inadequacy in development. These developmental defects may result in mental retardation, which should also be diagnosed. (This category is for use in the United States and does not appear in ICD-8. It is equivalent to "Schizophrenic reaction, childhood type" in DSM-I.)

295.90* Schizophrenia, chronic undifferentiated type*

This category is for patients who show mixed schizophrenic symptoms and who present definite schizophrenic thought, affect and behavior not classifiable under the other types of schizophrenia. It is distinguished from *Schizoid personality* (q.v.). (This category is equivalent to "Schizophrenic reaction, chronic undifferentiated type" in DSM-I except that it does not include cases now diagnosed as *Schizophrenia, latent type* and *Schizophrenia, other [and unspecified] types*.)

295.99* Schizophrenia, other [and unspecified] types*

This category is for any type of schizophrenia not previously described. (In DSM-I "Schizophrenic reaction, chronic undifferentiated type" included this category and also what is now called *Schizophrenia, latent type* and *Schizophrenia, chronic undifferentiated type*.)

296 Major affective disorders ((Affective psychoses))

This group of psychoses is characterized by a single disorder of mood, either extreme depression or elation, that dominates the mental life of the patient and is responsible for whatever loss of contact he has with his environment. The onset of the mood does not seem to be

related directly to a precipitating life experience and therefore is distinguishable from *Psychotic depressive reaction* and *Depressive neurosis*. (This category is not equivalent to the DSM-I heading "Affective reactions," which included "Psychotic depressive reaction.")

296.0 Involutional melancholia

This is a disorder occurring in the involutional period and characterized by worry, anxiety, agitation, and severe insomnia. Feelings of guilt and somatic preoccupations are frequently present and may be of delusional proportions. This disorder is distinguishable from *Manic-depressive illness* (q.v.) by the absence of previous episodes; it is distinguished from *Schizophrenia* (q.v.) in that impaired reality testing is due to a disorder of mood; and it is distinguished from *Psychotic depressive reaction* (q.v.) in that the depression is not due to some life experience. Opinion is divided as to whether this psychosis can be distinguished from the other affective disorders. It is, therefore, recommended that involutional patients not be given this diagnosis unless all other affective disorders have been ruled out. (In DSM-I this disorder was considered one of two subtypes of "Involutional Psychotic Reaction.")

Manic-depressive illnesses (Manic-depressive psychoses)

These disorders are marked by severe mood swings and a tendency to remission and recurrence. Patients may be given this diagnosis in the absence of a previous history of affective psychosis if there is no obvious precipitating event. This disorder is divided into three major subtypes: manic type, depressed type, and circular type.

296.1 Manic-depressive illness, manic type ((Manic-depressive psychosis, manic type))

This disorder consists exclusively of manic episodes. These episodes are characterized by excessive elation, irritability, talkativeness, flight of ideas, and accelerated speech and motor activity. Brief periods of depression sometimes occur, but they are never true depressive episodes.

296.2 Manic-depressive illness, depressed type ((Manic-depressive psychosis, depressed type))

This disorder consists exclusively of depressive episodes. These episodes are characterized by severely depressed mood and by mental and motor retardation progressing occasionally to stupor. Uneasiness, apprehension, perplexity and agitation may also be present.

When illusions, hallucinations, and delusions (usually of guilt or of hypochondriacal or paranoid ideas) occur, they are attributable to the dominant mood disorder. Because it is a primary mood disorder, this psychosis differs from the *Psychotic depressive reaction*, which is more easily attributable to precipitating stress. Cases incompletely labelled as "psychotic depression" should be classified here rather than under *Psychotic depressive reaction*.

296.3 Manic-depressive illness, circular type ((Manic-depressive psychosis, circular type))

This disorder is distinguished by at least one attack of both a depressive episode and a manic episode. This phenomenon makes clear why manic and depressed types are combined into a single category. (In DSM-I these cases were diagnosed under "Manic depressive reaction, other.") The current episode should be specified and coded as one of the following:

296.33* Manic-depressive illness, circular type, manic*

296.34* Manic-depressive illness, circular type, depressed*

296.8 Other major affective disorder ((Affective psychosis, other))

Major affective disorders for which a more specific diagnosis has not been made are included here. It is also for "mixed" manic-depressive illness, in which manic and depressive symptoms appear almost simultaneously. It does not include *Psychotic depressive reaction* (q.v.) or *Depressive neurosis* (q.v.). (In DSM-I this category was included under "Manic depressive reaction, other.")

[296.9 Unspecified major affective disorder] [Affective disorder not otherwise specified] [Manic-depressive illness not otherwise specified]

297 Paranoid states

These are psychotic disorders in which a delusion, generally persecutory or grandiose, is the essential abnormality. Disturbances in mood, behavior and thinking (including hallucinations) are derived from this delusion. This distinguishes paranoid states from the affective psychoses and schizophrenias, in which mood and thought disorders, respectively, are the central abnormalities. Most authorities, however, question whether disorders in this group are distinct clinical entities and not merely variants of schizophrenia or paranoid personality.

297.0 Paranoia

This extremely rare condition is characterized by gradual development of an intricate, complex, and elaborate paranoid system based on and often proceeding logically from misinterpretation of an actual event. Frequently the patient considers himself endowed with unique and superior ability. In spite of a chronic course the condition does not seem to interfere with the rest of the patient's thinking and personality.

297.1 Involutional paranoid state ((Involutional paraphrenia))

This paranoid psychosis is characterized by delusion formation with onset in the involutional period. Formerly it was classified as a paranoid variety of involutional psychotic reaction. The absence of conspicuous thought disorders typical of schizophrenia distinguishes it from that group.

