S. H. FOULKES, PIONEER ON THE FRONTIERS OF THE GROUPS by Juan Campos

A kind of introduction



Foulkes —born Sigmund Heinrich Fuchs, in the middle of the twenties of last century, reading Trigant Burrow and being a member of the small team of Kurt Goldstein at the Neurological Institute of the University of Frankfurt, has the intuition that the group method might well be used with therapeutic aims. After his training in Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis in Vienna, at the end of that decade, he returns to Frankfurt as the medical director of the recently inaugurated of Psychoanalysis. Institute 1933 immigrates to England where he revalidates his medical studies and, finally, is admitted as a member of the British Psychoanalytical Society. At the beginning of the Second World War, exiled from London because of the bombardments and working in a province as a psychotherapist in the surgery of a general practitioner visiting civil patients, he commits two transgressions of the psychoanalytic code: he sees patients together with their family and he treats patients analytically together in a group. He titles his seminal paper "Group Analysis: A study in the treatment of groups on psychoanalytic lines". When called up to the army in the Northfield Military Hospital, a rehabilitation unit for solders suffering from war neurosis, his experience in analytic group treatment turned him into a teacher in group psychotherapy during the Second Northfield Experiment. So part of this publication on the group method of analysis we shall dedicate to the life and work of S. H. Foulkes, of which in turn have particular importance the development of the Group Analytic Society (London) and the launching of a circular journal GAIPAC (Group Analysis International Panel Correspondence), combined with periodic face to face meetings as workshops and symposia.

Who was Foulkes? The large group of his extended family

It has often been a question of interest in groupanalytic circles which could have been Foulkes' relation with Burrow and his work, and which has been the influence of the familiarity with his writings on his own groupanalytic vocation and the development of his own thinking. Without wanting to enter this debate, we would like to say that we do not at all have the impression that Foulkes' reading of Burrow's articles, which he says to have read some times at the beginning and others at the end of the twenties, is neither so encompassing nor so early as some authors state, or Foulkes himself confesses in a letter to Hans Syz in 1956¹. At that time his second book with E. J. Anthony, "Group Psychotherapy. The Psycho-Analytic Approach" was on the point of coming out in a Penguin edition. It should be noted that in the recommended bibliography he does not even include Burrow, but yes, on the other hand, Paul Schilder. Really, the first time Foulkes mentions Burrow is in his introductory book of 1948, where in addition to "The Social Basis of Consciousness" of 1937, he mentions "Phyloanalysis" and a couple of articles of Hans Syz of 1928 and 1944. We know then, that if not for the first time, at least he reread and seriously studied with his students the famous article of Burrow, "The Group Method of Analysis². All he says on that occasion is that if he well remembers his own ambivalent feelings and reactions when he came across the first communication of Trigant Burrow,

"...his method, it should be said on passing, is different to the one described here and which, in the meanwhile, under the name of phyloanalysis has been developed in a very different direction. I admit, however, to Trigant Burrow and his School (Hans Syz and others) plenty and profound insights in relation to group dynamics."

Eight years later, in the historical revision that Anthony makes of the Penguin, the appreciation of Burrow is more valuable and more exact. It is said of him that he has been the most important pioneer of groupanalysis and one of the first in recognizing the role of the group in the neurosis of the individual. He was the first one to speak of a "social neurosis" and in coining the term 'group analysis' as an instrument of investigation. "The principal thesis of Burrow —says Anthony— consists in that man, due to his participation in a 'neurotic' social order sees himself obliged to adopt a 'social image' or mask which him unable to have full and undivided responses with

Yours very sincerely,

S.H.FOULKES

Letter of Foulkes to Hans Syz of febrero 23, 1956, Yale Archives: Dear Dr. Syz,

^{...}I have always felt that my own approach has many affinities with that of your own and Dr. Burrow's respectively. Indeed, I seem to be the only person in this field, here, or for that matter anywhere, including the pundits in the States, who remember to acknowledge your school. I have read the relevant books by Burrow and found them very stimulating. Of course, as you know, my thoughts go into quite different directions from that of phylopathology, and I must also confess that have not in any way followed your more physiological researches. At the time when I began with my own work, however, I was only acquainted with one single paper by Trigant Burrow which must have influenced me in the early Twenties, and I had somehow gathered that he had moved away from concerning himself with psychological analysis towards phyloanalysis.

