

# THE FREUDIAN GROUPS<sup>1</sup>

by

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## A kind of introduction

Before becoming a clinical discipline, psychoanalysis —psychic treatment or “talking cure”— is born in a laboratory group, the one of Professor Brücke in Vienna and emerges from the dialogue by correspondence and periodic congresses between two of the younger members, Freud and Fliess. To this day this group origin of psychoanalysis has not very much been taken into account. From 1992 onwards, there formed around Freud a small group of doctors with the intention of learning, practicing and spread his psychoanalysis. This group had a local character —Psychologische Mittwoch-Gesellschaft bei Prof. Freud— y was not to be called Psychoanalytic Society of Vienna until, when attracted by the reading of Freud’s works, come foreign visitors who in turn constitute Freudian groups and psychoanalytic societies in their places of origin. The psychoanalytic movement, initiated in Vienna by Freud, finds echo during the first decade of last century fundamentally in Europe. This is why we initiate the revision of the development of group analyses dedicating the second chapter of *The Group Method of Analysis* to the groups which gave it its origin, Freud’s groups.



On three occasions in his life Freud gave a detailed account of what, in his opinion, had been the development of psychoanalysis. The first one is with his five conferences in the Clark University (1909); the second is with “The History of the Movement” (1914), written in relation to his differences with Jung and with the objective of getting rid of him, and, finally, with a series of historical works and articles for the encyclopaedias between 1922 and 1926. The latter coincide with the turning point of psychoanalysis brought about by the structural theory and, on the personal level, the diagnosis of cancer and its consequences. In none of these accounts Freud

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recognises the importance the groups of origin and of reference to which he belonged could have had in this development. Once and again he insists that his discoveries have been made in conditions of absolute isolation —to which he refers as his decade of “splendid isolation”. The truth is that in this undertaking he never walked alone. He always counted with a close friend, with a colleague or a group of colleagues with whom to share his experiences and discuss his ideas. The first was his mentor and sponsor Josef Breuer to whom he gives due recognition. On the other hand, to his friend and contemporary Wilhelm Fliess and the small circle of followers of capital importance in the history of the psychoanalytical movement, Freud places them in that period. He silences the role played by Fliess between 1895 till 1902, the importance of the group of his first followers in Vienna from 1902 till 1906 and the existence of the secret group —the Committee of the Seven Rings— destined to govern the destiny of the psychoanalytical community from 1912 until its dissolution when it was openly incorporated in 1927 in the directory of the International Psychoanalytical Association. One can understand that one does not talk about the latter for political reasons, but what impedes Freud to recognise the existence of Fliess or the importance of the Vienna group? To our mind here is where repression is at work.

Commenting on his experience at Clark University, Freud said that in Europe he felt isolated under the effect of an anathema and, on the other hand, there he felt himself welcomed as an equal between those who he considered and respected most. When he stepped onto the dais at the University of Worcester he felt that “psychoanalysis stopped being an entity of reason, being converted in a valuable reality. At that moment these distinguished listeners occupied the place of his Ego Ideal, a place very similar, for sure, to the one represented by the Laboratory of Physiology of Brücke. With identical words he says of the latter: “At last... [there, in the Laboratory] I found peace and satisfaction —and also men I respected and took as models; the very same great Brücke and his adjuncts Sigmund Exner and Ernst von Fleischl-Marxow.”

In the second of his conferences in Worcester, he recurs to a simile for illustrating the fact of repression: “Suppose that in this lecture room and in the audience which listens to me, of whom I never sufficiently praise their silence and attention, there is an individual who behaved disturbingly and who with his laughs, exclamations and movements distraught my attention from carrying out my commitment to the point of being obliged to say that in this way I could not continue my conference. Hearing this, the spectators get up and after a short fight throw the agitator out of the room, who, in this way, is expelled or “repressed”, and I can resume my discourse. What is more, so that the disturbance does not repeat itself in case that the expelled tries to enter again, various of the men who had executed my wishes remain at the door keeping watch, this way constituting a “resistance” subsequent to the “repression” which had taken place. If we call the “conscious” this room and the “unconscious” what is behind these doors, then we have a pretty precise image of the process of repression”.<sup>4</sup>

According to Freud (1914)<sup>5</sup>, the theory of repression, is the cornerstone of his whole analytic method, it is based on facts of observation and not on theoretical speculations. This is the main criteria to differentiate his position from the ones upheld by Jung and Adler. In “The History of the Movement» he makes this point explicit: “It can, therefore, be said that the psychoanalytic theory is an attempt of making

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<sup>4</sup> Ballesteros II, p. 1542.

<sup>5</sup> Ballesteros III, p.1900 “El Movimiento...”

comprehensible two facts, transference and resistance, which arise in a singular and unexpected when trying to refer the pathological symptoms of a neurotic to their sources in his life. All investigation that recognizes these two facts and takes them as a starting point of its work, can be called psychoanalysis, even when it arrives at different results to mine. More over, who attacks other aspects of the problem and rejects the two premises mentioned, will not escape the reproach of usurpation of property with attempt at plagiarism if they persist in referring to themselves as psychoanalytical.” (The underlined is ours)

## **Institutional resistances**

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Group analysis does not pretend to call itself psychoanalysis neither limit itself to referring the symptoms only to the sources in the individual's life, but even though repression continues to be the cornerstone of analysis. Trigant Burrow and S. H. Foulkes were always very careful in not referring to their methods as psychoanalytical. In groups the resistance to make conscious what is unconscious and the transference to repeat in the here and now of the group situation what belongs to the then and there of a group, a cultural community or the whole of humanity, manifests itself in a different way. According to Foulkes, from who we take the concept of social unconscious, the repressed in the group is that which cannot be said<sup>6</sup>. This is true and applies to analytic situations programmed for therapeutic ends, or of investigation in the typical small group-analytic group described by Foulkes, or in the medium or large groups conceptualized later by Pat de Maré. To transpose this concept to a group understanding of life itself as it has been related or is being lived, makes that repression manifests itself in that which is minimized, denied or forgotten, even when this is done deliberately and provoked for political reasons.

The simile used by Freud in Worcester to explain repression is curious as well as foreboding. In this, Freud, spokesman of the repressed unconscious, is converted into the repressing agent of those who disturb what he is saying. In other words, their interpretation of the personal unconscious transforms him into repressor of the social unconscious, on this occasion of a concrete scientific group and, otherwise, as «resistances to psychoanalysis» of the whole humanity.<sup>7</sup> Naturally, Freud, when appealing to this simile, is not aware of the authoritarianism of his position, a fact worth highlighting since it is becoming conscious of this position of the psychoanalyst which takes Trigant Burrow to adopt his group method of analysis. This is a particular case of unconscious resistances to analysis which group analysis has put in evidence and which we have called institutional resistance.<sup>8</sup>

In each one of these accounts, Freud keeps in mind the audience as well as his objectives at that moment. Independent of the circumstances in his technique of exposition, Freud always differentiates the internal development of psychoanalysis — that of his theory and technique— from what he calls its external destinations —that of

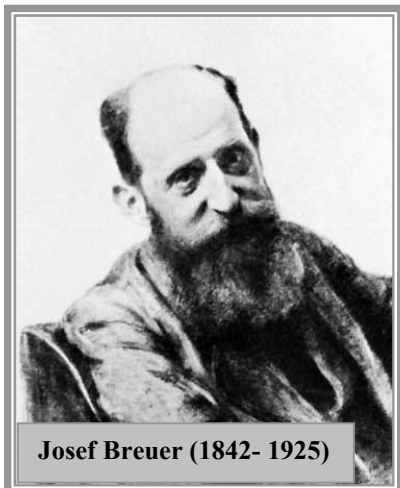
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<sup>6</sup> Foulkes quoted by Malcolm Pines in one of his articles.

<sup>7</sup> In 1925 his “Self-Portrait” is complemented this same year with his paper on “Resistances in Psychoanalysis”.

<sup>8</sup> Juan Campos, at the European Symposium of Group Analysis in 1981 in Rome with his “Training to resist, learning not to change: The greatest disappointment of Freud in analysis” started a train of thought which lead to formulating the concept of “institutional resistance” of Freudian psychoanalysis.

implantation in different cultures and application to other disciplines. In some occasions he puts more emphasis on the development and the evolution of his ideas and publications while in others he puts it on people and groups of people that adhere to or oppose them. Sometimes he relates the beginning of psychoanalysis to the giving up of hypnosis and the publication of «Studies on Hysteria» with Breuer (1895) and the definitive separation from him in 1896: “During more than ten years, starting with my separation from Breuer, I didn't have a single follower, being completely isolated. In Vienna I was avoided and abroad one didn't have any news of me.”



Josef Breuer (1842- 1925)

On other occasions he would make it coincide rather with the publication of the book of dreams (1900) or with the social repercussion in terms of people who had read it and were willing to become his followers. He never gives up the principal enunciated in 1923<sup>9</sup> that the history of psychoanalysis must begin with the description of the influences that preceded its genesis and times and states previous to its creation should not be overlooked. He always remains faithful to and never forgets Breuer, however important their disagreements would be later. In Worcester (1909) he arrives at the extreme of attributing to him the paternity of psychoanalysis. His arch-enemies Wilhelm Stekel, Alfred Adler or Carl Jung to who his «History of the

Movement» (1914) is directed, not even to then he denies existence. The only one to whom he denies it is to Fliess.

## **Fliess, Freud's "only audience"**

Freud always considers «The Interpretation of the Dreams» (1899) as the most important of his works. “*Insights like this one has only once in a lifetime*”, he writes in the foreword of the third edition, and in «The History...» (1914) we read: “The interpretation of dreams was for me a comfort and a support in those first difficult years when, having to dominate simultaneously the technique, the clinic and the therapy of the neuroses, I was completely isolated... My own analysis, whose necessity soon became evident to me, I carried out with the help of a series of my own dreams which took me through all the events of my infantile years, and still today I maintain the opinion that, being a frequent dreamer and not too abnormal, this type of analysis can suffice.” (1914, Ballesteros II, p.1903).

His own analysis, however, in the period he refers to, he did not only realise it with the aid of his dreams but also with relating them to Fliess, reason for which many of his biographers grant him the function of the analyst of Freud. It is clear that if the free

<sup>9</sup> S. Freud (1923): “*Outline of Psychoanalysis*”. This paper appears in an English translation by Brill with the title of “Psychoanalysis: Exploring the hidden recesses of the mind”, in *These eventful years: the twentieth century in the making as told by many of its makers*, Vol. II Cap. LXXIII, pp. 511-523, (London and New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Publishing Co.). The German original, “*Kurzer Abriss der Psychoanalyse*”, written in 1923, does not appear until 1918 in *Gesammelte Schriften* 11, pp. 183-200.

associations —the technical base of the individual method of analysis— arises from the interpretation of dreams, this in turn gives rise to his famous autoanalysis of which Freud gives account to Fliess from October 3 1897 onwards, the only witness throughout the whole of this process.