297.9 Other paranoid state

This is a residual category for paranoid psychotic reactions not classified earlier.

298 Other psychoses**298.0 Psychotic depressive reaction** ((Reactive depressive psychosis))

This psychosis is distinguished by a depressive mood attributable to some experience. Ordinarily the individual has no history of repeated depressions or cyclothymic mood swings. The differentiation between this condition and *Depressive neurosis* (q.v.) depends on whether the reaction impairs reality testing or functional adequacy enough to be considered a psychosis. (In DSM-I this condition was included with the affective psychoses.)

[298.1 Reactive excitation]**[298.2 Reactive confusion]****[Acute or subacute confusional state]****[298.3 Acute paranoid reaction]****[298.9 Reactive psychosis, unspecified]****[299 Unspecified psychosis]****[Dementia, insanity or psychosis not otherwise specified]**

This is not a diagnosis but is listed here for librarians and statisticians to use in coding incomplete diagnoses. Clinicians are

expected to complete a differential diagnosis for patients who manifest features of several psychoses.

IV. NEUROSES (300)**300 Neuroses**

Anxiety is the chief characteristic of the neuroses. It may be felt and expressed directly, or it may be controlled unconsciously and automatically by conversion, displacement and various other psychological mechanisms. Generally, these mechanisms produce symptoms experienced as subjective distress from which the patient desires relief.

The neuroses, as contrasted to the psychoses, manifest neither gross distortion or misinterpretation of external reality, nor gross personality disorganization. A possible exception to this is hysterical neurosis, which some believe may occasionally be accompanied by hallucinations and other symptoms encountered in psychoses.

Traditionally, neurotic patients, however severely handicapped by their symptoms, are not classified as psychotic because they are aware that their mental functioning is disturbed.

300.0 Anxiety neurosis

This neurosis is characterized by anxious over-concern extending to panic and frequently associated with somatic symptoms. Unlike *Phobic neurosis* (q.v.), anxiety may occur under any circumstances and is not restricted to specific situations or objects. This disorder must be distinguished from normal apprehension or fear, which occurs in realistically dangerous situations.

300.1 Hysterical neurosis

This neurosis is characterized by an involuntary psychogenic loss or disorder of function. Symptoms characteristically begin and end suddenly in emotionally charged situations and are symbolic of the underlying conflicts. Often they can be modified by suggestion alone.

This is a new diagnosis that encompasses the former diagnoses "Conversion reaction" and "Dissociative reaction" in DSM-I. This distinction between conversion and dissociative reactions should be preserved by using one of the following diagnoses whenever possible.

300.13* Hysterical neurosis, conversion type*

In the conversion type, the special senses or voluntary nervous system are affected, causing such symptoms as blindness, deafness,

anosmia, anaesthesia, paraesthesia, paralyses, ataxias, akinesias, and dyskinesias. Often the patient shows an inappropriate lack of concern or *belie indifference* about these symptoms, which may actually provide secondary gains by winning him sympathy or relieving him of unpleasant responsibilities. This type of hysterical neurosis must be distinguished from psychophysiological disorders, which are mediated by the autonomic nervous system; from malinger, which is done consciously; and from neurological lesions, which cause anatomically circumscribed symptoms.

300.14* Hysterical neurosis, dissociative type*

In the dissociative type, alterations may occur in the patient's state of consciousness or in his identity, to produce such symptoms as amnesia, somnambulism, fugue, and multiple personality.

300.2 Phobic neurosis

This condition is characterized by intense fear of an object or situation which the patient consciously recognizes as no real danger to him. His apprehension may be experienced as faintness, fatigue, palpitations, perspiration, nausea, tremor, and even panic. Phobias are generally attributed to fears displaced to the phobic object or situation from some other object of which the patient is unaware. A wide range of phobias has been described.

300.3 Obsessive compulsive neurosis

This disorder is characterized by the persistent intrusion of unwanted thoughts, urges, or actions that the patient is unable to stop. The thoughts may consist of single words or ideas, ruminations, or trains of thought often perceived by the patient as nonsensical. The actions vary from simple movements to complex rituals such as repeated handwashing. Anxiety and distress are often present either if the patient is prevented from completing his compulsive ritual or if he is concerned about being unable to control it himself.

300.4 Depressive neurosis

This disorder is manifested by an excessive reaction of depression due to an internal conflict or to an identifiable event such as the loss of a love object or cherished possession. It is to be distinguished from *Involitional melancholia* (q.v.) and *Manic-depressive illness* (q.v.). *Reactive depressions* or *Depressive reactions* are to be classified here.

300.5 Neurotic neurosis ((Neurasthenia))

This condition is characterized by complaints of chronic weakness,

easy fatigability, and sometimes exhaustion. Unlike hysterical neurosis the patient's complaints are genuinely distressing to him and there is no evidence of secondary gain. It differs from *Anxiety neurosis* (q.v.) and from the *Psychophysiological disorders* (q.v.) in the nature of the predominant complaint. It differs from *Depressive neurosis* (q.v.) in the moderateness of the depression and in the chronicity of its course. (In DSM-I this condition was called "Psychophysiological nervous system reaction.")

300.6 Depersonalization neurosis ((Depersonalization syndrome))

This syndrome is dominated by a feeling of unreality and of estrangement from the self, body, or surroundings. This diagnosis should not be used if the condition is part of some other mental disorder, such as an acute situational reaction. A brief experience of depersonalization is not necessarily a symptom of illness.

300.7 Hypochondriacal neurosis

This condition is dominated by preoccupation with the body and with fear of presumed diseases of various organs. Though the fears are not of delusional quality as in psychotic depressions, they persist despite reassurance. The condition differs from hysterical neurosis in that there are no actual losses or distortions of function.