It might interest you that there will soon be a volume in the Pelican Series on our approach. With kind regards, and many thank again,

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² Personal communication from Wilfred Abse.

his real biological environment. The partial responses enter in conflict with one another and also with the basic motivational substratum of man himself as a filum [in the sense of species]. This conflict is conceived in physiological terms and physiological therapeutic means have been instituted within the frame of reference of groupanalysis and philoanalysis by the Lifwynn Foundation. Trigant Burrow has given us many and diverse *insights* in the understanding of groups.

Leaving aside the way how in fact Anthony and Foulkes came to understand Burrow or when it was that Foulkes read him for the first time, if before, during or after his psychoanalytic training or, even, after having initiated his work in groupanalysis, the importance lies in asking ourselves ¿who is this young man destined to understand Burrow his own way and imagine that groupanalysis well could be used in the psychotherapy of individuals? This question is not easy to answer since in what concerns his private life —personal or family—, Foulkes is so discreet that he borders on secretiveness. His personal correspondence is scarce, of professional character and, for the moment, is not easy to access³. There is no official biography of him and, except some testimonial accounts, the former boils down to a couple of autopresentations: the one he makes in his prologue to Therapeutic Group Analysis —a collection of his writings (Foulkes 1964) and the ones he judged timely to include in one of the first numbers of Group Analysis International Panel and Correspondence (GAIPAC) as its editor⁴. In none of this communications he shows an inclination to confidential remarks. The latter includes the following paragraph which invites speculations as to his personal motivations:

"My interest in psychoanalysis as well as groupanalysis is intimately related to my personal life and also, in particular, to my childhood. This applies even to my method. In spite of being well conscious of it, on this occasion I will have to refrain from saying something in this respect; I believe, however, a brief account of my curriculum and professional development will be useful in terms of my work and attitude in psychoanalysis and groupanalysis".⁵

No other occasion came about, and he neither arrived to finish el theory book he had promised many a time as a continuation of "Method and Principles" and on which he had been working when death arrived in 1976. The attitudes of Foulkes as a conductor of therapeutic groups or didactic ones are well known by those of us who had the occasion to work with him; they are clear, definite and he gives abundant testimony of them. By contrast, his attitudes in psychoanalysis and groupanalysis are not so clear, at least as they transcend in his writings. In these, as far as we understand, there is a conflict of loyalties latent between his identification with psychoanalysis where he comes from and groupanalysis by himself discovered or rediscovered, a conflict which is not openly made evident until one year before his death when, on the occasion of the XXIX Congress of the International Psychoanalytic Association in London, he organizes a Colloquium between Psychoanalysts and Groupanalysts. Foulkes titles his contribution "The Qualification" as a Psycho Analyst, as an Asset as well as a Hindrance for the future of the Future Group Analyst?" All these doubts and underlying ambivalences we shall duly reflect on later. For the moment, what interests us is to point out what possible "silences" or

³ Elizabeth Foulkes and the Group Analytic Society desposited his Archives at the Wellcome Foundation .

⁴ A large group convoked by him in 1967 to stimulate that the rest of correspondents follow his example.

⁵ S. H. Foulkes (1968): "Some Autobiographical Notes" GAIPAC, Vol. II, Nº 2, June 1968.

"lapsus" could have slipped out of his "curriculum", to be able to understand what it was that made it possible that a "future psychoanalyst" interested himself in what Burrow had to say in the middle of the twenties. In the end, as Foulkes would say himself years later, "the social unconscious is in what is silenced in a group" and the document we are going to work is is a communication of a group and in a group. We are obliged to fall back on the biographical notes published by Elizabeth Foulkes⁶, who had worked with him during twenty-five years and was married to him the last sixteen years of his life. The main source of data relative to the childhood of Foulkes, come from her or can be investigated in the documents of his legacy kept at the Foulkes Archives of the Wellcome Foundation. In what concerns his professional vocation, especially relevant seems to be the following.

