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## **The Early History of Psychoanalysis in San Francisco**

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The early history of psychoanalysis in San Francisco formally begins with the opening of Alfred Kroeber's psychoanalytic office in 1918 and ends with the death of Siegfried Bernfeld in 1953. Between those years, San Francisco witnessed a small group of Americans and European émigrés coming together and creating the foundation of psychoanalysis in San Francisco. The issues dominating the day were those of lay analysis, psychoanalytic training models and World War II. Within this small psychoanalytic community, there were a number of extremely creative analysts who, along with the rest, participated in some rare moments in which a creative and ecumenical spirit prevailed and others in which divisiveness limited them.

Without a historical context, those of us in the depth psychologies tend to become arrogant and assert the ahistorical and timeless truth of our views. We fall victim to "the narcissism of minor differences" and project our dreaded other onto the various others around us whether they be pop psychology innovators, old guard upholders of the dogma, or just our theoretical cousins. But psychoanalysis is not a natural science. It is a historical science. Nathan Adler used to say, "Every generation must rediscover psychoanalysis for itself." And I would add that we must contextualize our discoveries and re-discoveries in the social, historical and economic moment in which we are situated.

There are many reasons for recalling the early history of the depth psychologies in San Francisco. Some remember to relive happier times, others to rewrite sadder times. Some research the earlier days to contextualize theory and technique, others to locate themselves in a lineage or make imaginary connections to soothe their alienation. And then there are those who find their personal conflicts more approachable when displaced into parallel historical conflicts. In this article, we remember in order to be inspired by those few brief moments in which an ecumenical spirit characterized that community and also remember, so as not to repeat, a history of divisiveness. This article does not attempt to cover the entire history of psychoanalysis in San Francisco, nor is it the history of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society (SFPI&S). It is about the early history of psychoanalysis, in the broadest sense of the term, inside and outside the formal institutes, in the San Francisco Bay Area (Benveniste, 1995; Benveniste, 1994a).

### **A “Prehistoric” San Francisco Connection**

In 1897 Sigmund Freud was forty-one years old. He had already translated Charcot's lectures and written on hypnotism, neurology, the etiology of neuroses, and studies on hysteria. He was beginning his self-analysis and putting the pieces in place for his *Interpretation of Dreams*. In a letter to his friend, Wilhelm Fliess, on May 16, 1897, Freud wrote:

"I now have several new students and a real pupil - from Berlin, a Dr. Gattel, who was an assistant at Levinstein's Maison de Sante and who came here to learn something from me. ...Incidentally, he is half-American and a nephew of Professor Dresenfeld in Manchester." (Masson, 1985, p.244)

In fact, as Schröter and Hermanns tell us, "Gattel came from San Francisco..." (1992, p. 91) Felix Gattel was an enthusiastic student but, as fate would have it, he was embracing the seduction theory just as Freud was rejecting it. After a hopeful beginning to their work, which included a vacation together in Italy, their relationship soured and on September 21, 1897 Freud wrote to Fliess, "My pupil Dr. Gattel is something of a disappointment." (Masson, 1985, p.266) Gattel returned to Berlin and died seven years later, in 1904 (Schröter & Hermanns, 1992).

Gattel appears to have left San Francisco as a child, so, of course he never practiced there. Nonetheless, his personal roots in San Francisco and his professional association with Freud render his story too important to be omitted. From this point forward, however, the links in the chain of descent from Freud's Vienna to San Francisco will be much stronger, as they will be situated in the San Francisco Bay Area itself.

### **Psychoanalysis in San Francisco: The History Begins**

The first psychoanalyst to actually practice in San Francisco was Alfred L. Kroeber, Ph.D. (1876-1960), the famous anthropologist from the University of California at Berkeley. His research into the archeology, language and customs of Native Californians is scholarly, voluminous and internationally known. Studying anthropology under Franz Boas, he completed his doctorate in 1901 and was married in 1906. His first wife, however, died in 1913 and in 1916 his famous Native American friend and informant, known as Ishi, also died. Kroeber had a familiarity with psychoanalysis from his reading of the literature and his visits to the European psychoanalytic groups in 1915 or '16. Being personally troubled and somewhat at sea, professionally, he obtained an analysis with Gregory Stragnell, in New York, in 1917. Following his analysis he returned to San Francisco and set up a psychoanalytic practice which he maintained from 1918-1923, first at Stanford Hospital (located where California Pacific Medical Center is located today) and then in a private office downtown, on Sutter Street.

Kroeber's first psychological publication was his 1918 review of two of Carl Jung's books. This was followed by two important critiques of Freud's *Totem and Taboo*, the first published in 1920 and the second in 1939 (Kroeber, 1918; Kroeber, 1920; Kroeber, 1939). He also organized the Bay Area's first psychoanalytic study group on the campus

of the University of California at Berkeley in the late 1920s with Edward Chace Tolman, Jean Macfarlane and others.