300.8 Other neurosis

This classification includes specific psychoneurotic disorders not classified elsewhere such as "writer's cramp" and other occupational neuroses. Clinicians should not use this category for patients with "mixed" neuroses, which should be diagnosed according to the predominant symptom.

[300.9 Unspecified neurosis]

This category is not a diagnosis. It is for the use of record librarians and statisticians to code incomplete diagnoses.

V. PERSONALITY DISORDERS AND CERTAIN OTHER NON-PSYCHOTIC MENTAL DISORDERS (301—304)

301 Personality disorders

This group of disorders is characterized by deeply ingrained maladaptive patterns of behavior that are perceptibly different in quality from psychotic and neurotic symptoms. Generally, these are life-long patterns, often recognizable by the time of adolescence or earlier. Sometimes the

pattern is determined primarily by malfunctioning of the brain, but such cases should be classified under one of the non-psychotic organic brain syndromes rather than here. (In DSM-I "Personality Disorders" also included disorders now classified under *Sexual deviation*, *Alcoholism*, and *Drug dependence*.)

301.0 Paranoid personality

This behavioral pattern is characterized by hypersensitivity, rigidity, unwarranted suspicion, jealousy, envy, excessive self-importance, and a tendency to blame others and ascribe evil motives to them. These characteristics often interfere with the patient's ability to maintain satisfactory interpersonal relations. Of course, the presence of suspicion of itself does not justify this diagnosis, since the suspicion may be warranted in some instances.

301.1 Cyclothymic personality ((Affective personality))

This behavior pattern is manifested by recurring and alternating periods of depression and elation. Periods of elation may be marked by ambition, warmth, enthusiasm, optimism, and high energy. Periods of depression may be marked by worry, pessimism, low energy, and a sense of futility. These mood variations are not readily attributable to external circumstances. If possible, the diagnosis should specify whether the mood is characteristically depressed, hypomanic, or alternating.

301.2 Schizoid personality

This behavior pattern manifests shyness, over-sensitivity, seclusiveness, avoidance of close or competitive relationships, and often eccentricity. Autistic thinking without loss of capacity to recognize reality is common, as is daydreaming and the inability to express hostility and ordinary aggressive feelings. These patients react to disturbing experiences and conflicts with apparent detachment.

301.3 Explosive personality (Epileptoid personality disorder)

This behavior pattern is characterized by gross outbursts of rage or of verbal or physical aggressiveness. These outbursts are strikingly different from the patient's usual behavior, and he may be regretful and repentant for them. These patients are generally considered excitable, aggressive and over-responsive to environmental pressures. It is the intensity of the outbursts and the individual's inability to control them which distinguishes this group. Cases diagnosed as "aggressive personality" are classified here. If the patient is amnesic

for the outbursts, the diagnosis of *Hysterical neurosis*, *Non-psychotic OBS with epilepsy* or *Psychosis with epilepsy* should be considered.

301.4 Obsessive compulsive personality ((Anankastic personality))

This behavior pattern is characterized by excessive concern with conformity and adherence to standards of conscience. Consequently, individuals in this group may be rigid, over-inhibited, over-conscientious, over-dutyful, and unable to relax easily. This disorder may lead to an *Obsessive compulsive neurosis* (q.v.), from which it must be distinguished.

301.5 Hysterical personality (Histrionic personality disorder)

These behavior patterns are characterized by excitability, emotional instability, over-reactivity, and self-dramatization. This self-dramatization is always attention-seeking and often seductive, whether or not the patient is aware of its purpose. These personalities are also immature, self-centered, often vain, and usually dependent on others. This disorder must be differentiated from *Hysterical neurosis* (q.v.).

301.6 Asthenic personality

This behavior pattern is characterized by easy fatigability, low energy level, lack of enthusiasm, marked incapacity for enjoyment, and oversensitivity to physical and emotional stress. This disorder must be differentiated from *Neuroasthenic neurosis* (q.v.).

301.7 Antisocial personality

This term is reserved for individuals who are basically unsocialized and whose behavior pattern brings them repeatedly into conflict with society. They are incapable of significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values. They are grossly selfish, callous, irresponsible, impulsive, and unable to feel guilt or to learn from experience and punishment. Frustration tolerance is low. They tend to blame others or offer plausible rationalizations for their behavior. A mere history of repeated legal or social offenses is not sufficient to justify this diagnosis. *Group delinquent reaction of childhood (or adolescence)* (q.v.), and *Social maladjustment without manifest psychiatric disorder* (q.v.) should be ruled out before making this diagnosis.

301.81* Passive-aggressive personality*

This behavior pattern is characterized by both passivity and aggressiveness. The aggressiveness may be expressed passively, for example by obstructionism, pouting, procrastination, intentional in-

efficiency, or stubbornness. This behavior commonly reflects hostility which the individual feels he dare not express openly. Often the behavior is one expression of the patient's resentment at failing to find gratification in a relationship with an individual or institution upon which he is over-dependent.

301.82* Inadequate personality*

This behavior pattern is characterized by ineffectual responses to emotional, social, intellectual and physical demands. While the patient seems neither physically nor mentally deficient, he does manifest inadaptability, ineptness, poor judgment, social instability, and lack of physical and emotional stamina.