In September 1925, Dr. Fuchs —this was his original family name— had just turned twenty-seven, had graduated as a doctor two years before, was already father of a son. It is not sure if he had already started to work with the Professor of Psychiatry and Neurology of the University of Frankfurt, Kurt Goldstein, or if he was still continuing his training as a general practitioner with Erich Adler at the Medical Clinic of the University of Frankfurt of Professor Strassburger. It is there that he acquired his experience in organic diseases prior to his psychoanalytic training. At the Neurological Institute of Goldstein he acquired the corresponding one in psychiatry and neurology, something he considered indispensable for becoming a psychoanalyst as he understood it. This idea takes us directly to the question and specialization. medical vocation understand it forces us to return to his family origins.



Sigmund Heinrich Fuchs, who was born on September 3, 1898, was the youngest of five —four brothers and a sister, he himself seven years younger than the one before him— of well to do Jewish German family, settled in Karlsruhe since 1870. His father, Gustav Fuchs, was a timber merchant and importer and his mother, Sarah (Claire) Durlacher, a woman of great beauty, coming in turn from a family of wine merchants. At the birth of Sigmund, the extended family on his father's side was already quite numerous. The enormous house he was born in was a lovely house of the end of the XVIII century of rose colored sandstone, typical of the county of Baden. It had a large entrance for carriages and horses which opened onto a courtyard with stables and garden where little Sigmund played at his will during his childhood. The grandmother, who, when widowed, continued to occupy during twenty years an apartment on the first floor even after it became the property of Foulkes' parents; this was the family centre. The fact that she had had 18 children, fifteen living —thirteen of which were males, made that Foulkes right from birth found himself surrounded by a Pleiad of uncles, aunts, nieces and nephews who visited grandma Fanny and became enchanted with the her favorite little grandson. So, then, was the intimate part of the

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Elizabeth T. Foulkes (1983): "The Origins and Development of Group Analysis", in Spheres of Group Analysis, edited by T. E. Lear, (1977): "Early Days of the Society" en GAIPAC Vol. ..., (1990): "S. H. Foulkes, A Brief Memoire" in S. H. Foulkes Selected Papers, Karnac, London, y (1991): "A Dialogue between Elizabeth Foulkes and..." in The Practice of Group Analysis edited by J. Roberts y M. Pines, Tavistock-Routledge, Londres y Nueva+ York.

extended family of Foulkes. Only counting with the ones he was familiar with during his childhood, it could be up to fifty people and this, naturally not counting with all the relations distributed around the whole world from which, as a good son of a Jewish family, one never separates. The image of grandma Fanny, matriarch of the family and important person during Foulkes' infancy, presides from an enormous full figure oil painting the dining room of Foulkes' house in London. Do you remember Jung's commentary to Freud in reference to the Mother Complex? Perhaps in the case of Foulkes we should rather speak of a "Grandmother Complex", and as we say in Castilian, Sigmund "does not need a grandmother". Elisabeth Foulkes says little about the role played by the women. About his sister Senta —apart from mentioning that she had been married with a doctor, something which influenced his choice of career—she says nothing, of his first wife and mother of his three children, she only mentions her name, Erna Stavenhagen. Not a commentary related to how he

his consented to that Helene Deutsch, analyst, decided to analyze them simultaneously during his stay in Vienna. Neither does she say much about his second wife, Kilmeny, whose family calls him Michael and from whom he will inherit the mansion of 7 Linnell Close, Golders Green. London, where he lived till the end of his days. But let's return to his medical vocation.



Following the wish of his father, he was educated in a modern Gymnasium where they taught only English and no classical languages, something which years later, already a psychoanalyst, Foulkes would regret. In 1916, when graduating as a bachelor and entering university, he still did not have the necessary age for being called up into the army. While he waited for his turn, he made a course of architecture at the Polytechnic University. When he was called up, they destined him to the Corps of Engineers and entrusted him the company telephone station of which he was to be in charge during two years on the French front, where he served on the battle line. In these conditions he thought that, in case of surviving, he would like to work in a theatre as director. We owe this confidence to Elizabeth Foulkes —born Marx, his second cousin through the matriarchal "grandma Fanny" and third of his wives. Elizabeth attributes this decision of Foulkes for Medicine to family influences. When he was discharged from military service in 1919, his father said that they would be willing to let him go to university if and when he chose "a profession that permitted him to earn his life." They forced his oldest brother, Richard, a very artistic personality and with talent, who spent hours at the piano, to study architecture in which he arrived to be the first of his class. Of the other two, the middle one Gottfried and the one before last Walther, it is not said that they made university studies. Gottfried was a great sportsman, becoming a national football hero when shooting ten goals against Russia in the 1912 Olympic Games. Of Walter it only is known that with seven years of age he felt displaced from the privilege of being the youngest by the birth of Sigmund —a brother "obviously not loved".