The publication of the book on dreams in some way is to make public the privacy of his unconscious. In spite of Freud's transparency as analysed and analysed put in evidence in that book, he does not relate in it all that had discovered about himself. It was Fliess himself who, besides having been the personal physician of Freud and proof reader in the editing of the book, who had to persuade him to abstain from publishing one of his dreams —the famous 'lost dream', the only one totally analysed by Freud, a key dream which has made run a lot of ink. However, his candour is something that impresses. If Freud could carry out the painful interior trip he relates in this book, it is thanks to being accompanied by his colleague and friend. In spite of this he feels submerged in “the deepest isolation” as transcends in the following thought: “This destiny I represented to myself the following way: The positive therapeutic result of the new procedure would allow me to subsist, but science would not have any news from me during my lifetime. Some decades after my death, inevitably, some other investigator would come across those things now rejected as out-of-date, and would get recognition and he would honour my name as a necessarily unfortunate precursor.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime —Robinson in my deserted island— I arranged myself the most comfortably possible. Now, when from the confusion and noise of the present I turn my view toward those solitary years, these appear before me like a beautiful heroic time. My *splendid isolation* of then presented its advantages and its charms. I didn't have to read anything obligatorily or to listen to any badly informed opponents; I was not subjected to any influence nor knew of anything that forced me to accelerate my work. This way, «The Interpretation of Dreams» finished in my thought at the beginning of 1896, was not transferred onto paper until the summer of 1899” (1914, History... Ballesteros III, p. 1904). This was so as long as Fliess abstained from making any critique of Freud's writings. The moment he made it, as we will see, the enchantment broke and the *mutual admiration society* based on a dialogue “in parallel” finished.

Freud's life was very different to what he imagined to be his destiny. Such a destiny will be reserved for pupils of his like Trigant Burrow who was not satisfied with just interpreting this isolation as “resistances to psychoanalysis” (Freud 1925) but even dared to investigate these objectively. This observation is, among others, the one that has stimulated us to investigate such “resistances to psychoanalysis” as group phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> It was these pupils, like the agitators of the “exemplary silence and attention” with which Freud was listened to, who were thrown out of “psychoanalytical auditory” and condemned forever to ostracism.

Two years after the «Outline...» (1923), Freud in his Autobiography (1925) feels himself obliged to specify the chronology of his “*splendid isolation*” this way: “The

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<sup>10</sup> These thoughts remind me of the central argument of a conference given by Foulkes on “How can Sociology and Psychology meet?”

<sup>11</sup> In continuation of his “Self-Portrait” (1925) Freud publishes “Resistances to Psychoanalysis” (1925) — Ballesteros Vol. III, p 2801. In it he repeats the known image of the three narcissistic wounds suffered by humanity throughout its development: the cosmology of Copernicus, the biology of Darwin and the psychological one which Psychoanalysis infringes. On this occasion he offers a simple formula which gives entrance to the resistances: “Men, in terms of the human race, behave in relation to psychoanalysis exactly the same way as a neurotic individual in relation to the treatment for his disorders”.

history of psychoanalysis is divided, for me, in two periods, leaving apart its cathartic prehistory. In the first I was completely isolated and had to carry out the whole task alone. This period lasted from 1895-6 to 1906-7. In the second, which extends from the latter date until the present time, have grown in importance the contributions of my pupils and collaborators, so that today, knowing about my near end because of a serious illness, I can think calmly about the conclusion of my own performance” (Ballesteros III, 2789). Again, no mention of Fliess. The omission here verges on the pathetic.

What more, when in 1938 the Princess Marie Bonaparte comes into possession of the letters that Freud had written to Fliess between 1887 and 1904, he asks her to destroy them. Thanks that she dared not to give in to her analyst's and teacher's desire, Freud's dreams have recovered their protagonists. It so happens that Fliess figures as the principal character in two of Freud's most important dreams: the prototypical one of Irma and the one of “non vixit”, prototypical in turn, to our understanding, of Freud's relationships between teacher and pupils and with his group of colleagues. The first of these dreams inspired one of us (Campos, J. 1989) the subtitle “Professional Dreams.” for his essay “From the dream of Irma to the dream of Mira”.<sup>12</sup> Of the second, the “non vixit”, who best occupied himself with it was Max Schur (1972), who was the personal physician of Freud during the last thirteen years. This is a dream that takes place in the laboratory of Brücke. In it, to apologize in front of his friend professor Fleischl—who there appears as a *revenant*, an appearance, and who in reality was dead but in the dream accuses him of having committed an indiscretion with P— Freud, wanting to answer that it could not be since P. was not alive, he commits the *lapsus* and says *non vixit*, that is to say that he never lived. We won't analyze this dream here. Today, for the letter of September 21, 1899, we know that Freud and Fliess were very aware that the *revenants* of P., as the one of Fleischl and of professor Brücke, were deformations covering the remnants of the day before, which in real life referred to Fliess. Indeed, in the letter we read: “In this delivery you will find the most crucial of my dream interpretations: the absurd dreams. It is astonishing with what frequency you appear. I am glad of having survived you in the “non vixit” dream Is it not terrible to insinuate something like that, to declare it frankly for everybody who knows how to understand it?” In the previous paragraph of the same letter he tells him: “I still regret having become estranged from my favourite and more attentive reader [...] because how can one like something that he is under obligation to read as proof reader? Unfortunately,



although, I cannot do without you, the representative of the «other» [...] And now one year more of this strange life, in which the personal state of spirit is perhaps the only important thing to value! Mine is, by the way, unstable, but as you can see which, like the coat of arms of our dear city of Paris, reads: ‘*Fluctuat non mergitur.*’ Surprisingly the same motto he will use in the publication of «The History of the Movement», a document used by Freud to get rid of Jung in 1914, just as he was doing with Fliess at that time.

<sup>12</sup> Campos, J. (1991). *Del sueño de Irma al sueño de Mira ¿Sueños profesionales?*. Barcelona: Plexos Edit(o)res

Neither will we stop at the hypothesis of Sulloway (1979) who sustains that Fliess is the lost link, or rather the hidden link, between Freud's psychologism and the denied biologism which links him with the group of Helmholtz through Brücke and Breuer. We will limit ourselves to point out that the silencing of the existence of Fliess on the part of Freud was not forgetfulness but a deliberate and intentioned concealment that was miscarried when Marie Bonaparte insists on publishing the letters to Fliess rescued by her in 1937. Indeed, Freud writes to her January 3 that same year: "I don't want that any of them [of the letters] is known by what is called posterity." And he insists one week later: "Considering the nature of our relationship, these letters are about anything and everything, factual or personal questions. The factual questions refer to the intuitions and false clues related to the birth psychoanalysis [...] For these reasons I am very happy to know that this material is in your hands" (Masson 1985).<sup>13</sup>

To what responds, then, this deliberate concealment? How could we explain, that after such candour and so much transparency in the book of the dreams, Freud insists on hiding the influence of Fliess? A psychoanalytical explanation like that of his physician Schur does not satisfy us completely; it doesn't seem that they are fundamentally "personal" reasons move him but, on the contrary, rather those "factual" questions mentioned in the letter to Marie Bonaparte. Being so, which are the intuitions and false cues in the development of psychoanalysis that he tries to hide? Won't it be that, like Sulloway indicates, this concealment is necessary to avoid that "Myth of the Hero" is put into evidence, demanded by the legend of the psychoanalytical movement? Or is it only precursory and premonitory of the "significant change", that alteration of his own person to which he refers in the Addenda to his Self-portrait of 1935, as "a phase of regressive development?" There he says: "The threads that in the course of my development have intertwined themselves, now have begun to separate: interests acquired in the last part of my life have receded whereas the more original and old ones have become pertinent once again [...] My interest after a long *détour* for the natural sciences, medicine and psychotherapy, returned to the cultural problems that had fascinated me so much a long time ago, when I was a youngster hardly with the necessary age to think" (Ballesteros III, p.2798-9, Addenda 1935).

The Dreams, doing without the person of Fliess and without the letters from him, are orphaned of characters, lacking daily remains and, in short, are ininterpretable. This way they lose all value they could have for the understanding of the development of the new science of the unconscious. As if it was to repair this debt and making an exception, the Freud Archives advanced the date of edition of the letters with a selection titled «The Origins of Psychoanalysis» (1954) which under this name, either at the beginning or the end, will figure from then on in all editions of Freud's Complete Works.

The explanations up to here adduced so from individual psychoanalysis as well as from the sociology of the knowledge, could be certain. All depends on the point of view from which one looks at a phenomenon that concerns both domains. We, however, will examine it from a third one: that which is evidenced when we contemplate this situation like a group phenomenon and we focus on it from the angle of the repressed social unconscious.

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<sup>13</sup> J. M. Masson (1985): *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess. 1887-1904*, (Cambridge, Mass., London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), Introd. pp.1-13. In the letter of November 5, 1899, Freud announces that the day before had finally appeared the book, and through the previous letter of October 27, we know that he had sent Fliess one of the two copies the editor had anticipated him.

However difficult it is to decide where Freud locates the beginning of his “*splendid isolation*” —1895-6— much more complicated is to locate in reality the end he himself chose —1906-7. Freud's correspondence with Fliess extends from 1897 up to 1904. We know that, apart from occasional encounters for fortuitous reasons in Vienna or Berlin, the constituents of this peculiar “scientific association by correspondence” maintained periodical “congresses *in presencia*” of two or three days. The last one of these was in Tyrol, in Aachensee in September of 1900. After this they never saw each other again.<sup>14</sup> The estrangement between both starts from the above mentioned letter of “*non vixit*”. Both were to publish a book each. That of Fliess would still take a couple of years. Freud intends to write other several ones: a theory of sexuality had to be the immediate successor of the book of the dreams. He sends it to Fliess on October 27 1899. In the following letter of November 7 he announces him that the first tangible reaction to its publication has been the termination of the friendship with a dear friend, the widow of Paneth (successor of Freud in the laboratory of Brücke) who felt hurt for having mentioned her deceased husband, the enigmatic P., in the dream of the “*non vixit*.” Freud, although he denies it, fears a similar reaction on the part of Fliess. The correspondence, even so, is not interrupted. Freud publishes the case Dora and the «Psychopathology of Everyday Life» in the course of 1901. On August 7, in a letter that Freud told to Marie Bonaparte was very important, he writes to Fliess: “It is not possible to hide the fact that we have distanced ourselves a lot. Here and there already is evidence of the estrangement [...] Your capacity of penetration here has come to a limit; you take sides against me and reproach me something that invalidates all my efforts: ‘The reader of thoughts only reads in the other his own thoughts’. If I am really such a thing, then I advise you throw my ‘Everyday Life’ into the wastebasket, without reading it, since it is plagued with allusions to you: be it manifest references, for which you have given the material; be it other hidden ones the reasons for which arise from you. It also has been you who furnished me the epigraph. Apart from all the permanent that can be in its content, it will be for you the testimony of the role you have played until now in my life.”