301.89* Other personality disorders of specified types (Immature personality, Passive-dependent personality, etc.)*

301.9 [Unspecified personality disorder]

302 Sexual deviations

This category is for individuals whose sexual interests are directed primarily toward objects other than people of the opposite sex, toward sexual acts not usually associated with coitus, or toward coitus performed under bizarre circumstances as in necrophilia, pedophilia, sexual sadism, and fetishism. Even though many find their practices distasteful, they remain unable to substitute normal sexual behavior for them. This diagnosis is not appropriate for individuals who perform deviant sexual acts because normal sexual objects are not available to them.

302.0 Homosexuality

302.1 Fetishism

302.2 Pedophilia

302.3 Transvestitism

302.4 Exhibitionism

302.5* Voyeurism*

302.6* Sadism*

302.7* Masochism*

302.8 Other sexual deviation

[302.9 Unspecified sexual deviation]

303 Alcoholism

This category is for patients whose alcohol intake is great enough to damage their physical health, or their personal or social functioning, or when it has become a prerequisite to normal functioning. If the alcoholism is due to another mental disorder, both diagnoses should be made. The following types of alcoholism are recognized:

303.0 Episodic excessive drinking

If alcoholism is present and the individual becomes intoxicated as frequently as four times a year, the condition should be classified here. Intoxication is defined as a state in which the individual's coordination or speech is definitely impaired or his behavior is clearly altered.

303.1 Habitual excessive drinking

This diagnosis is given to persons who are alcoholic and who either become intoxicated more than 12 times a year or are recognizably under the influence of alcohol more than once a week, even though not intoxicated.

303.2 Alcohol addiction

This condition should be diagnosed when there is direct or strong presumptive evidence that the patient is dependent on alcohol. If available, the best direct evidence of such dependence is the appearance of withdrawal symptoms. The inability of the patient to go one day without drinking is presumptive evidence. When heavy drinking continues for three months or more it is reasonable to presume addiction to alcohol has been established.

303.9 Other [and unspecified] alcoholism

304 Drug dependence

This category is for patients who are addicted to or dependent on drugs other than alcohol, tobacco, and ordinary caffeine-containing beverages. Dependence on medically prescribed drugs is also excluded so long as the drug is medically indicated and the intake is proportionate to the medical need. The diagnosis requires evidence of habitual use or a clear sense of need for the drug. Withdrawal symptoms are not the only evidence of dependence; while always present when opium derivatives are withdrawn, they may be entirely absent when cocaine or marijuanna are withdrawn. The diagnosis may stand alone or be coupled with any other diagnosis.

304.0 Drug dependence, opium, opium alkaloids and their derivatives

304.1 Drug dependence, synthetic analgesics with morphine-like effects

304.2 Drug dependence, barbiturates

304.3 Drug dependence, other hypnotics and sedatives or "tranquillizers"

304.4 Drug dependence, cocaine

304.5 Drug dependence, Cannabis sativa (hashish, marihuana)

304.6 Drug dependence, other psycho-stimulants (amphetamines, etc.)

304.7 Drug dependence, hallucinogens

304.8 Other drug dependence

[304.9 Unspecified drug dependence]

VI. PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGIC DISORDERS (305)

305 Psychophysiological disorders (Physical disorders of presumably psychogenic origin.)

This group of disorders is characterized by physical symptoms that are caused by emotional factors and involve a single organ system, usually under autonomic nervous system innervation. The physiological changes involved are those that normally accompany certain emotional states, but in these disorders the changes are more intense and sustained. The individual may not be consciously aware of his emotional state. If there is an additional psychiatric disorder, it should be diagnosed separately, whether or not it is presumed to contribute to the physical disorder. The specific physical disorder should be named and classified in one of the following categories.

305.0 Psychophysiologic skin disorder

This diagnosis applies to skin reactions such as neurodermatosis, pruritis, atopic dermatitis, and hyperhydrosis in which emotional factors play a causative role.

305.1 Psychophysiologic musculoskeletal disorder

This diagnosis applies to musculoskeletal disorders such as backache,

muscle cramps, and myalgias, and tension headaches in which emotional factors play a causative role. Differentiation from hysterical neurosis is of prime importance and at times extremely difficult.

305.2 Psychophysiologic respiratory disorder

This diagnosis applies to respiratory disorders such as bronchial asthma, hyperventilation syndromes, sighing, and hiccoughs in which emotional factors play a causative role.

305.3 Psychophysiologic cardiovascular disorder

This diagnosis applies to cardiovascular disorders such as paroxysmal tachycardia, hypertension, vascular spasms, and migraine in which emotional factors play a causative role.

305.4 Psychophysiologic hemic and lymphatic disorder

Here may be included any disturbances in the hemic and lymphatic system in which emotional factors are found to play a causative role. ICD-8 has included this category so that all organ systems will be covered.

305.5 Psychophysiologic gastro-intestinal disorder

This diagnosis applies to specific types of gastrointestinal disorders such as peptic ulcer, chronic gastritis, ulcerative or mucous colitis, constipation, hyperacidity, pylorospasm, "heartburn," and "irritable colon" in which emotional factors play a causative role.

305.6 Psychophysiologic genito-urinary disorder

This diagnosis applies to genito-urinary disorders such as disturbances in menstruation and micturition, dyspareunia, and impotence in which emotional factors play a causative role.

305.7 Psychophysiologic endocrine disorder

This diagnosis applies to endocrine disorders in which emotional factors play a causative role. The disturbance should be specified.

305.8 Psychophysiologic disorder of organ of special sense

This diagnosis applies to any disturbance in the organs of special sense in which emotional factors play a causative role. Conversion reactions are excluded.