It seems that the paternal warning resolved the vocational conflict of Foulkes who until then continued to doubt between Medicine or perhaps Philosophy and Psychology. His admiration of an uncle on mother's side, doctor in a neighboring city and one of the first to possess a motorcycle, or the fact that his sister was married to an otolaryngologist could have also influenced his decision. Even so, Foulkes, it seemed, continued without deciding himself until the last moment. What tipped the scale was something totally circumstantial or even odd. On the way to the University of Heidelberg to inscribe himself, on the train he met with a schoolmate who, the same as him was going to begin his studies, but who, on the other hand, had decided to become a doctor. Foulkes decided to do the same. In his auto-presentation of 1967 he gives a version of all this a little different:

"I studied Medicine knowing that I wanted to be a psychiatrist. Psychiatry, as I understood it, meant not what it was at that time but just that into which it later was transformed".

Foulkes' own version seems to us the most probable one, the one of wanting to be a different psychiatrist, especially taking into account his experience during the war and what it must mean to be in a trench serving as an operator in campaign. This implies being at the centre of all possible communication, to know about everything and not being able to do nothing —not even run away from the situation however difficult or dangerous it may be — and, on top of it, to be under the same stress than the rest of the comrades. Let us remember that it is on this same front where for the first time one talks about war neurosis, even if it were with the respectful name of shell shock. It is not surprising, then, that he was prepared to study Medicine to become a psychiatrist, but a different psychiatrist —different, we think, to the German military psychiatrists he knew on the front. These habitually treated the war neurotics not as neurotics —"imaginary sick"— but as cowards, who simulated, covered up deserters who "feigned to be sick". This was the famous subject of the trial of Wagner-Jauregg in which Sigmund Freud acted as an expert (Eissler 1986)⁷ and which Foulkes forcibly had to know about since this was title page news of the major newspapers during the last months he spent in the army. Perhaps this explains that in the winter of 1919, in the first semester of his preclinical studies in medicine the moment he read Freud he knew that he wanted to become a psychoanalyst. becomes useful in constructing the "Myth of the Hero" (Sulloway 1979)8. Decided to speculate with the individual and social unconscious, we could think that Foulkes under combat stress and facing the impotence which supposes being in the know of everything without being able to something about it— defended himself by means of phantasy. In the end "life is dream" and all this bravado, the theatre of operations that war theatre— was no more than pure theatre and it was him who directed it. If this was so, and in the case that this defense mechanism —or of survival, of keeping his senses— was related with his analytic vocation, it would have more to do with his vocation of groupanalyst than with the one of psychoanalyst. In fact, in "Therapeutic Group Analysis" where for the third time he admits that he owes it to having read Burrow in those early years that he was able to think in groupanalysis as a possible form of treatment; immediately he admits that "... there were other influences in the air at the time... theatre plays like the 'Six characters in search of an author' of

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K. R. Eissler (1986): "Freud as an Expert Witness. The Discussion of War Neurosis between Freud and Wagner-Jauregg", IUP, Madison, Connecticut.

Frank E. Sulloway (1979): "Freud, Biologist of the Mind —Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend", Basic Books Inc., Nueva York, y Fontana Paperbacks, 1980.

Pirandello... and 'The Night Asile' de Maxim Gorki... plays without a hero, a group without leader on the scene dragged by powerful and anonymous forces. It made me think about the pathogenic and the therapeutic power of the theatre of the everyday life."