In a last intent of reconciliation, in this same letter Freud announces him that his next work will be called «The human bisexuality», saying: “It will approach the problem at its root and it will say the last word that is given me to say on the topic: the last one and the most profound. At the moment it only counts with one thing: with the fundamental principle which for some time I have been cementing on the idea that repression —my central problem—only is possible because of a reaction between sexual currents [...] The idea itself is yours. You will remember that already years ago, when you still were a rhinologist and a surgeon, I told you that the solution would reside in the sexuality, and you corrected me years later that it resided in bisexuality. Now I have proof that you were right. So that perhaps I should borrow from you still other things; maybe my scrupulousness will oblige me to ask you to sign the work with me, with that the anatomobiologic part quite meager in my hands, without a doubt undergo a convenient expansion. I would put myself the objective of the psychic aspect of bisexuality and the explanation of the neurotic side. There we have, then, the immediate project for the future, a project that, as I hope, will bring us together again satisfactorily also on scientific matters”.

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<sup>14</sup> Ernest Jones (1954): *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, (New York: Basic Books), Vol. I, p. 301.



The aforementioned encounter in Aachensee does not succeed to arrange anything. The problem was in Freud's incapacity to recognize the merit of the work of Fliess.<sup>15</sup> He apologizes for this saying: "I know well how frequently I thought of it (your work) with pride and anxiety and how the inability of adhering to certain conclusion disturbed me. You know that I lack all quantitative talent and that I don't have the least memory for figures and measures; maybe it is this that gave you the impression that I didn't appreciate what you communicated to me. Although I don't believe, that the qualitative, the points of view arisen from numbers have fallen on barren ground. Perhaps you rushed too much in giving me up as a interlocutor. A friend to who you also grant the right of contradiction and, because of his ignorance, its difficult that he end up being a dangerous rival, who does not lack usefulness for someone exploring such somber paths and is surrounded by very few people, all of which admire him unconditionally and without critique [...] The only thing that hurt me was another incomprehension translated in your letter, when you interpret that my expression 'but, you are undermining the whole value of my works!' refers to my therapy [...] I regretted to lose 'my only public', as our Nestroy said. For whom must I write now? If as soon as you find my interpretation uncomfortable you hurry to conclude that 'the reader of thoughts' doesn't read anything in the others but simply projects into them his own thoughts, then really you have stopped to be my public and by force you will have to consider all my work as useless as the others consider it [...] I don't understand your answer on the topic of the bisexuality. Evidently, we find it very difficult to understand each other. I didn't have, as a matter of fact, any other intention than developing my contribution to the theory of bisexuality, exposing the theses that repression and neuroses, that is to say the autonomy of the unconscious, are founded on the previous condition of bisexuality. In the interim, my reference to your priority in the «... Everyday Life» will have proved to you that I don't plan to exaggerate my part in the discovery of this idea. But it is not possible to avoid some connection with the general biological and anatomical aspects of bisexuality and, since almost all I know comes from you, I have no other remedy than to refer to you or to leave the whole introduction in your hands. But I now no longer feel the slightest desire to proceed to a publication. In the meantime, I hope we will talk again in this respect. It is not possible to simply declare 'that conscience is the dominant thing and subordinate is the sexual unconscious' without incurring in a gross simplification of the natural conditions which are much more complex, although the latter is, of course, the basic fact. I am now working on a more psychological essay: «To forget and to repress», one, however, I intend to reserve for myself for a long time still."

## The small circle of Vienna

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«To forget and to repress» was never published. In compensation, Freud forgot and repressed that Fliess had ever existed. We have copied *en extenso* these paragraphs because they show a dimension of Freud's relationships with Fliess and the group of Vienna whose initial phases Freud includes in his period of *splendid isolation*. The correspondence with Fliess from this letter on is practically exhausted. In their letter of friendly farewell of March 11 1902 he tells him that it withdrew his last publication from the printers («Dream and Hysteria») "because in you I had lost recently the

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<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Fliess (1902): *Über den ursächlichen Zusammenhang von Nase und Geschlechtsorgan: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Nervenphysiologie*, (Halle a.S.: Carl Marhold)

‘public’ I still had.” The public to which Freud refers is that of the anecdote of Nestroy, actor and Viennese author of farces and popular comedies who on a certain day, contemplating the theater through the spy of the curtain before the beginning of the function, and only seeing two people in the pit, he exclaimed: “I know one *public*, he has a free ticket. I don't know if the other *public* will have paid.” Obviously, Freud needed another public.

In what remained of the year and the whole of 1902, the correspondence sums up to half a dozen short letters of compromise with a single exception, the one that makes reference to Freud's appointment as Extraordinary Professor of the University of Vienna. In this letter, what he doesn't mention —forgets or represses— is that at the suggestion of Stekel during these same days a group has formed around him that will substitute Fliess in his functions as public with free entrance. What calls attention is not so much that the relationship between Freud and Fliess finishes in a break but rather that they were able to maintain it for all this time. Without a doubt, Fliess for Freud was the “other”, the “friend to whom he granted the right of contradiction and who, because of his ignorance, it was difficult that they would end up being a dangerous rival — although he will always finish up betraying him.” It was also this “personal public”, “his fans” who would applaud him to rage whatever he said. For Freud to be able to create his work he needed that somebody —one or several—sustained this place. This was possible while Fliess occupied the omnipotent place of physician or of omniscient sage in which Freud could project the ideal of himself, independently of what did or said that other. The difficulty begins the moment that Freud places Fliess in the place of proof reader, of “the Censorship” of his writings on the way of being published. Freud's position could not be maintained exception made if in some way he could exercise for Fliess a similar function, in mirror. Who in fact breaks this mirror relationship is Fliess when he cannot tolerate the lack of recognition of his own book on the part of Freud. It is this way, when writing introduces the public as a third party, that the mirror relationship breaks up which had made possible the maintenance of what Freud later calls a “group of at two”; which he compares with a hypnotic group and one of heterosexual love, that is to say that which makes the individual asocial. To this explanation we will return later, once exposed the ideas that Freud develops regarding the groups starting from his experience in them. Here we meet with the famous “Wednesday group”, the one which, at least during the first four years, is an association so little recognised by Freud than was the relationship with Fliess. The role carried out by this group in Freud's life perhaps becomes even more clear as we get to understand the place it occupies in Freud's *splendid isolation*. For this purpose it is interesting to analyze the text where a dozen years later Freud describes the beginnings of this group (1914): “From 1902 onwards, congregated around me a certain number of younger doctors with the apparent purpose of learning, practicing and spreading psychoanalysis. The stimulus had started with one of my colleagues who had experienced in his own person the effectiveness of analytic therapy. This small initial group came to my house on specific nights, discussed according to certain rules decided upon and tried to orient themselves in the new field of investigation and to awake interest in it by others [...] The small circle this way initiated acquired soon more amplitude and changed several times its composition in the course of the following years. Because of the wealth and variety of gifts of its members, it could be compared, without disadvantage, with the team of any clinical professor. From the beginning took part those personalities who later have played in the history of the analytic movement important roles, although not always in a satisfactory way. But at that time I could not foresee such a development. I should

consider myself happy, and I believe to have contributed on my part everything possible to make my knowledge and my experience accessible to the others”.

This is so at least up to 1906, moment coinciding with the terminal date given by Freud to his famous “*splendid isolation*. He had been imparting courses as *Privat Dozent* at the University of Vienna, without interruption after his return from Paris in 1886. The fact of being named Extraordinary Professor in 1902, although this did not give him access to the university directory, it allowed him to use the title of Herr Professor. The number of students that went to these classes was between a dozen and twenty, the same size the Wednesday group will reach in time. Freud was known as psychotherapist and author of the book on Hysteria with Breuer, and his frequent publications in this respect. His classes were well attended by students but he lacked pupils. However, the book on dreams—a theoretical book anything but clinical, although it is scientific—and the «*Psicopatología of Everyday Life*», which universalizes the analysis of dreams and the Freudian *lapsus* by way of living room games, will be what attracts pupils.<sup>16</sup> The colleague that suggested Freud the idea of summoning this group was Wilhelm Stekel who in 1901 stepped in front in defence of the «*Interpretation of Dreams*» with an article in the newspapers. It is in this connection that he first presents himself to Freud to ask his help as psychotherapist. The small original group was a group of four: Wilhelm Stekel, Alfred Adler—apparently the family doctor of Freud—and two alumni of the university—Max Kahane who worked in a sanatorium for psychoneurotics but never came to practice psychoanalysis, and Rudolf Reitler who was the first in practicing it; or of five if we include in it Freud as the conductor.

The “apparent purpose” of this group was to learn, to exercise and to spread clinical practice—psychoanalysis—which did not have space in a hospital environment to which not even Freud himself had access. It doesn't seem, however, that the purpose was only clinical. The men gathering around Freud were interested in psychology in its widest sense. With the result that at the beginning the group calls itself the “Wednesday Psychological Society.” There they looked for new ideas, new guiding principles to help them towards a wider understanding of the human being, and Freud's doctrines seemed to promise this help. Nunberg, in his *Introduction to the Records* (1974), speaking of who integrated this group and why they became psychoanalysts, tells us: “On one hand, we see a group of men in search of new ideas and of a leader; on the other, a solitary man that had carried out important discoveries and wanted to share them with others [...] The group was heterogeneous; it was composed of doctors, educators, writers, etc. To say it in few words, its members were a representative sample of the intellectuality of the beginnings of last century. As different as could be their personalities and the environment from which they came, they were united, however, by a common dissatisfaction regarding the prevailing conditions in the sphere of psychiatry as well as those of education and other fields of study of the human mind.”

Nunberg, however, was not of the first batch of psychoanalysts. What relates he relates it from what he has heard and in accordance with the “myth of the golden time of the origins” which exists in the foundation of all group. For when he incorporates himself, it is already some time that the qualitative jump had been given that takes place in 1906 when the group for the first time incorporates a lay member, in the sense of a non-

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<sup>16</sup> The students were from Vienna itself. The world-wide fame still was not sufficiently important as to attract foreign students. During the study trip Trigant Burrow and a friend made to Europe when they graduated in 1909, Freud was still not famous enough as to attend his lectures. This had to wait until had visited America for them to be interested.

doctor, who moreover is hired in conditions of a paid secretary. This is a momentous step in the development of psychoanalysis. It is the first time that the factor money enters into transactions between Freud and his public. With this acquisition, the group adopts that level of institutionalisation which, although it allows it to subsist in spite of conflicts, at the same time it supposes a resistance to its future development. It is not clear either when the members begin to pay a symbolic quota, but it should be by then. As Bion would say, the group in position of dependence begins to write a Bible. From an oral tradition it passes on to a written history. From the beginnings of the course of 1906, Otto Rank writes up minutes and maintains a book of sessions,<sup>17</sup> besides serving as private secretary to Freud. Regarding the silenced period 1902-1906 that interests us here, the written documentation which possibly exists has not been investigated since, according to Jones, Stekel used to reporting the Sunday edition of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* the weekly discussions at the home of Professor Freud. If this is so, it would imply that this group right from its origins had in the city of Vienna such a powerful medium of diffusion as would nowadays be a television program. Given the renowned pamphleteer and fighter's style of Stekel as editor, it would not be strange that the meetings at Freud's house would at the same time be reason for scandal as well as a focus of attraction for revolutionary mentalities. In favour of this hypothesis is the following quote of "*Footnote to the History of the Psychoanalytical Movement*" by Helene Deutsch: "Who adhered to Freud in those times, knew that they went toward exile, that they would have to give up the usual gratifications of professional ambition. One can, therefore, expect of these first pupils that they were revolutionaries of the spirit, [...] a select and valiant vanguard, an expectation only given in individual situations. Many came due to an internal intuitive impulse, others were impelled by their own neuroses or driven by misfortune or through identification of their own lack of recognition with the one of Freud. [...] Each one wanted to be the favourite and each demanded love and preference for having made the sacrifice of isolation."<sup>18</sup> Or the note of Ellenberger with respect to Hans Bühler, member of one of the initial Freudian groups: "In Berlin, the same than in Vienna and Zürich, a psychoanalytical group consisted of two circles: one small medical one which adhered to a strictly medical terminology and whose objective was the neurotic's treatment; and a much wider lay circle whose task consisted in attracting public attention toward the neuroses and psychoanalysis [...] This lay circle was the main driving force of the psychoanalytical movement; its adherents wrote rivers of so called psychoanalytical literature. In their uncontrolled way they proclaimed that psychoanalysis offered the key to all the possible problems of the humanity, from the cure of the individual neuroses to the abolition of war. In this way, although they attracted patients to psychoanalytical treatment, they brought with them discredit to the movement."<sup>19</sup>