305.9 Psychophysiologic disorder of other type

VII. SPECIAL SYMPTOMS (306)

306 Special symptoms not elsewhere classified

This category is for the occasional patient whose psychopathology is

manifested by a single specific symptom. An example might be anorexia nervosa under *Feeding disturbance* as listed below. It does not apply, however, if the symptom is the result of an organic illness or defect or other mental disorder. For example, anorexia nervosa due to schizophrenia would not be included here.

306.0 Speech disturbance

306.1 Specific learning disturbance

306.2 Tic

306.3 Other psychomotor disorder

306.4 Disorder of sleep

306.5 Feeding disturbance

306.6 Enuresis

306.7 Encopresis

306.8 Cephalgia

306.9 Other special symptom

VIII. TRANSIENT SITUATIONAL DISTURBANCES (307)

307* Transient situational disturbances¹

This major category is reserved for more or less transient disorders of any severity (including those of psychotic proportions) that occur in individuals without any apparent underlying mental disorders and that represent an acute reaction to overwhelming environmental stress. A diagnosis in this category should specify the cause and manifestations of the disturbance so far as possible. If the patient has good adaptive capacity his symptoms usually recede as the stress diminishes. If, however, the symptoms persist after the stress is removed, the diagnosis of another mental disorder is indicated. Disorders in this category are classified according to the patient's developmental stage as follows:

307.0* Adjustment reaction of infancy*

Example: A grief reaction associated with separation from patient's mother, manifested by crying spells, loss of appetite and severe social withdrawal.

307.1* Adjustment reaction of childhood*

Example: Jealousy associated with birth of patient's younger brother and manifested by nocturnal enuresis, attention-getting behavior, and fear of being abandoned.

307.2* Adjustment reaction of adolescence*

Example: Irritability and depression associated with school failure and manifested by temper outbursts, brooding and discouragement.

307.3* Adjustment reaction of adult life*

Example: Resentment with depressive tone associated with an unwanted pregnancy and manifested by hostile complaints and suicidal gestures.

Example: Fear associated with military combat and manifested by trembling, running and hiding.

Example: A Ganser syndrome associated with death sentence and manifested by incorrect but approximate answers to questions.

307.4* Adjustment reaction of late life*

Example: Feelings of rejection associated with forced retirement and manifested by social withdrawal.

IX. BEHAVIOR DISORDERS OF CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE (308)

308* Behavior disorders of childhood and adolescence ((Behavior disorders of childhood))²

This major category is reserved for disorders occurring in childhood and adolescence that are more stable, internalized, and resistant to

¹ The terms included under DSM-II Category 307*, "Transient situational disturbances," differ from those in Category 307 of the ICD. DSM-II Category 307*, "Transient situational disturbances," contains adjustment reactions of infancy (307.0*), childhood (307.1*), adolescence (307.2*), adult life (307.3*), and late life (307.4*). ICD Category 307, "Transient situational disturbances," includes only the adjustment reactions of adolescence, adult life and late life. ICD 308, "Behavioral disorders of children," contains the reactions of infancy and childhood. These differences must be taken into account in preparing statistical tabulations to conform to ICD categories.

² The terms included under DSM-II Category 308*, "Behavioral disorders of childhood and adolescence," differ from those in Category 308 of the ICD. DSM-II Category 308* includes "Behavioral disorders of childhood and adolescence," whereas ICD Category 308 includes only "Behavioral disorders of childhood." DSM-II Category 308* does not include "Adjustment reactions of infancy and childhood," whereas ICD Category 308 does. In the DSM-II classification, "Adjustment reactions of infancy and childhood" are allocated to 307* (Transitional situational disturbances). These differences should be taken into account in preparing statistical tabulations to conform to the ICD categories.

treatment than *Transient situational disturbances* (q.v.) but less so than *Psychoses*, *Neuroses*, and *Personality disorders* (q.v.). This intermediate stability is attributed to the greater fluidity of all behavior at this age. Characteristic manifestations include such symptoms as overactivity, inattentiveness, shyness, feeling of rejection, over-aggressiveness, timidity, and delinquency.

308.0* Hyperkinetic reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

This disorder is characterized by overactivity, restlessness, distractibility, and short attention span, especially in young children; the behavior usually diminishes in adolescence. If this behavior is caused by organic brain damage, it should be diagnosed under the appropriate non-psychotic *organic brain syndrome* (q.v.).

308.1* Withdrawing reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

This disorder is characterized by seclusiveness, detachment, sensitivity, shyness, timidity, and general inability to form close interpersonal relationships. This diagnosis should be reserved for those who cannot be classified as having *Schizophrenia* (q.v.) and whose tendencies toward withdrawal have not yet stabilized enough to justify the diagnosis of *Schizoid personality* (q.v.).

308.2* Overanxious reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

This disorder is characterized by chronic anxiety, excessive and unrealistic fears, sleeplessness, nightmares, and exaggerated autonomic responses. The patient tends to be immature, self-conscious, grossly lacking in self-confidence, conforming, inhibited, dutiful, approval-seeking, and apprehensive in new situations and unfamiliar surroundings. It is to be distinguished from *Neuroses* (q.v.).

308.3* Runaway reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

Individuals with this disorder characteristically escape from threatening situations by running away from home for a day or more without permission. Typically they are immature and timid, and feel rejected at home, inadequate, and friendless. They often steal furtively.

308.4* Unsocialized aggressive reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

This disorder is characterized by overt or covert hostile disobedience, quarrelosomeness, physical and verbal aggressiveness, vengefulness, and destructiveness. Temper tantrums, solitary stealing, lying, and

hostile teasing of other children are common. These patients usually have no consistent parental acceptance and discipline. This diagnosis should be distinguished from *Antisocial personality* (q.v.), *Runaway reaction of childhood (or adolescence)* (q.v.), and *Group delinquent reaction of childhood (or adolescence)* (q.v.).