Anyhow, it is important to remember in this case as we did in the case of Burrow and Shields, that these reminiscences are reconstructions, interpretations *post hoc*, in relation to an experience a half a century before and that, in spite of that all history is a story, and all stories are interpretations, who tells the story does it in accordance to a theory, the one he has been gestating during all these years. This observation is equally applicable to biographers, as is the case of the pleiade of them that turned up after Freud's death, as we will turn up around Trigant Burrow and S. H. Foulkes.

Forgetting for a moment the question of interpretation, the fact is that Foulkes followed the paternal advice, studied Medicine and graduated in 1923. What we don't know well up to which point Medicine was also useful to him in earning his living, at least at the beginning. What turns out difficult is to follow the long and tortuous way he undertook and followed in arriving to be a "different psychiatrist", according to him a "psychoanalyst as we understand nowadays", and, according to us, a true groupanalyst. He was lucky to be able to choose his teachers and, following the German tradition, jumping from university to university he went, after his first preclinical year in Heidelberg, to Munich where he could attend the classes of the famous Kraepelin, his first contact with Psychiatry. We ignore if it was the disappointment with that class of psychiatry to which he hoped to dedicate his life or if, as he says, it was a love affair which made that he stayed at the University of Frankfurt instead of returning to Heidelberg as planned. We don't know if the said love affair consisted of a beautiful young girl, the University or the city of Frankfurt. The fact this was his place of residence until he went into exile in 1933 —except a semester at the Charité II in Berlin, one year at the paternal house in Karlsruhe due to the economic crisis of the end of the twenties and two years he passed in Vienna to finish his specialization in psychiatry with Wagner-Jauregg and to train in psychoanalysis.

being a psychoanalyst and the situation of psychoanalysis itself in those days, it is coherent that he wishes previously become familiar with general medicine, neurology and psychiatry. What cannot be easily understood is that for this training he opt for Frankfurt, as far as psychiatry is concerned a provincial town, instead of going to Berlin, then the capital of the world in medicine and psychoanalysis or to Vienna, that had been, the place where he finally went to. Still less clear is why, deciding himself for Vienna —

Considering the early vocation of Foulkes for

according to him following the advice of Landauer— he did not try to be analyzed by Freud himself and content himself with an analysis with Helene Deutsch, on top of in the conditions the latter imposed, this is to say sharing his analyst with his wife. Granted, there can be unconscious reasons or objective



conditions of reality which did not let him another option. But the academic reason and culturally more important one for staying in Frankfurt was to be able to continue his studies with Goldstein, the person destined to be the teacher that most influenced his life, and to share the intellectual atmosphere one breathed in Frankfurt. Goldstein, director of the "Institute of Brain Investigations" was a much respected scientist. He exerted an enormous influence on lecturers and students of psychology and sociology in the neighboring "Institut für Sozialforschung" (Institute for Sociological Investigation) associated with the University of Frankfurt, and his classes were attended by students from all disciplines. It was there that Ilse Seglow, who had known Foulkes as Medical Assistant of Goldstein, met him again upon his return from Vienna in 1930, now as director of the Clinic of the Psychoanalytic Institute. Ilse Seglow was participating in seminars with teachers of psychology such as Wertheimer, Meng and, occasionally, Kurt Lewin, of sociology like Mannheim, Norbert Elias, Adorno, Horkheimer and Leo Lowenthal, of philosophy such as Tillich, and of the Institute of Psychoanalysis such as Landauer, los Fromm and Foulkes himself. In the words of Seglow: "Together with their students, those met once a week to discuss <<human problems>>". These regular seminars, although there being a hierarchical order, were carried out in an extraordinarily non-authoritarian manner; in fact they were a very democratic circle. Never again was I to experiment such rich and refreshing intellectual life as that one of the Department of Sociology of the University of Frankfurt during the years just before Hitler attained power. Neither the sociologists, nor the philosophers, psychoanalysts, psychologists nor economists shut themselves up in the territory of their own academic specialty, but everyone from his own field of knowledge and experience contributed to a liberalizing approach which illuminated many aspects of the dark sociopolitical climate of that time. All and everyone of this "group" was well conscious, given the political atmosphere we saw approaching in Germany, that it made little sense to theorize about Society. There was much interest in understanding how humanity could arrive to take charge of the realities of the life in common and, this way, confront the very real problems German society and culture had to face up to. There neither was any ivory tower, it was an intellectuality in a committed fight for a multidisciplinary praxis destined to change the objective conditions of reality, a spirit which, after the Second World War was to be revived with the psychiatric movement of Heidelberg.