The apparent purpose of the group was being completed. But Freud will comment years later when it felt obliged to impose discipline on his group: "There arose, however, two circumstances that constituted a bad omen and ended up by distancing me internally from the group. Indeed, I did not manage to establish among the members that agreement which should reign between men consecrated to one and the same arduous

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<sup>17</sup> *The Minutes of the Viena Psychoanalytic Society*, editores H. Nunberg y P. Federn, (Londres: IUP, 1974.) The original in German appears with the title of *Protokolle der Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung*. There is a Spanish translation available of the first two volumes (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión), 1979.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Marie Briehl, "*Helene Deutsch*" en F. Alexander et al (1966): *Psychoanalytical Pioneers*, (Nueva York: Basic Books), p. 285.

<sup>19</sup> Henry F. Ellenberger (1970): *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, (Nueva York: Basic Books) p. 805

task, neither to drown the disputes about priority to which the work in common gave frequent occasion. The particularly great difficulties in the teaching of the practice of psychoanalysis, to which many of the current disagreements are due, didn't take long in making themselves felt in the nascent Private Psychoanalytical Association of Vienna [...] I myself didn't dare to expose a still unfinished technique and a theory in constant development with the authority that would have been necessary to separate the others of certain mistaken roads whose end has been, in some cases, definitive errors. The intellectual worker's independence, his early separation from the teacher, is always convenient from the psychological point of view, but from the scientific point of view it is only an advantage when the disciple possesses certain personal qualities which are not too frequent. Psychoanalysis would have needed, in fact, a severe preparatory discipline. But, recognizing the courage it supposed to consecrate oneself to something so depreciated and lacking any future, I had to let pass some things to the Members of the Association which in other circumstances would have caused me acute displeasure.” (The underlinings are ours).

Freud considered that he should have thought himself content with the small circle of disciples that had congregated around him, but he was not. He believed that on his part he had done all the possible to make his knowledge and experience accessible to the others; he had done more, he had offered himself as their model. The circumstances that took him internally away from the group —the lack of that agreement which should reign among men consecrated to the same arduous task and disputes over priorities — were the same than the ones which took him away from Fliess and which would in some cases lead to a definite break. To complicate things, the difficulties in the practical teaching of psychoanalysis he refers to lie in the fact that the latter is at one and same time a therapeutic procedure and a method of investigation based fundamentally on the investigation of what is unconscious in who investigate it. This is the way they had arrived with Fliess at the impasse of the “reader of thoughts.” What had separated them seemingly was that they could arrive at an agreement regarding the relationship between the biological concept of sexuality and the psychological one. The book on the bisexuality which Freud intended to write jointly was the subject pending after so long a collaboration. This was the mutual help Freud expected from his new public, the Wednesday group. Instead, what he found was people keen to identify themselves with anything he said or he in fact did. Freud thinks that, having had sufficient authority, he would not have had problems. He did not have authority, neither from a factual point of view, since —having to do with an unfinished technique unfinished and a theory in constant development— he didn't feel sure, nor from a moral point of view —taking into account the loyalty demonstrated by disciples and the enormous sacrifices it meant for them to follow him blindly. The preparatory discipline that Freud brought to analysis and which gave him enough intellectual independence as to venture into the depths of the unconscious, he had forged it in the laboratory of Brücke, a scientific training derived from the positivism of the School of Helmholtz, the same that his first two collaborators and friends had undergone: Breuer and Fliess. With the first they worked for a while in the same field and on the same problem, hysteria. With the second, although from different fields, the common territory was the same, human sexuality. As much one as the other, however, constituted the link that assured Freud not to be deviating from the principles of the School of Helmholtz with which he was in communion. They served each other as guarantors of scientific authenticity. To continue their investigations of the unconscious, Freud was obliged to undergo a different discipline: autoanálisis. The problem appeared the moment he began to interpret the unconscious of his “other”, without the “other” having asked him to. The latent

objective of Freud, when consenting to constitute the Wednesday group maybe was to create an atmosphere, a culture in which the resistances to make conscious the unconscious had been overcome and with it make disappear the small human vices of competition and dominion of ones over others.. The discipline that Freud classifies in fact as scientific was a group discipline, responding to an identification with a scientific ideology and a submission to the authority of a teacher who promotes it and sustains it.

As we arrive at this point we find ourselves before a crossroad. To understand Freud's drama in those moments, you can opt between an explanation that puts the weight almost exclusively on personal determinisms or another that also keeps in mind the socio-professional determinisms, equally unconscious, which are unchained with the career election and the way to professionalisation. The first road would take us to those so well-known psychoanalytical explanations derived from the complex constellation of Freud's early object relations and the repetition in his later personal relationships, explanation to which, however head on they may be, we will not recur to here. Instead, we will give preference to a group analytic explanation centered on his professional plexus, that is to say the net of people and experiences that ultimately conform the investigator's professional ego and his points of view about the phenomenon he investigates. To opt for this second avenue will take us to the following parenthesis.

### **Freud's professional plexus**

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Freud's professional life, as everyone else's, begins with the career election. This was not easy. Freud was a born investigator, a laboratory man who, to earn a living, to be able to marry and to establish a family, had to give up his academic career and devote himself to the clinic. His vocation for Medicine had not been an early one. It revealed itself only in 1875 during a trip to England, two years after having finished high school. Until then, no matter that he was already registered in the Faculty of Medicine of Vienna, the young Freud, when they asked him what he wanted to be, he responded: *"a natural scientist, a professor or something like that..."*. When returning from that trip, his sister Ana recalls, that he told his father that he would study medicine. Jakob, the father, not very satisfied with the decision, he raised objections, saying that he was too soft-hearted for this profession. But he was totally resolved, although at the beginning he only planned to devote himself to investigation. *"I want to help people who suffer"*, was his answer. The rest of their life Freud will spend denying that he ever had the philanthropic idea his sister attributes to him. On the other hand, what the life of the discoverer of the analytic cure reveals is his attempt to reconcile the two motivations just as he admits to his friend Silberstein in a letter —his vocation of pure and hard investigator, of laboratory man, and the one of “maker of miracles” dedicated to liberate from illness the whole humanity: "Last year, if they had asked me which was my biggest desire, I would have answered: a laboratory and free time, or a ship in the ocean with all the instruments a scientist needs. Now I doubt it and perhaps I would say a great hospital and lots of money to alleviate some of the diseases our bodies suffer from or to eliminate them totally from the face of the earth. If, therefore, I wanted to have influence on a lot of people and not a small number of readers and scientists, then England would be the country of choice for such a purpose. A very respected man could, with the help of the press and the rich, make miracles to alleviate physical illnesses, in case he was sufficiently scientific as to try out new methods of treatment. All these thoughts are still not very clear. I stop here." Destiny wanted, however, that he

occupy himself first with mental illnesses and later, in consequence, with the most hidden aspects of mind, the healthy and the sick. This way, his desire was displaced from biology to psychology and to attempt to subordinate the clinic to the strict principles of the laboratory. It is curious that, the same as the birds go to die to Brazil, he ended up making it to England and because he was famous through his investigations that they gave him asylum. In his juvenile search, Freud did not find peace until he entered the laboratory of physiology of Brücke. As Jones says, “*the adolescent Freud had finally found ‘something to believe in’ and this something was Science in capital letters.*” Brücke was part of that scientific movement in the German-speaking university of such transcendence that it ended up being known as the School of Medicine of Helmholtz, a movement begun by Brücke himself and Emile Du Bois-Reymont soon joined by Helmholtz and Karl Ludwig. This group, from its own beginnings, had been conceived as a true crusade undertaken with the same ardour that would years later adopt the “psychoanalytical movement” initiated by Freud. Brücke and Du Bois had made a solemn oath of spreading the following truth: “Inside the organism no forces act which were not the physical-chemical ones. Those cases which for the moment cannot be explained by these forces, one has to find a way or specific mode of action by means of the physical or mathematical method (the underlined is ours) or assume the existence of new forces as worthy as the chemical-physical forces inherent to matter, reducible to forces of attraction and repulsion.”

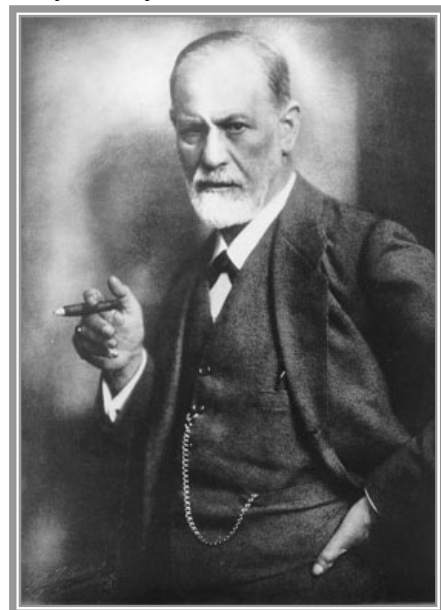
Helmholtz was the prophet of this movement. Freud, who even missed the occasion of at least seeing him on a trip he made to Vienna, complained saying “He is one of my idols.” He was also the one of Wilhelm Fliess who, residing in Berlin, was nearer to the teacher. In the relationship with Freud this common link played an important part, so the first gift that Fliess makes to Freud was the complete edition bound in leather of the works of Helmholtz. With this symbol their friendship was sealed. Who is familiar with Freud's medical studies will know to what extent his scientific development was marked by the bond of the oath of this naturalistic group. His never in life published “*A psychology for neurologists*” demonstrates the effort he in vain made not only then but all his life to subject his psychoanalytical discoveries to this principle. Above we underline the mathematical alternative of his method, since, as we will see later, one of the reasons for which he most hated the group method of analysis of Trigant Burrow is that the latter was determined to make the principles of Einstein's relativity extensive to psychoanalysis. Could it be because of his training that Freud was outstanding in mathematics? However, the most outstanding characteristic that shows in Freud as group man during this period, is that of an ambivalent relationship with the figure of authority, which he adores and the same time he detests; an ambivalence which will be displaced and acted in its positive aspects as well as the negative ones with his group of colleagues. There is substantial evidence in the «*Interpretation of Dreams*». The group of Brücke becomes for Freud the ideal model of what should be a scientific group and he takes it as a measure for all those groups of pupils that joined him.