308.5* Group delinquent reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

Individuals with this disorder have acquired the values, behavior, and skills of a delinquent peer group or gang to whom they are loyal and with whom they characteristically steal, skip school, and stay out late at night. The condition is more common in boys than girls. When group delinquency occurs with girls it usually involves sexual delinquency, although shoplifting is also common.

308.9* Other reaction of childhood (or adolescence)*

Here are to be classified children and adolescents having disorders not described in this group but which are nevertheless more serious than transient situational disturbances and less serious than psychoses, neuroses, and personality disorders. The particular disorder should be specified.

X. CONDITIONS WITHOUT MANIFEST PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER AND NON-SPECIFIC CONDITIONS (316*—318*)

316* Social maladjustments without manifest psychiatric disorder

This category is for recording the conditions of individuals who are psychiatrically normal but who nevertheless have severe enough problems to warrant examination by a psychiatrist. These conditions may either become or precipitate a diagnosable mental disorder.

316.0* Marital maladjustment*

This category is for individuals who are psychiatrically normal but who have significant conflicts or maladjustments in marriage.

316.1* Social maladjustment*

This category is for individuals thrown into an unfamiliar culture (culture shock) or into a conflict arising from divided loyalties to two cultures.

316.2* Occupational maladjustment*

This category is for psychiatrically normal individuals who are grossly maladjusted in their work.

316.3* Dyssocial behavior*

This category is for individuals who are not classifiable as anti-social personalities, but who are predatory and follow more or less criminal pursuits, such as racketeers, dishonest gamblers, prostitutes, and dope peddlers. (DSM-I classified this condition as "Sociopathic personality disorder, dyssocial type.")

316.9* Other social maladjustment***317* Non-specific conditions***

This category is for conditions that cannot be classified under any of the previous categories, even after all facts bearing on the case have been investigated. This category is not for "Diagnosis deferred" (q.v.).

318* No mental disorder*

This term is used when, following psychiatric examination, none of the previous disorders is found. It is not to be used for patients whose disorders are in remission.

**XI. NON-DIAGNOSTIC TERMS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE USE
(319*)****319* Non-diagnostic terms for administrative use*****319.0* Diagnosis deferred*****319.1* Boarder*****319.2* Experiment only*****319.9* Other***

Socarides, S. "Homosexuality and Medicine", 1968

Homosexuality and Medicine

Charles W. Socarides, MD

Homosexuality is a medical disorder which has reached epidemiologic proportions; its frequency of incidence surpasses that of the recognized major illnesses in the nation. Homosexuality may be classified in two categories: obligatory (true) homosexuality and episodic homosexual behavior. It is essential to differentiate carefully between these types in order to determine the significance of the disorder, its treatment, and its prognosis. This condition is not innate or inborn but is an acquired, learned maladaptation arising from faulty gender identity in the earliest stages of life. Only massive childhood fears can damage and disrupt the standard male-female pattern and ultimately lead to the later development of obligatory homosexuality.

The issue of homosexuality is dominated by emotional thinking which can not help but generate confusion, fear, and rage. These charged attitudes, at first individual, have become widespread throughout the community¹ and compound the difficulties in dealing with this major health problem.

Homosexuality, overt but also covert, upsets us. Polls have shown that the majority of the public still favors legal punishment for homosexual acts even if performed in private; homosexuality is considered more harmful to society than adultery and even than abortion with its actual threat to life.² In our culture the very thought of effeminacy in the male is tremendously disturbing.

The historical evidence of the practice of homosexuality from earliest recorded times has led to grave

misconceptions. One can often discern in the homosexual a feeling that if this condition has been extant over so many centuries what hope is there for him? Surely his fate is sealed. This defeatism infiltrates the public and unfortunately influences our laws and our scientific objectivity. Rather than assume that homosexuality, like poverty, is an inevitable component of the human condition it better behoves us to acknowledge that homosexuality is a form of mental illness which has not yet been adequately studied by those who are best trained to investigate and treat it. Reports on therapeutic outcome, in this country and elsewhere, have changed the clinical prognosis from an essentially pessimistic one to one in which at least one third of lifelong, exclusively homosexual patients can become exclusively heterosexual.^{3,5}

Attempts to obfuscate the fact that homosexuality is a medical problem have not been met head on by those most qualified to clarify the situation.

Only in the consultation room does the homosexual reveal himself and his world. No other data, statistics, or statements can be accepted as setting forth the true nature of homosexuality. All other sources may be heavily weighted by face-saving devices or rationalizations or, if they issue from lay bodies, lack the scientific and medical background to support their views. The best that can be said for the well-intentioned but unqualified observer is that he is misguided because he does not have and can not apply those techniques which would make it possible to discern the deep underlying clinical disorder or to evaluate the emotional patterns and interpersonal events in the life of a homosexual.

There are many doctors who, by ignoring and disregarding homosexuality, hope to render it invisible and nonexistent. To acknowledge it would be tantamount, they fear, to permitting it. In my opinion, part of medicine's neglect has been due not only to uncertainty concerning etiology, treatment, and prognosis but also that acceptance of homosexuality as a medical disorder alongside all other medical disorders has been unconsciously and consciously perceived by us as tantamount to being in favor of it, encouraging it, and perhaps endorsing it, thereby putting us in direct conflict with established standards of human conduct. This I have discovered is the current status of the problem of homosexuality on the part of many colleagues in the medical profession in respect to a dread dysfunction, malignant in character, which has risen to epidemiologic proportions. Exact statistics on homosexual practices are understandably difficult to compile;

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a conservative estimate is that between 2,500,000 and 4,000,000 adult American males suffer from this condition. By way of comparison, a Public Health Service report estimates the four major illnesses in this country (1963 to 1965) as: heart disease, 3,619,000; arthritis and rheumatism, 3,481,000; impairment (except paralysis) of the back and spine, 1,769,000; mental and nervous disease, 1,767,000.