Ultimately, Kroeber gave up the practice of psychoanalysis to devote himself fully to anthropology. Nonetheless, he maintained an interest in psychoanalysis and was later to become closely associated with both Erik H. Erikson and Frieda Fromm-Reichman. Shortly before his death in 1960 he organized an anthropological conference in Austria. Two of the people who were invited, but unable to attend, were J. Robert Oppenheimer, the theoretical physicist, and Carl Gustav Jung (Kroeber, T. 1970; Benveniste interview with Dr. Ted Kroeber).

In 1930 Joseph C. Thompson, M.D. (1875-1943), a childhood friend of Kroeber's, came to San Francisco. Thompson was an American-born analyst who trained at the Washington-Baltimore Psychoanalytic Institute. He had been a Naval Surgeon and had wide-ranging interests including cat breeding and the study and collection of salamanders and snakes. All Burmese cats in the United States are said to be descendants of his cats. He also gave 16,000 snakes to the Fleischacker Zoo in San Francisco. He was associated with Abraham Arden Brill, Franz Alexander and William Alanson White. He published psychoanalytic articles on basic psychoanalytic concepts, desertion, the symbolism of ancient written languages, and other related topics. Due to his interest in all things Asian, he often published under the pseudo-Chinese version of his name, Joe Tom Sun. He spent many years in the Far East and had a deep interest in the relationship between psychoanalysis and Buddhism. He was involved in four wars and had many exciting tales to tell, most of which were probably true.

Around 1924, Thompson was on board a U.S. Navy transport, passing through the Panama Canal when he met a woman and her charming 12 year old son on their way to Washington D.C. to join their husband and father, Harold "Hub" Ross Hubbard. Hub was in the Navy and a friend of Thompson's. Thompson didn't have children of his own and found the boy bright and delightful company. On the boat, and continuing in Washington D.C., Thompson established a mentoring relationship to the boy. He taught him how to train cats, got him into reading books at the Library of Congress, and introduced him to psychoanalysis and Otto Rank's theory of the Birth Trauma. The boy took it all in and it had an important influence on his later work. The boy's name was Lafayette Ronald Hubbard better known as L. Ron Hubbard, the science fiction writer and founder of the Church of Scientology and the science of Dianetics (Warner, 1992). It has been said that L. Ron Hubbard absconded with many of Thompson's tales and re-told them as his own experiences.

Thompson was something of a renegade in his thinking and practice and, consequently, was viewed by some as a "rugged individualist" and by others as a "wild analyst." One of his "wild" views, in contrast to the American Psychoanalytic Association, at that time, was his agreement with Freud's advocacy of lay analysis and Freud's corresponding disapproval of a medical monopoly on psychoanalysis. Though Thompson was an M.D., he mistrusted medical doctors, the American Medical Association, and the American Psychoanalytic Association, which was leaning heavily in the direction of establishing

psychoanalysis as a medical monopoly in the mid-1930s. He trained two lay analysts in San Francisco - Aaron Morafka and Earl W. Nilsson. Nilsson left after a time to practice in Beverly Hills and Morafka remained in San Francisco where he practiced as an independent lay analyst. Clara Thompson – no relation – was also analyzed by Joseph Thompson when he was still on the east coast.

On the inside cover of Joseph Thompson's copy of *The Problem of Lay Analysis* by Sigmund Freud, Thompson wrote a passage from Ezekiel "For they hear thy words, but do not them." Thompson died in 1943 (Benveniste interview with Mr. Aaron Morafka; Thompson's copy of Freud's book in Daniel Benveniste's personal archive).

Aaron Morafka (1913-1998) began his analysis, psychoanalytic training and psychoanalytic practice in San Francisco under Joseph Thompson in 1932 at the age of 19. He gave lectures around town and worked as an independent lay analyst in San Francisco, with no institute affiliation, for fifty-five years. Morafka told stories of hearing Alfred Adler, Otto Rank, A.A. Brill, Géza Róheim, Clarence Oberndorf and others who came to San Francisco to lecture on psychoanalysis in the 1930s and 40s. Along with Thompson, Morafka held a deep interest in Buddhism and the relationship between Buddhist and psychoanalytic concepts (Benveniste interview with Mr. Aaron Morafka).

Jacques Schnier (1898-1988) was another of Thompson's analysands. Schnier was a sculptor and an author of many articles on psychoanalysis and art. He taught Sculpture at the University of California at Berkeley and was an important art deco artist whose sculptures were featured at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. He also designed the 1936 commemorative half-dollar in honor of the construction of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. Schnier was analyzed by Thompson, underwent additional analysis with Morafka and had a brief analysis with Ernest Jones in England. He practiced analysis for a time but gave it up when he could see it would be difficult continuing in a marginal fashion as a lay analyst. He corresponded extensively with many of the leading psychoanalysts of the day including Ernest Jones, Géza Róheim, Theodor Reik and others. Schnier even corresponded briefly with Sigmund Freud, and Freud's 1938 letter to Schnier, in defense of lay analysis, was later published in Ernest Jones's *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 3*. Freud wrote:

"Dear Mr. Schnier,

I cannot imagine how that silly rumor of my having changed my views about the problem of lay analysis may have originated. The fact is, I have never repudiated these views, and I insist on them even more intensely than before in the face of the obvious American tendency to turn psychoanalysis into a mere housemaid of psychiatry.