Often we lose sight, however, that it was not with one single professional group of origin with which Freud identified but two. Although it is true that Helmholtz is his idol and the theoretical position of those who took the oath of the School of Berlin is his credo, with the person with whom he really identified and of who he became an unconditional admirer is his clinical teacher, Charcot. More than once he would relate the following anecdote that finishes with the quote of Charcot which will become the slogan of his work: “Charcot, certainly, didn't ever get tired of defending the rights of the purely clinical work, consistent in seeing and putting order, against the inferences of

theoretical medicine. On one occasion a small group of us, all students from abroad, reared on the hearth of German “academic” physiology, we finished by irritating his patience with our doubts about the clinical novelties. “This cannot be true, one of us objected, because it contradicts the theory of Young-Helmholtz’. Charcot didn’t respond as was expected —“so much worse for the theory; the clinical facts have primacy”— but rather he pronounced a sentence that impressed us intensely: “*La théorie c’est bon, mais ça n’empêche pas d’exister.*” It seems that “*l’enfant provocateur*” was Freud himself and it was for this reason that he remembered the anecdote so well. For the note to his translation of the “*Leçons du mardi*” it is known that the discussion was in that Charcot denied that the hemi-anesthesias due to a lesion of the central nervous system were accompanied by hemi-anopsia like Helmholtz sustained. On this occasion Freud supplements “*The théorie c’est bon, mais ça n’empêche pas d’exister*”<sup>20</sup> with a “*If only one knew what exists!*” Although as clinical teacher he identified with Charcot, the hemi-anopsia —*his partial blindness*, consequence of the energetic positions of Helmholtz— will accompany him to the grave. This conflict between Freud, “the *visuel* a lo Charcot”, as clinical chef of his medical team of the small circle of Vienna and Freud, “*der Denker*”, the theoriser a lo Brücke, will be reflected in the expectations that he maintains in relation to his pupils.

The ones who approached Freud in Vienna arrived lacking that scientific discipline which so much had cost him to acquire and this only after many years of laboratory. Of what Freud was maybe not aware that it would have been of little service to him in the practical teaching of psychoanalysis placing himself in a still more authoritarian position than the one the original Wednesday group already placed him, due to transference,. For example, in 1906 with occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, that small group gave him the famous locket engraved on one side with his portrait in profile and in the reverse Greek drawing of Oedipus’ answering the Sphinx with the legend “to the one who solved the famous riddle and was a man most mighty”. This way it was possible to teach hypnosis, as he had learned of Charcot, but not psychoanalysis. The analysis of his own dreams or the autoanalysis of which he availed himself for his discovery of psychoanalysis, neither were a sure remedy. So at least he admits to Fliess in November 1897, little after having initiated it: “My autoanálisis continues interrupted; but now I know why. I can only analyse myself by means of the notions acquired objectively (as if I was a stranger); autoanálisis is, in fact, impossible, because otherwise there would be no neurosis.”

To interpret the unconscious of the other in a social situation or it is an aggression or it only serves to increase the resistances to analysis and the theories derived from it. To spread his ideas unchained a social rejection that gave cohesion to the group that was in agreement with them, but it was of little use to him since he knew that the ones who undersigned them did so because of their identification with. This statement is substantiated by letters sent to Trigant Burrow and to S. H. Foulkes which will be mentioned later. To understand, in his way, the nature of the bond that maintained them united,



<sup>20</sup> S. Freud (1893) “Charcot”, (nota necrológica), Ballesteros Vol. I, p.31.



Freud had to formulate first his drive theory and narcissism, something he won't be in condition to do until 1921 with his «Mass psychology and the analysis of the ego».

Just the same, his teachings of psychoanalysis to the Wednesday group during those first years forced Freud to define in a precise way his technique. So it is that in 1903 he publishes «The Freudian psychoanalytical method» and in 1904 he reads before the Doktoren Kollegium his «About psychotherapy». He also decides to publish “The Case Dora” (1905) and he settles the two outstanding questions con Fliess: «Psychopathology of everyday life» (1905) and «Jokes and their relation to the unconscious» (1905). One wonders about the function played by the Wednesday group in Freud's production. Probably the group provided him with some of the examples and materials for «Psychopathology...» and engaged in explaining to them how to carry out a psychoanalytic treatment helped him to formulate his technical papers. But, regarding his fundamental work about sexuality, for what could they serve him if not as echo to his own thoughts? This impression seems to be confirmed by the description of Nunberg regards the way of working in the group: “When the observations of a certain speaker awoke in him special interest, or when he wanted to make clear his points of view, he lifted the head and looked to a point in the space with an intensity and extreme concentration you carry to an extreme as if he saw there something in particular. This tendency to see what he was thinking is reflected in his writings which contain numerous pictorial elements, even when they are about highly theoretical concepts.”

This description supplemented with the habit of Freud's when speaking in public or even when writing, making as if directed himself to an imaginary interlocutor, makes us ask if in his dialogues he is still discussing with Fliess. In fact, its relationship with this doesn't finish up to 1906 and, precisely, for a question of priorities. There is another factor, however, that habitually is not mentioned and it is that Adler (1907) and Stekel (1908) around these dates begin to publish on their own account.<sup>21</sup>

## The group of Zürich

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*“For men as well as for ideas it is dangerous to uproot them from the soil where they sprouted and developed”* This is how Freud warns those who dare to get involved in the neuroses of cultural communities. (Freud, 1931) The first transplant of Viennese psychoanalysis took place on the edge of the lake Constance in the Burghölzli, a hospital of the University of Zürich —an unique institution at that time. Freud already knew it since there he had visited Forel, its director, on the way to Nancy in 1889 and it was he who introduced him to Bernheim. That trip served Freud to question the teachings on hysteria that he had received from Charcot on his previous trip to Paris and to ask himself about the possibilities of hypnosis as a therapeutic method and what the reasons were of the changes induced by it.<sup>22</sup>

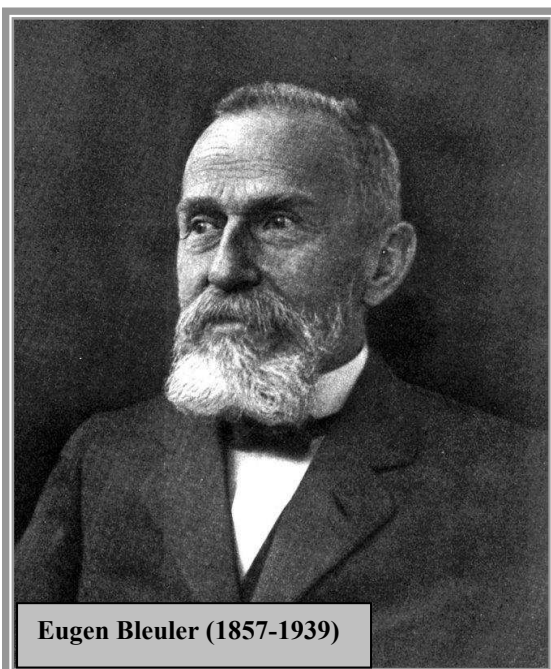
Recently published the book on dreams, in 1900 Professor Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939) had asked Carl Jung, a resident recently arrived at the Burghölzli, to make a review of

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<sup>21</sup> Stekel, W. (1908): *“Nervöse Angstzustände und ihre Behandlung”*, Berlin y Viena. Adler, A. (1907): *“Studie über Minderwertigkeit von Organen”*, Berlin y Viena.

<sup>22</sup> A este respecto es interesante releer los planteamientos que Freud se hace en su “Revisión del hipnotismo de Augusto Forel” y su “Seelenbehandlung”, escritos a razón de este viaje. Ver *“Psychoanalytic Pioneers”*.

it. This clinic, founded in 1867, was then not only one of the most prestigious psychiatric centres in Europe but in the world. Bleuler had succeeded Auguste Forel as director of the center in 1898. He had studied with Charcot in Paris, visited London and Munich and formed part of the clinical personnel of the Burghölzli with Forel until 1886. Then he was hired as medical director of the Psychiatric Hospital of Rheinau, a great asylum full of old demented patients considered one of the most backward institutions in Switzerland. There Bleuler had been devoted to rehabilitate the hospital and to take care of the patients with great generosity. Single, he lived in the hospital and passed the whole day with its patients, taking care of their physical treatment, organizing the labortherapia and getting a close emotional contact with each one of them. This way, he acquired a unique understanding of the mental patients and the most intimate details of their psychological life. From this experience he extracted the essence of his future book on schizophrenia and his psychiatric manual. Later becomes the director of the Burghölzli, a post coupled with the Chair of Psychiatry of the University of Zürich. This circumstance puts him in a situation which allows him to be surrounded by a team of disciples and collaborators arriving from all parts of the world. Among these the aforementioned Carl Gustav Jung, in charge of the laboratory for the experimental study of schizophrenia, an interest of his mentor. Written the review of the book on dreams, this same year of 1900, starting in 1902 Jung becomes the main promotor of Freud's ideas in the Burghölzli. With his collaborators they try to apply them to the field of psychosis with diagnostic ends. For this purpose Jung uses Freud's analysis of dreams at the same time than the Word Association method inspired in Wundt with which he is able to give sense to the delirious content of the psychoses and to prove amply the validity of the psychoanalytical approach (Jung, 1905 and 1906).



Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939)

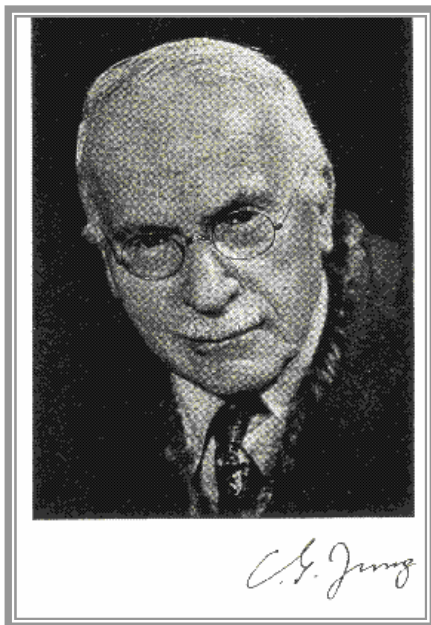
The climate that reigned in the Burghölzli can be imagined from the accounts of two of its pioneers, one Swiss and another American. The first, Alphonse Maeder, considers that: “The patient was always the focus of interest. The student learned to speak with him. The Burghölzli was at the same time a kind of factory where one worked a lot and was paid poorly. Each one, from the professor to the youngest resident, was completely absorbed by his work. The abstinence of alcoholic drinks —*a rules that had already been introduced by Forel*— was obligatory for all. Bleuler was kind with everybody and never played boss.”