The female homosexual finds herself in a paradoxical situation. Although suffering in essence with the same disorder as her male counterpart, little concern has been manifest by either the medical or legal professions about her condition. She too, however, needs special medical, legal, and sociological consideration.

Many writers prefer to use the term "lesbianism" to describe the clinical condition of female homosexuality. This reflects an attempt to romanticize and minimize it. Homosexual relations between women are often considered superficial and some sources do not regard female homosexual contacts as sexual at all despite intense orgasmic experiences between the women involved. Nevertheless, their plight is as grave if not more so than that of the male homosexuals. For example, the loss of a homosexual partner can lead the bereft female homosexual to severe depressions and suicide with greater frequency than in the male.

I have dealt intensively with the illnesses diagnosed as perversions,⁷⁻¹⁵ especially with homosexuality, for the past 15 years—both in clinical practice and in teaching. Our first step is to ask ourselves "What is a homosexual?" In essence, a homosexual is a person who consistently and from inner necessity engages in homosexual acts. This pattern arises from faulty sexual identity, a product of the earliest years of life. Typically, we find a pathological family constellation in which there is a domineering, crushing mother who will not allow the developing child to

achieve autonomy from her and an absent, weak, or rejecting father.

There are two categories of homosexuality: obligatory (true) homosexuality and episodic homosexual behavior. The latter is characterized by isolated homosexual acts without the stereotypy, the compulsion, of the former and is due to the conscious desire for variational experience, the achievement of "special gains," such as power and prestige, or the quest for unusual sensations. Such transient behavior may occur in specific situations as well; it may be rampant in prisons, remote settlements, or during other types of confinement where persons of the opposite sex are not available. Except for those already predisposed to homosexuality through early psychological trauma, the individual reverts to heterosexual behavior when members of the opposite sex are again available. Current research points to the fact that a person does not become a true obligatory homosexual if the initial design is not laid out by 3 years of age, that is, during the preoedipal period of development.

There is a high incidence of paranoia or paranoid-like symptomatology in overt homosexuals. This is related to the medical fact that overt obligatory homosexuality is either a fixation or regression to the earliest stages of ego development. As a result, archaic and primitive mental mechanisms belonging to the earliest stages of life characterize the homosexual's behavior. Also, homosexuality, obligatory or not, can be seen in the schizophrenic in his frantic attempt to establish some vestige of object relations as an expression of the fragmented and disorganized psychic apparatus with which he has to struggle.

It is misleading to classify homosexuality as a sociopathic disorder. Not all homosexuals or perhaps even a majority display the "absence of conscience" mechanism so characteristic of the so-called psychopath.

The compulsion of the sexual expression, its insistence for expression despite all dangers to the contrary and all risks, gives the appearance that one does not care about established social institutions or about oneself. The annals of political history include personalities at the very highest levels, men with an exceptionally well-developed sense of public and social good, who have experienced the tragic consequences of their homosexual illness.

This communication is concerned only with obligatory homosexuality which is reparative in nature and occurs as a result of intolerable anxiety. The underlying pain and anguish, if added to the damage done to the family of the homosexual, produces dire consequences beyond the imagination of anyone not in a position to directly observe the intensity of the suffering. I ask you when you take a sexual history to respond with interest and compassion to efforts on the patient's part to communicate his shame and despair in the guilty revelation of behavior so demeaning and injurious to pride.

At this point we must make certain definitive statements gained from our clinical research and accumulated knowledge of the human psyche in health and in illness. The claim that homosexuality is simply a variant of normal sexual behavior and exists alongside heterosexuality as an equivalent expression of adult sexual maturation is utterly false:

1. True obligatory homosexuality is a form of psychiatric or emotional illness. After detailed exploration, the Committee on Public Health of the New York Academy of Medicine reported its findings that homosexuality is a mental disorder whose only effective treatment is psychotherapy. The committee, totaling 30 members, consisted of several deans of medical schools, prominent representatives of the medical specialties including six psychiatrists, the then commissioner of police of the city of New York as well as members of

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the judiciary. This 1964 report recognized homosexuality as an illness of social proportions, national significance, and serious portent.¹⁶

2. Homosexual object choice is not innate or instinctual nor is heterosexual object choice since both are learned behavior. The choice of sexual object is not predetermined by chromosomal tagging. Heterosexual object choice is determined from birth due to cultural and environmental indoctrination. It is supported by universal human concepts of mating and the family unit with the complementariness and contrast between the two sexes. It is further determined by 2½ billion years of human evolution and is a product of sexual differentiation, at first solely based on reproduction but later widened to include sexual gratification, e.g., from one-celled nonsexual fission the development of two-celled sexual reproduction to separate entire organ differentiation and finally to the development of separate individuals reciprocally adapted to each other anatomically, endocrinologically, psychologically, and in many other ways.

Only massive childhood fears can damage and disrupt the standard male-female pattern. Such early unconscious fears are responsible for the later development of homosexuality.

3. Homosexual behavior which is nonobligatory (episodic) is practiced by individuals through choice for a variety of motivations and should not be confused with true homosexuality. These motivations are as complex as any other motivations which may influence human behavior: personal gain, power, search for a variational experience (an extra sexual "thrill"), preferred status and position, etc. This form is not caused by unconscious fears and ensuing guilt but is due to conscious, deliberate choice. One must carefully differentiate between the obligatory and the nonobligatory as the latter type would like to mask

behind true homosexuality in order to save pride and justify its occurrence.