"I believe —says Seglow— that the basic apprenticeship [of Foulkes] in reference to the dynamic interdependence in groups emerged there in Frankfurt, and is related, consciously or unconsciously to his first wife, to Goldstein and to the very specific intellectual relationships between psychoanalysts, sociologists, philosophers, psychologists and others."

This environment of cultural and interdisciplinary cosmopolitism described by Seglow and by sure could not be found in any other place than Frankfurt, was exactly the spirit that reigned in the Neurological Institute of Goldstein. The multidisciplinary attitude was translated here onto the level of the specialties of psychology, social work, neurology and psychiatry, so much so in the specific tasks that it was this Institute which was entrusted to be the centre of investigation for the rehabilitation of solders with cerebral lesions, but still more on the level of the human team which worked there conducted by Goldstein. In this respect is interesting the description which another fellow student of Foulkes makes retrospectively of those days (Quadfasel 1968). We pointed out above that he size of Foulkes' extended family — the size of a large group, in terms of Pat de Maré— could well have influenced his

sensibility for the group as a therapeutic instrument, but it is also possible to think that it was that "small group", constituted by the team of Goldstein within a wider "scientific community" radically group oriented, which determined a vocation in the last instance groupanalytic. What here is worth underlining is that when in 1928 Foulkes comes to Vienna to complete his psychiatric training and train as psychoanalyst, he does so marked by the imprint which supposes having been trained with Kurt Goldstein, one of the most prestigious scientific figures in Frankfurt, at the same time the one which less <u>believed</u> in Freudian psychoanalysis. In the photograph of the team of Goldstein which accompanies the article of Quadfasel appear seven associates: Foulkes, Pearls, Quino, Cohn, Quadfasel, Rothchild and



Fig. 1 — Kurt Goldstein and bis associates, 1927. Standing: Fuchs, Perls, Kino, Cobn. Seated: Quadfasel, Rothchild, Goldstein, Schwartz.

Schwartz, there being another who does not appear in the photo, probably the one who took it, Walter Riese, destined to be afterwards in the United States the maximum expert of the work of Goldstein; that is to say, a total of seven or eight people. A curious coincidence, the exact number members Foulkes considered the ideal for his groupanalytic psychotherapies! Quadfasel had been associated between 1926 and 1927 not only with the Neurologic Institute of Goldstein but also with the Institute of Psychology of the same University directed

Adhémar Gelb, a prominent Gestalt psychologist. The association between these institutes was as close as the ones maintained afterwards between the Institute of Sociology of Horkheimer and the Institute of Psychoanalysis of Landauer, institutes, for sure, which shared the same building in Victoriastrasse. It was precisely Landauer who recommended Foulkes to go to Vienna for his training as a psychoanalyst and it was to be the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Frankfurt where Foulkes was incorporated as Director of its Psychoanalytic Clinic upon return from Vienna; the first paid job he has as a doctor, something that lasted little, since this Clinic had to close down in 1932 due to bankruptcy.

The Institute of Goldstein lacked the commodities fitting a university hospital. It consisted of a large nave in two parts. On one side, the laboratory, with a sole wood table which went from beginning to end and on which every doctor had his workplace reserved in front of a very complete collection of brains of all kinds of animals. On the other side were the offices of Goldstein, Schwartz and Quino and the library. The Institute did not dispose of space for its neurological patients. Exceptionally, some with brain lesions were allowed to live in one of the barracks on the premises of the hospital until they were discharged or sent home as ambulatory patients. By the way, a situation very similar to the one during the Second World War in the Northfield Military Hospital for war neurotics where Foulkes carried out the first large scale experiments with his groupanalytic psychotherapies. How can one understand asks himself Quadfasel— that in an environment seemingly so little pretentious, a doctor would go there to continue his training? And clarifies, that in those times, when there were still no training programs in neuropsychiatry, three years of voluntary work in a university hospital was considered a more than adequate training for starting private praxis. The ones who continued more time, as did Foulkes for two