Explains Maeder, that Bleuler very capable of picking up the suitcase when welcoming a new resident or bringing himself up-to-date on the latest medical novelties while doing so. However, he was extremely demanding with himself and the clinical team. He expected an exhausting quantity of work and unlimited devotion to the patients. The residents should have finished their first ward rounds for the clinical meeting at 8:30 o'clock, where they should inform on their state. Two or three times per week, at 10:00 there was a general meeting for the discussion of clinical histories of new patients directed by Bleuler himself. The afternoon rounds were from 17:00 till

19:00. There were no secretaries and the residents had to type their own histories, often finishing at 10 or 11 o'clock at the night. The hospital closed at 10 o'clock at night and the young residents didn't have keys.

The enthusiasm at the Burghölzli for psychoanalysis was such that between the residents and assistants —among who were Ludwig Binswanger, Karl Abraham, Franz Riklin and Alphonse Maeder— the favourite sport was “the hunt complexes” and, half seriously half jokingly the habit of mutually interpreting each other’s dreams been introduced, a habit, as already mentioned, was later to be adopted on board of the George Washington by Jung, Freud and Ferenczi.

The second pioneer, the North American Brill, future founder of the New York Psychoanalytical Society, spending one year of studies at the Burghölzli working with Jung, in the introduction he writes to the translation of the latter’s book on “The Psychology of the Dementia Praecox” (1906)<sup>23</sup>, he states as follows: “In 1907, everybody in the Burghölzli was actively occupied in dominating Freud's psychoanalysis. Professor Eugen Bleuler, its director, the first orthodox psychiatrist in recognizing the value of Freud's contribution, urged his assistants to dominate the theories and to use Freud's techniques in their clinical work. Captained by Jung, all the assistants in the clinic worked in the association experiments. Daily for hours on end they subjected the patients to these tests in order to discover experimentally if Freud's points of view were correct [...] It is almost impossible to describe today how I felt when being accepted in the ranks of these passionate and hard-working enthusiasts. I am sure there never was neither there will never be another group of psychiatric workers so hotly dedicated as those. The Freudian principles were not only applied the patients but rather the psychoanalysis seemed to obsess everybody in the clinic.”



It becomes obvious that in 1907 there was not only one psychoanalytic group but two, both dedicated to promote and to spread Freud's ideas. In the first one, that of Vienna, transmission was made fundamentally in the oral tradition and counting with the same person that had conceived and originated them. The other group is the one that arises in the Burghölzli in Zürich, under the patronage of Professor Bleuler, starting from Freud's writings, and the reading of the publications spread in the traditional way of the medical sciences. Being conscious of the fact that psychoanalysis in its pre-institutional period as focal points has two groups and not only one, we consider of momentous importance for the understanding of the type of difficulties it was confronted with once overcome the “infantile phase” which Freud considers completed with the

establishment of the psychoanalysis as organization, from the time of the foundation of the International in Nuremberg in May of 1910. The differential characteristics of one and the other group become manifest in the description made by Freud in his “History

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<sup>23</sup> Carl Gustav Jung (1906): “The Psychology of Dementia Praecox”, *Nervous and Mental Diseases Monographs*.

of the Movement” (1914) which is worth commenting. In spite of being a political instrument fundamentally designed to provoke the resignation of Jung as president of the International, Freud —after recognizing that it was thanks to Bleuler and Jung that in 1907 began to come out of his decade of “*splendid isolation*”— he states that it was through the invitation of C. G. Jung that in the spring of 1908 took place a meeting on “Freudian psychology” in Salzburg. From this arises in 1909 the journal *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische und Psychopathologische Forschung*, published by Bleuler and Freud, and directed by Jung, base of an intimate team work between Vienna and Zürich.

Contrasting with the opposition of academic Psychiatry in Vienna and the rest of Europe, Freud says that “in no other place (*like in Zürich*) existed so compact a group of followers, nor could a public clinic at the service of psychoanalysis be established, nor could a clinical professor be found who welcomed psychoanalytic theory as an integral part of psychiatric teaching. The Zürich group this way constituted a chosen nucleus inside the legion of combatants for the recognition of psychoanalysis. Only in their residence was there the occasion of learning and practice the new art. Most of my current followers and collaborators have arrived to having before been in Zürich, including those who were geographically nearer to Vienna than to Switzerland.”<sup>24</sup>

One of the collaborators who arrived from Zürich was Karl Abraham. He surely refers to him when he follows on saying: “According to the testimony of a colleague that followed the analytic development in Burghölzli, it can be stated that psychoanalysis aroused interest there from very early on. In a work of Jung on occult phenomena, published in 1902, we find already a first mention of the dream interpretation. Between 1903 and 1904, according to my informant, psychoanalysis already occupied an outstanding place.” Once initiated the personal relationships between Vienna and Zürich, by the middle of 1907, in the Burghölzli there also formed a private association (*the Freudian Association of Doctors*) whose members examined and discussed the problems of psychoanalysis in periodic meetings. Rights from the first contacts with the school of Zürich, Freud realizes that, in contrast with his group in Vienna, the Swiss were not “the part simply receiving”, because they contributed, in turn, very respectable scientific work whose results were very useful to psychoanalysis. Their psychoanalytical interpretation of the association experiment initiated by the school of Wundt allowed them to give to latter same unexpected applications, making it possible to find a quick experimental confirmation of psychoanalytical facts and demonstrate to the beginner circumstances that the analysts themselves only know by hearsay. This was the first bridge built between experimental psychology and psychoanalysis. I cannot but point out a difference of orientation. The association experiment offers to the psychoanalytical treatment a previous quantitative analysis of the case; but doesn't constitute an essential contribution to the technique, and one can perfectly do without it in the practice of analysis.

For Freud the association with the school of Zürich was extremely important since, apart from giving access to the psychosis and through her to official psychiatry, it implied leaving the Jewish ghetto of Vienna and opening him the passage to the whole Christendom. Without ignoring the differences regarding the toxic theory of schizophrenia of Bleuler and the question of the complexes of Jung, the balance Freud

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<sup>24</sup> It's important to underline this point, since possibly this could be the most important reason which decided Trigant Burrow to go and train in Europe with Jung in Zürich and not with Freud in Vienna. Still a decade was to go by till in this city an Institute of Psychoanalysis was to be established, where S. H. Foulkes would be training during the years 1928 to 1930.

makes in 1914 is very positive: “From 1907 onwards and the years following the union of the schools of Vienna and Zürich psychoanalysis was acquiring an extraordinary increment which it conserves today and of which give testimony the diffusion of publications relating to it and the growing number of doctors who practice it or want to learn it, as well as the numerous attacks of which it is object in congresses and associations. It has arrived as far as the most distant countries, startling the psychiatrists and arouse the interest of learned men in general and of investigators of other branches of science.” Calls attention such a long panegyric exalting the supposed contributions to psychoanalysis of the group of Zürich at a moment when he was already resolved to break up with Jung. Perhaps what Freud attempted with it was not to lose the rest of the Swiss. It is worthwhile clarifying that, although the correspondence with Bleuler had already begun in 1904, it was not until the exchange of writings between Jung<sup>25</sup> and Freud<sup>26</sup> in 1906 and the correspondence between both that Freud begins to value this association.

The importance and the significance that for Freud's group in Vienna has the association with the group of Zürich is not at all equivalent to what it supposes for the latter to accept what Vienna offers them. From the beginning a dominance-submission relationship is established. The exchange of writings and letters between Freud and Jung is soon followed by of personal encounters.

The first one to travel to Vienna was Max Eitingon, a 26 year-old Jew of Russian origin, a medical student who was practicing as volunteer in the Burghölzli and who Jung had rather in little esteem. He presented himself in Vienna with an introduction of Bleuler and the intention of knowing Freud personally. He was received, however, with honours like an ambassador of a foreign power. It did not even matter that he still had to be licensed as a doctor. “*I will make you a Doctor in Psychoanalysis*”, Freud would tell him after some walks with him in the Vienna woods. Eitingon considers this to be “the first didactic analysis” and without any other merit than the one of having been “*the first in coming closer to the solitary*”, Freud adds. In the comment to the session of January 23 1907 of the Wednesday Society, to the one Eitingon had been invited, we read as follows: “His presence in the meeting was particularly important since, in a certain sense, it marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the psychoanalytical movement. Eitingon was the first interested party in going to Freud directly from abroad with the purpose of learning as much as was possible about psychoanalysis in its own source, being sent to Vienna by the famous Bleuler, director of the Burghölzli, educational hospital of the University of Zürich, in order to see what a psychiatrist could learn from Freud.” (Underlined our)

Eitingon brought prepared the following questions about the etiology and the therapy of the neuroses which he formulates at the end of the first session. First, maybe some social factors should be kept in mind in the predisposition to hysteria? Second, which is the essence of therapy? Is it directed or not against the symptom? Is the symptom replaced by something else (according to the formulation of Jung one complex substitutes another) or is it “extirpated” as Freud had expressed himself when tracing an analogy with painting and sculpture? What is the role of transference? And, third, what becomes of hysteria after the psychoanalytical treatment? The group of Vienna dedicates the second session entirely to answer Eitingon. The latter, obviously, had read

<sup>25</sup> C. G. Jung (1906): “Diagnostische Assoziations Studien. Beiträge zur experimentalen Psychopathologie”, en *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie*.

<sup>26</sup> S. Freud (1906): “*Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*”, Vol. I.

Freud. If the questions were his or they had been prepared for him in Zürich, doesn't matter. The fact is that Freud as much as the group answered them defensively as if they were subjected to exam from the Zürich group. First, according to the luck decided by the urn, each member of the group answers the questions his own way. And, finally, Freud concludes masterfully. Regarding if it is necessary to keep in mind social factors, Freud points out that the question of Mr. Eitingon betrays the theoretical repudiation of the sexual etiology of the neurosis, repudiation which the school of Zürich did not always maintain. On the election of the neurosis, Freud points out that the supposition of Jung in the sense that the toxic influences are decisive in the declaration of *demencia precox*, is premature. The goal of the therapy, Freud says, is to eliminate resistances. It is interesting the role Freud confers here to transference: "There is only one power which can eliminate resistance: transference. The patient is compelled to abandon the resistances for love to us. Our cures are cures of love. Consequently, it remains for us to finish the task of eliminating the personal resistances (which oppose transference). In the measure that transference exists, in that measure a cure can take place: calls attention the analogy with the hypnotic cures. Only that in psychoanalysis, the power of transference is used to produce a permanent change in the patient whereas hypnosis is nothing but a trick —a *Kunststück*.<sup>27</sup> The vicissitudes of transference determine the success of the treatment. The only thing that our method still misses is authority, the element of suggestion which should be added from outside."<sup>28</sup>

With Freud's answer it is difficult to conceive how Eitingon upon his turn could render a favorable report or that those of the Wednesday Psychological Society of Professor Freud could feel very flattered by the exam they had been subjected to. Anyway, at the beginning of March of the same year it will be Jung himself who visits Freud. However, he will not come alones. He comes accompanied by his wife and one of his collaborators, Binswanger, and they will be guests of the Freud family. On this occasion Freud will also take his colleagues to the Wednesday meeting. This time, who presents is Adler. It is the psychoanalytical treatment of a case of stuttering of a young Russian student of wealthy class. The interventions of Binswanger and of Jung are much more discreet than those of Eitingon on the previous occasion. Jung apologizes for not making a detailed critique, since he is just beginning to familiarise himself with the Freudian ideas. He finds that the critique one makes of the doctrine of the organic inferiority of Adler is too hard. In his opinion it is a brilliant idea and it is not justified that we criticize it since we lack enough experience. The final comment of Freud to the case, also brief, we find significant for its group character. After pointing out the relationship between anal character and the patient's obsessionality, he finishes by saying: "Finally, it is necessary to point out that the contents of the symptoms have the nature of a compromise: it is as if the patient said 'I want to be baptized but the Jewish penis continues being the bigger one' — (in consequence, I continue being Jewish)." One of the things that Jung and Binswanger impressed more in their visit to Vienna is that Freud's followers there were so little up to the level of their mentor. It is inconceivable that from this first encounter a positive transference could arise with Carl Gustav Jung and the group of the Swiss, transference which in excess irritated the group of the Viennese, with disastrous consequences. However, we don't believe that it was only a political manoeuvre on the part of Freud but rather of a repetition of the transference situation established by him previously with Wilhelm Fliess.