4. Since the obligatory homosexual is suffering from an illness it is obvious that he should not be penalized for the consequent activities carried out in private, not offensive to public decency, and in partnership with a consenting adult. He should not be made to suffer special penalties because of the manifestation of his illness so long as it is not accompanied by antisocial or criminal behavior.

The view that obligatory homosexuality per se is punishable by law and the view that it is, in fact, a medical problem are antithetical and this matter requires revision. However, any change in the legal code should be accompanied by a clear-cut statement as to the nature of obligatory homosexuality, its diagnosis as a form of mental illness, and a universal declaration of support for its treatment by qualified medical practitioners.

The Wolfenden report¹⁷ succeeded in having legislation passed in England redressing the inequities faced by the homosexual but it regrettably failed both the homosexual and the public by not making it explicit that homosexuality is an emotional illness and, therefore, lies within the province of medicine. One might have recommended this addition to the Wolfenden report:

Homosexuality is a form of emotional disorder which may cause such grave disruption to the equilibrium of the individual that all meaningful relationships in life are damaged from the outset and peculiarly susceptible to breakdown and destruction. Further, attitudes toward the opposite sex are so filled with distrust, abhorrence, hate, and revulsion as to render them impossible of any relationship except on the most superficial and brittle basis, if then. These characteristics are an outcome of childhood fears which cripple the individual in his total adaptation.

All male homosexuals suffer, paradoxically, from the yearning to be a

man, not a woman as commonly assumed. They hope to achieve a "shot" of masculinity in the homosexual act. Ostensibly they may behave in an affectionate and kindly way toward the sexual partner but this is a veneer, a rationalization, to cover the life-saving, ego-saving operation of obligatory homosexuality. The homosexual must carry out his act; unless he does he will suffer intolerable anxiety and experience massive threat to his psychic organization and functioning. Like the addict, he must have his "fix."

In the light of clinical research the homosexual symptom can be seen as an intricately designed defense whose purpose is to maintain the equilibrium of a severely disturbed individual. Tampering with his psyche by unqualified persons is to be condemned as he may become seriously disorganized if a premature attempt is made to interrupt his homosexual activities. Conversely, an individual, however impelled toward them, who has refrained from homosexual activities may be tragically pushed into them by unwise guidance.

5. There is no obligatory homosexual who can be considered to be healthy. The very existence of this condition precludes it. Despite the appearance at any given time of adequate life performance, there is always extreme conflict present which threatens to disrupt this fragile adjustment.

6. As obligatory homosexuality can not be considered to be a legal issue, so it can not be viewed as a problem of morality. As with psychosis and neurosis, it can not be regarded as a consequence of immorality or a manifestation of evil spirits occupying the body for which special tortures were devised and special legal punishment was exacted.

These misconceptions must be corrected. It would, however, be the utmost folly to remedy them and then dismiss or overlook the deep

psychological disturbance which is the basis of the homosexual condition. Some well-intentioned groups would have us not only do away with legal and moral issues but have us announce that homosexuals are not ill at all. They point to disturbances among heterosexuals and attempt to make a comparison. While the existence of psychosis and neurosis are, of course, found in heterosexuality, the heterosexual orientation is not, of itself, an indication of pathological condition while homosexuality always is. The inability to function heterosexually and the extreme hostility toward the opposite sex originating in the fear of one's impulses toward the mother has led to a wholesale flight from the female forever and to a compromise adaptation of choosing a male for sexual gratification and to save the self from intolerable anxiety.

We practice today in the atmosphere of a sweeping sexual revolution. Together with the mainstream heterosexual revolt has come the announcement that a homosexual revolution is also in progress and that homosexuality should be granted total acceptance as a valid form of sexual functioning, different from but equal to heterosexuality. Such acceptance of homosexuality, as being a simple variation of normality, is naïve, not to say grounded in ignorance. Equally misleading is the idea that it is merely an aspect of normal development, a transient stage of adolescence, without meaningful sequallae. That we, as physicians, could be persuaded to overlook such tendencies among our young people is a harmful fantasy as shown by the fact that colleges can be pressured to charter homosexual groups on campus with all the privileges of other scholastic and social organizations, thereby lending tacit approval.

The implications of such trends are profound. For the adolescent, they make him uncertain and confused. Even for an adult, struggling

to strengthen what may be a frail heterosexual organization, the vicissitudes of maintaining sexual adequacy may drive him into a self-despising homosexual pattern. He does not know how else to resolve the deep conflicts which have persisted and tortured him since early childhood. Homosexuality is a foredoomed attempt to find a panacea for the tormenting fear which originated in early childhood and like any unrealistic solution remains unsatisfactory at all times and disastrous much of the time.

It is vitally important to realize this fundamental point: the diagnosis of homosexuality can not be self-made, imposed by jurists, articulated by clergy, or speculated about by social scientists. True obligatory homosexuality is a complex condition and has to be differentiated from episodic homosexual behavior entered into for a variety of conscious motivations as stated.

If the homosexual is to be granted his human right as a medical patient, issues which becloud his status should be clarified. Above all, the homosexual must be recognized as an individual who presents a medical problem.

The whole issue of homosexuality must be transformed into one more scientific challenge to medicine which has time and again been able to alleviate the plaguing illnesses of man. With this respected leadership on the part of the physician, we will see a surge of support for the study and treatment of the disorder by all the techniques and knowledge available through the great resources and medical talent of the United States.

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