more years in Vienna together with Wagner-Jauregg, Pötzl and Schilder, in the end received a small salary and access to a university career. This supposed "secrete agenda" in the specialization of Foulkes gives a sense to the peculiar pathway of his training. When he leaves for Vienna, the Institute of Psychoanalysis had still not materialized, although it is possible that Landauer and Horkheimer had it in mind. But, why, upon return, Foulkes does not continue in the Institute of Goldstein, as surely was his intention when he left for Vienna? Simply because Goldstein had left to be professor in Berlin and to follow him there, losing all contact with the Institute of Social Investigation and the one of Psychoanalysis, did entice him at all. It is plausible that that Landauer's and Horkheimer's intention suggesting Foulkes, a man of Goldstein, to train in Vienne as psychoanalyst, was to establish a bridge between the institutes they directed and the ones of cerebral investigation and psychology. From Goldstein, however, he learned something which forcibly made him enter in resonance with what he may have read of Burrow, in case it was then and in that context that he read him. There he made his own the holistic point of view, according to which the organismic whole has an independent reality and is more than the sum of its parts, and the Gestalt concepts of figure and ground of Gelb which Goldstein also applied to neurology. But the most important is his identification with Goldstein as an investigator and teacher. Reading the description Quadfasel makes of that Institute, one cannot less than relive the atmosphere in the Outpatients Unit which Foulkes directed during fifteen years at the Maudsley Hospita of the Institute of Psychiatry of the University of London⁹. Quadfasel comments in his article:

"Goldstein made himself available to explain and did not show distance, arrogance or class consciousness characteristic of the "Herr Professor" who did not address the young assistants directly but through his First or Second Assistant until the former had worked for him at least three years. In a hospital like the Charité in Berlin there were at any moment at least thirty or forty of these voluntary assistants. With Goldstein, one maintained direct and daily contact with a man who technique of examining was completely different to the habitual neurological exploration of those days. The ones working for him were equally free of the characteristic prejudices and the atmosphere of the Institute was such that one could express freely ones opinion... We learned to ask ourselves about how the patient, what he can do and how he can do it rather than what he cannot do... This enriched our approach with patients with cerebral lesions much more than what we could find in the books... Goldstein, his patients loved him. He was delicate, kind, and had an authentic interest in his patients. They were not only material to be studied, cases..."

This same atmosphere is the one transmitted throughout Foulkes' whole work, particularly in his first book when he describes the experiences in Northfield (Foulkes 1948) or in *Therapeutic Group Analysis* presenting his Unit at the Maudsley as a model of psychotherapeutic department, since it

"...is, in the sense in which we show the way one can do justice to the claims of psychotherapy in an out-patient clinic if it is at the same time to create the best conditions for teaching and learning, for clinical study and investigation. It's not a model in the sense that it can be transferred wholesale to other settings. Indeed, it is an intrinsic part of a groupanalytic approach that rigid

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Juan Campos (1979) "La orientación grupoanalítica en la formación de psicoterapeutas: El magisterio de S. H. Foulkes"

organization and institutionalization are avoided so as to allow maximum flexibility to ever-changing conditions. Arrangements should be made, as it were, be hand-made and in the closest possible contact with the realities of conditions." (Foulkes 1964, p. 238)

The concept of health which Foulkes sets forth as "a creative adaptation to reality", obviously he had matured on the side of Goldstein. This "healthy" attitude —in the sense of democratic, social, groupwise on the level of people as well as of ideas—perhaps explains why Foulkes was to be able, first, to resonate with the ideas of Burrow and, then, to adapt the ideas of Goldstein to Freudian psychoanalysis which they taught him in Vienna. We will see afterwards, how he manages himself to arrive at a creative adaptation, creative to the conditions of reality destiny had in store, first in the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Frankfurt, and afterwards, in the one of London to be able to develop his own group analysis.

In effect, the rest of the life and work of S. H. Foulkes developed after his immigration to London in 1933.

[Unfortunately, destiny had not in store the time necessary for Juan Campos to finish his biographical consideration of Foulkes. We will have to find his ideas about Foulkes in some of his other writings, especially in "Milestones in the History of Group Analysis" (1981-2004). HC]