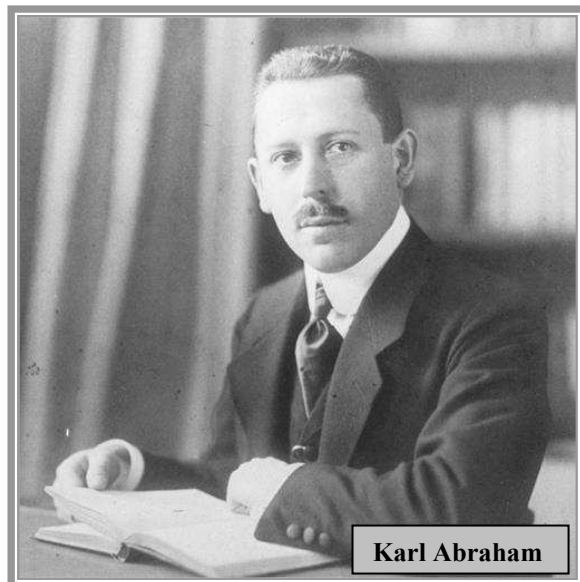
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<sup>27</sup> S. Freud "Psicología de las masas", pp. 2563-2609, in reference to the "hypnotic group"?

<sup>28</sup> Actas I, pp. 120-123.

The first year of correspondence between Freud and Jung is fascinating reading. For the first time Freud meets with an equal one generation younger but who, on top, in psychiatry belonged to a different school to his. The same hard labour Jung had done in the Burghölzli he now began to carry out the level of the official psychiatry in Europe and this without the necessity being in accordance with Freud's sexual ideas. One after another the chiefs of psychiatry were tumbling. The one who most resisted was, surprisingly, Bleuler. To Freud, thanks to Jung, the heaven of psychiatry opened. The politics adopted by Jung for the diffusion of psychoanalysis, although Freud did not bless them, were giving results. The idea of beginning a journal for it, Jung, for the moment, feels premature— apart from the fact that while Jung thinks mostly in psychopathology, Freud thinks in psychoanalysis. Zürich instead of Vienna is becoming the centre where to learn psychoanalysis. There went Peterson, the professor of psychiatry of Columbia University of New York and, on his recommendation, Brill, the American, spends one year there. The work of Jung as the defender of psychoanalysis is not limited Switzerland. The brilliant defense he makes of Freud in the international congress of Amsterdam in September of 1907 is overwhelming. The most outstanding German professors, enemies of psychoanalysis, go away defeated. Impressed by that, there a Celt of Wales approaches Jung, a certain Dr. Jones who knows Freud's writings, says to analytic work himself in London, and would like to visit Freud in Vienna. Freud cannot be believe such prosperity: *“Being already recognized after only ten years? Something has to go wrong with all this”* he writes from Rome. *“Now I believe in it again”*, Freud says and insists once more in the idea of a journal. Instead, upon his return to Zürich, Jung establishes an association of Freudian investigations with the name of *“Freudian Society of Pysicians”* whose first encounter takes place with twelve members, amongst them Karl Abraham.

The latter, the second assistant of Bleuler in the Burghölzli, Freud already knew, maintaining a scientific correspondence with him since the month of July when he began sending him his writings. Freud was delighted with him for the understanding he demonstrated to have acquired of psychoanalysis. It was probably this exchange that encouraged Abraham to definitively move to Berlin and to set up a private practice there as psychoanalyst, a decision he communicates Freud the following way: *“The reasons for this decision are easy to explain: In Germany for being Jew, in Switzerland for not being Swiss, in seven years I have not been able to go beyond an assistant's position.”*



Considering the difficulties he will come up against in Berlin, he asks Freud straight forwardly to keep him in mind case that he had to refer patients to Berlin and the possibility to consult with him. Freud not only blesses him for his decision and promises all kinds of help but tells him that he considers him a disciple and invites him to come to Vienna on the way to Berlin, an invitation he is not able to honour until December 15 1907. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of that month it will be Abraham who visits the Wednesday group. That day, the discussion centers on sexual traumas and sexual education. The question is if with appropriate information

those can be prevented. Abraham shows a sceptical posture in this respect. It does not help the children predisposed to trauma, and the others don't suffer traumas, if at all he considers that the information should be given to the parents who could cause trauma in their children. He does not believe either that the information given at school is useful. What is necessary for the child, he concludes, is the mother's loving care. Freud, breaking the tradition of reserving his intervention for the end of the session, intervenes immediately after his guest and seconds him fully, emphasizing the importance of the writings published by Abraham in this respect.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1908, Sandor Ferenczi and Philippe Stein of Budapest, through the mediation of Jung, write to Freud asking him for an interview. The first one, already an experienced psychiatrist, had been studying Freud intensively for one year and had the intention of starting a course in psychoanalysis for physicians in Budapest, ignorant in the matter or confused about it. To this end he had been saving for spending a year at the Burghölzli, but Jung thought that he better direct himself directly to Freud. The latter received him immediately. He offered then an interview for the afternoon of Sunday, February 2<sup>nd</sup>. This time, however, he didn't offer the visitors to come to the meeting of the following Wednesday February 5<sup>th</sup>, since that day corresponded to an administrative session related to the proposals of Adler and Federn in relation to the organization of these sessions. From the content of the same we know that the coming of such illustrious visitors to the group of Vienna had had their effects. We don't know to what extent the Viennese were informed of the impulse given to psychoanalysis by the Zürich group. At least what they had knowledge of was the proposal of Jung which Freud had transmitted them in the previous session of maintaining a combined meeting of both groups on the subject of Freudian psychology in Salzburg, a suggestion which, as usual, Ernest Jones appropriates himself of having made it, but in the sense of creating an international association of psychoanalysis.

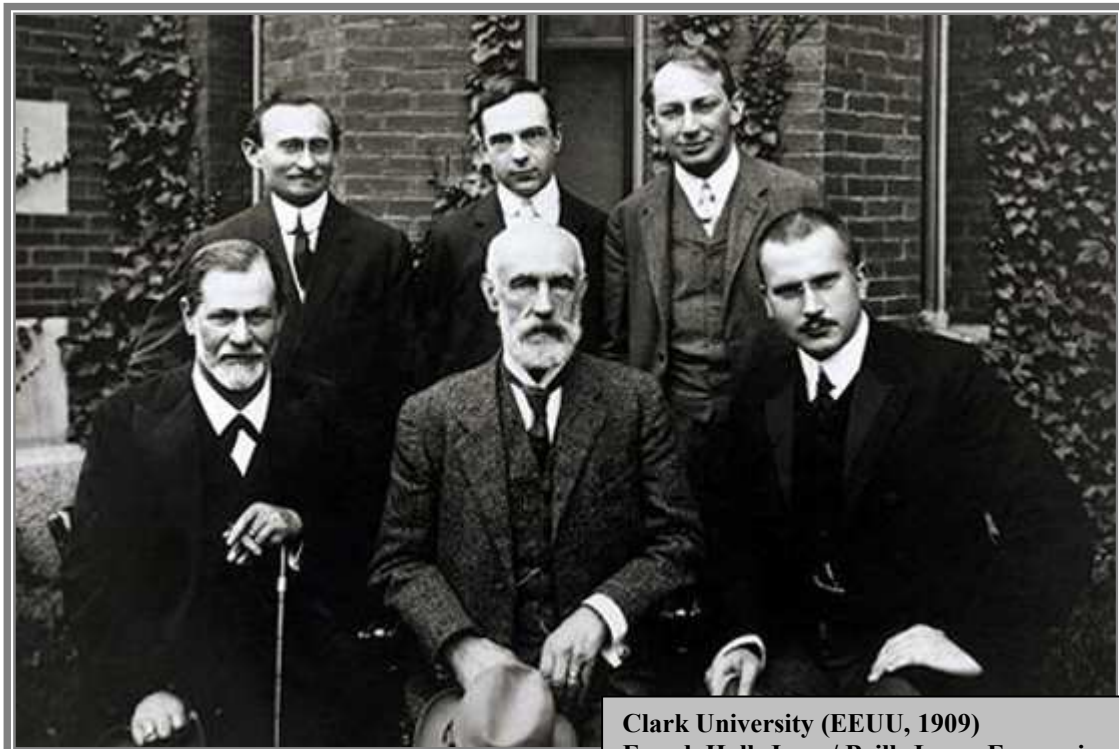
The meeting of February 5 implies a palace revolution. If the Swiss were "toi à toi" with Freud in spite of theoretical differences, the Viennese didn't want to be less. What is discussed is to impose a democratic system. The first term of the proposal was the suppression of obligatory participation of all the members imposed by the urn and substitution for a voluntary participation. It is also proposed to formalize the way of presentation of work and that the admission of new members be made by majority of votes and vote by ballot. Finally, the intention is to change the "*intellectual communism*" with the respect of copyright and freedom in teaching. With the institutionalisation of the copyright the "*cultural capitalism*" is installed in the Wednesday meetings and the respect for the free market of ideas leads to the competition of teachings. The interpretation of one of the members —the musician Max Graf, brother-in-law of Freud and father of the *kleiner Hans*— of the reorganization proposals is that these arise from a feeling of uneasiness: "*We are no longer the group we were before. Although we are still guests of the Professor, we are to constitute a society.*" For this reason another new motion is added: to transfer to another place the meetings until then held in the home of Freud. This is the way that the groups of Vienna and Zürich become societies. The Wednesday Psychological Society comes to be denominated Psychoanalytical Society of Vienna, although Freud and Jung will continue referring to them as "my group" and "your group."

The encounter between both groups finally takes place on April 26 and 27 1908 in the Hotel Bristol of Salzburg. All in all there meet some forty people who, except for Jones —a Welsh— and Brill —an American, all come from the German language area. Jones



and Brill, once ended the encounter, will be the last distinguished guests in visiting the Wednesday group on May 6 1908. Of that encounter, finally, will also emerge the by Freud so longed for journal, the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, published by Bleuler and Freud, and directed by Jung, the first number of which would see the light in 1909.

The official recognition obtained by psychoanalysis thanks to the acceptance by Bleuler and Jung of the University of Zürich, opened the doors in turn to the North American university. This is proved by the fact that in 1909, G. Stanley Hall, director of the Clark University of Worcester, Massachusetts, United States, invites, simultaneously and on a level of parity, Jung and Freud to participate in the celebration of the twenty anniversary of that university. Ferenczi—who that year just dictated with great success in Budapest the above mentioned series of “*popular Lessons of psychoanalysis*”—invited by Freud, joins this expedition.



Clark University (EEUU, 1909)  
Freud, Hall, Jung / Brill, Jones, Ferenczi,

If we wanted to summarize with utmost brevity and in our own terminology the trajectory of connections of Freud to the professional groups until here mentioned, we would say that his original group of identification is the group of Helmholtz, personalized in Vienna by professor Brücke. Joseph Breuer, his main mentor and protector throughout fifteen years, he met in the laboratory of Brücke where he carried out work of high scientific interest, which he had given up to be Privat Dozent in order to devote himself to private medicine. He continued, however, within the circle of scientific physciains that you/ gravitated around Brücke. Fliess, an otorhinolaryngologist in private practice and of great prestige, came from the same circle but in Berlin. It was Breuer who introduced the latter to Freud and recommended him to attend his lessons during one of his trips to Vienna. Fliess as much as Freud, each one extremely ambitious and innovative in new fields of science, apart from the cross fertilization that could suppose such an association, this imposed on them a

mutual surveillance and a guarantee regarding their fidelity to the principles of the School of Helmholtz. The first as much as the second of these associations is of the order of a group of identification.

The group that approaches Freud in Vienna starting from 1902, from its beginnings is a group of pertaining. When they intend, as a group, to learn, to practice and to diffuse psychoanalysis —Freud's psychoanalysis, is understood—Freud needs this group of followers as much as the group needs him as a leader. Each and every one belongs to the group and the group belongs to them. From the moment that members of other groups approach Freud as an independent person, and he recognizes them personally as such, the group of Vienna feels betrayed by its leader and enters in competition with the upstart group of Zürich which Freud imposes on them and defends itself by institutionalizing the group, transferring the conflict onto the inter-group level. From being the Wednesday night group at the home of Professor Freud —marked by the parameters of space and time of daily life, the new Psychoanalytical Society of Vienna will define its identity by criteria of professional politics at a national and racial level which until then the endogamy of the group had prevented from being put in evidence.. The curious fact is that in the measure that the small group of followers in Vienna disappears, a small group of leaders arises —in the sense of Plato's philosophers— which will be those dedicated to forge and to govern the destinies of the future international psychoanalytical movement, a secret group denominated “the group of the seven rings.” In this group are included all “visitors” of this period, who will become “capo di gruppo” in their places of residence.

## **On board of the George Washington**

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At the end of December of 1908, when Freud for the first time receives the invitation as lecturer on occasion of the Clark University's twentieth anniversary, he does not realise the importance that this supposes. Without consulting anybody he declines because of not suiting him the date of the first week of July. He comments to Jung that the Americans hoped that his conferences would give a powerful impulse to the development of the psychotherapies there, but that he considered that it would cost him cancelling a couple of weeks of work —some thousands of Kronen— and that he was not willing to pay five times what they offered him as travelling expenses “to give the Americans an impulse.” Freud, of course, didn't have any idea that Stanley Hall —pupil of Wundt, Professor of Psychology and founder in Baltimore of the first American laboratory of experimental psychology— was the most powerful man in Psychology in United States, neither that the Clark University only invited to its celebrations those who were Nobel Price winners or candidates to it. In this capacity had been invited our Ramón and Cajal to the tenth anniversary. Jung, who still ignored that he was also on the way of being invited and that thanks to the connections of Professor Adolf Meyer with the Burghölzli and the American students spending time in Zürich was better informed, congratulated Freud effusively and that he was sorry that the celebrations were not a convenient time for him. He suggested to him: “Maybe he could arrange to go after the anniversary; and that even then his conferences could be of interest to the Americans. Little by little his truth begins filtering in the public. If possible, you should talk in America even if it is only for the echo that this would produce in Europe, where things also begin to move.”

When in February of 1909 the invitation is reiterated, clarifying for him that the dates have been changed for the end of September and offering him more generous travelling expenses, the first he does is to invite Ferenczi to accompany him. They take it rather like a tourist visit they intend to take advantage of for also making a Mediterranean cruise. Jung, on the other hand, again takes it more seriously. He congratulates him for his success in America and when, at the end of June, he does not know how, he was also invited, the happiness of both id bordering on enthusiasm. Freud would say: "For you to be invited to America is the best thing that has happened to us since Salzburg. It gives me an enormous pleasure for the most selfish reasons, but also, probably, because it shows the prestige that you have acquired at such an early age. Such beginnings will take you very far, and destiny favours the one who aspires to achieve great things [...]. But, what say to these people? I have pondering an idea that I won't hide from you. It is this: we can think about it of our long walks on deck [...]. The invitation is the important thing, now we have an audience at our mercy with the obligation of applauding whatever we bring them. The most gratifying is that you also travel on the George Washington. We both will behave very well with Ferenczi..."

The same as happened to Christopher Columbus when discovered America, that before he arrived the Vikings had already done so. For when Freud, Jung and Ferenczi arrived to the jetties of Brooklyn on board of the George Washington, already years before two Swiss had been using Freud's discoveries in the psychiatric hospitals of the State of New York: Adolf Meyer and Auguste Hoch. Meyer, contemporary of Bleuler and as the latter pupil of Forel, had emigrated to America in 1896. He had first been in Kankakee (Illinois) and from there he passed to Worcester State Hospital as director of Psychiatry. In 1902 the Lunacy Commission of the State of New York, at the instance of Dr. Peterson, its president, had established on Wards Island the Psychopathologic Institute (later called Psychiatric Institute) for investigation in psychiatry with the specific purpose of "helping the state hospitals to assume their most important function successfully, which is the study and treatment of the patients they have entrusted." As first medical director of that center was named Adolf Meyer. Auguste Hoch, also Swiss from birth but already trained in United States, had spent several years at the McLean Hospital in Massachusetts (1897-1907), a private clinic where frequently psychoanalysis was used in the study of the patients. It was for his work on these lines that the Bloomingdale Hospital of White Plains (New York) would hire him as specialist and choose him as director of the Psychiatric Institute of Wards Island in 1910, when moving Meyer in turn as director to the Phipps Clinic and professor of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It is not surprising therefore that Oberndorf, who was a resident in Wards Island in 1909, states in his "*History of Psychoanalysis in America*" (1954) that, although psychoanalysis in the United States has its cradle in Vienna, the key to its implantation is in Zürich.

Of the atmosphere that reigned in Wards Island, similar to the one we described in Zürich, gives us an idea the following anecdote counted by Oberndorf himself, to whom, when he had been there a couple of days, another of the resident youths approached him and mumbled in a low voice: "Have you brought your shoes with rubber sole with you?" Before his surprise he insisted: "Have you brought at least some slippers with you?" Finally he clarified: "To come close secretly and hunt these hidden complexes by surprise." Oberndorf—who laughed lightly admitting that neither in Berlin, Munich nor Paris had he heard speak of such terms like Oedipus, Electra or complex of inferiority— comments: "At that time in the two German clinics of more prestige—Berlin and Munich— linguistically identical and geographically near

Austria, they had ignored Freud's work completely, while in Wards Island the dynamic psychology of psychoanalysis was used day by day to clarify the psychiatric syndromes of their internal patients. The credit for this attitude was due mostly to Adolf Meyer and to Auguste Hoch.”

The Manhattan State Hospital of Wards Island was the first one in using regularly, starting from 1908, psychoanalysis in the study and treatment of psychiatric patients. There Meyer and Hoch, liberal psychiatrists, used descriptive psychiatry and the nomenclature of Kraepelin. However, they had maintained narrow professional associations with the Clinic of Zürich—the then universal Meca of the Psychiatry—and they didn't accept acritically the formulations of Kraepelin. Meyer had discovered that many of the symptoms manifested by so-called “functional patients” did not fit with the groups of non organic mental disturbances—*dementia praecox* and manic-depressive disorder. Contrarily to Kraepelin who dissuaded from taking into account the environmental and cultural factors in these conditions, Meyer insisted that a complete investigation of “all the factors in the history of the patient's life had to be carefully picked up.” What Meyer was looking for was a correlation between the wealth of data obtained with the meaning of the clinical picture the patient presented. Facts without theory as well as theory without facts for him were not enough. So that Freud's new theories supported by facts, if one had been trained and was sufficiently attentive to observe them, provided new keys to understand human behaviour. Meyer understood psychoanalytical theory although he was never able to become reconciled with some of its principles, especially that of the perverse sexuality and the infantile traumas in the development of the neuroses. Although he never accepted completely Freud he neither rejected him. He gave credit to psychoanalysis to throw new light on how to focus on psychotic syndromes. Meyer never used psychoanalysis as a therapeutic technique. However, he expected from his pupils on Wards Island to familiarise themselves with this dynamic approach as an auxiliary technique in the interpretation and the diagnosis. The laboratory of experimental psychology on Wards Island was used with the same purpose. Into this atmosphere arrived Trigant Burrow, a physician with a doctorate in psychology recently obtained in the summer of 1909 and who will be of the one who leaves for Zürich come autumn in pursuit of Jung to learn psychoanalysis.

There is still another important detail that Oberndorf relates for us regarding the situation of American psychiatry in those times and which has to do with the welcome of psychoanalysis in United States and which passed unnoticed by the illustrious European visitors. Due to the chaotic situation of the “private property schools” in medicine, where in a totally uncontrolled way anyone could get a title simply by paying the registration fee—sometimes even without the need of attending classes or seeing patients—the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching had entrusted in 1908 to Abraham Flexner a study of this problem. The Report on the teaching in medical schools rendered by him in 1910 was revolutionary for the future development of American medicine.

It not only lead to the introduction of basic sciences and techniques of laboratory in the medical curriculum but it also lead, on one hand, to conceive the clinic under the suppositions of the scientific laboratory method and, on the other, to establish an obligatory internship in general medicine and residences in specializations. This maybe one of the factors which explain the requirement of the Americans to reserve the practice of psychoanalysis to physicians; and that the teaching of psychoanalysis in

America was assimilated to official medicine and academic psychiatry. On this soil came to sow their seed Jung, Freud and Ferenczi.

Finally, there is another point which may help us to clarify the mystery of the location of the Vienna group in the period of “*splendid isolation*.” From where Freud felt excluded in Vienna was from academic Medicine. Neither his appointment of *Privat Dozent* nor that of Associate Professor had been of use him to win a position in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Vienna. The one of Zürich and of Worcester gave him the recognition that his private Viennese group —itself deprived of academic recognition— could not give him. But there is another detail, while the orientation of European academic Psychiatry in general is characterized by its nosologic aspirations and neurological base of mental disturbances, the Swiss is based on a dynamic conception and a social base which goes back to a tradition of mental hygiene and human attendance of the sick which goes beyond August Forel himself and which will be the dominant orientation imported by Adolf Meyer to America. This aspect, we will see, was of capital importance in the generation of the group method of Analysis.