Sincerely yours,

Freud" (Jones, 1957, pp. 300-301)

After Thompson's death, in 1943, Schnier, Morafka and a number of Thompson's other former patients formed the Psychoanalytic Education Society, which sponsored lectures

and discussions on psychoanalytic topics (Benveniste interview with Mrs. Dorothy Schnier; Benveniste interview with Mr. Aaron Morafka).

### **The European Émigré Analysts Arrive**

In 1936 Bernhard Berliner, Ph.D. M.D. (1885-1976), came to San Francisco, from Berlin, with his wife, Hildegard, and daughter, Gabriele (Gabi). Berliner had both a Ph.D. in psychology as well as a medical degree. He had studied psychology under Wilhelm Wundt and neurology under Emil Kraepelin and Hermann Oppenheim. He received his psychoanalytic training at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute from 1928 to 1936 studying under Otto Fenichel, Ernst Simmel and others. He was analyzed by Carl Mueller-Braunschweig and Wilhelm Reich.

When Berliner arrived in San Francisco he met with Thompson, Schnier, and Morafka. They formed a psychoanalytic study group on September 27, 1936. Berliner was elected President, Morafka Vice-President and Schnier Treasurer. This group, however, was short-lived. Thompson, suspicious of Berliner's allegiances to the medical community, talked with Morafka and Schnier after the meeting and suggested they all withdraw from the study group. They agreed and the Bay Area's second psychoanalytic study group (Kroeber founded the first) came to an early end. Berliner later played important roles in the establishment of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society (SFPI&S) and wrote a series of important papers on an object relations view of masochism (Benveniste interview with Mrs. Hildegard Berliner; Benveniste interview with Mr. Aaron Morafka; Benveniste interview with Mrs. Dorothy Schnier; Benveniste, 1994c).

In these early years the Bay Area received visits from a number of important psychoanalytic pioneers including Alfred Adler, Otto Rank and Oskar Pfister. Alfred Adler, M.D. (1870-1937) arrived for his first visit to San Francisco, on February 3rd 1929. He gave lectures at the local universities and spoke on a wide range of topics from individual psychology to the reasons prohibition would fail. It was a successful first visit and on July 25th 1936, he returned to the San Francisco Bay Area and brought with him his son, Kurt, and his daughter, Alexandra. During this extended visit, Alfred Adler taught at the Williams Institute in Berkeley and delivered a number of guest lectures as well. His topics included the cultural differences between the United States and Europe, his advocacy for the psychological education of children and an assertion of his feminist views. "Women" he said "have been treated as weaker by men and gradually they got the habit. They begin to recognize limitations which do not exist mentally." (San Francisco Chronicle, July 26, 1936)

Adler loved California, hoped to return every summer and perhaps "let it take the place of his beloved Vienna." In 1937 he announced he had chosen Berkeley as his Western Headquarters (The Daily Californian, Jan. 28, 1937). But on May 28, 1937, only three months before this planned return to the Bay Area, Dr. Alfred Adler suffered heart failure and died in Aberdeen, Scotland at the age of 67 (Bottome, 1939, p. 233). Subsequently a number of Alfred Adler's students settled in the San Francisco Bay Area. These included Anthony Bruck, Edward Schneider, Blanche Weill, Sophia de Vries and Rollo May (Conversation with Dr. Henry Stein; Benveniste 1992a).

Otto Rank, Ph.D. (1884-1939) visited the San Francisco Bay Area in February of 1935 for a series of scientific lectures. His topics included a critique of Freudian psychoanalysis, the cultural differences between the United States and Europe and a discussion of the "self inflicted diseases." Aaron Morafka was at one of Rank's lectures and recalled that Rank said he would return the following year to teach his method to professional and lay groups. In fact, Rank liked California so much he intended on returning to start a new life there. But his return was delayed until July of 1939, when he stayed at the Clift Hotel in San Francisco and was married to his second wife, Estelle. After their marriage they returned to New York with plans to pack their things and resettle in San Francisco, but on October 31, 1939 Otto Rank died in New York, at the age of 55. One can only imagine how the history of the depth psychologies in San Francisco would have been different had Adler and/or Rank lived long enough to fulfill their dreams to make their homes in San Francisco (San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 4, 1935 & Feb. 10, 1935; Taft, 1958).

Reverend Oskar Pfister (1873-1956) was a Protestant minister and teacher in Zurich. He first met Freud through his association with Jung but after the Freud-Jung split, Freud and Pfister continued to enjoy their friendship and argue respectfully their differing views on religious matters. I don't know the nature of Pfister's visit to the Bay Area, but I do know that Pfister corresponded with Freud while staying at 2637 Durant Avenue in Berkeley in the summer of 1930 (Meng, 1963, p. 134-135). After Freud wrote his classic book *The Future of an Illusion* in which he used psychoanalytic theory to support his atheistic stance, Pfister wrote a rebuttal entitled *The Illusion of a Future* (1993).

As the émigrés, beginning with Berliner, started to arrive in San Francisco, they were warmly welcomed by Dr. Bernard Kaufman, Sr., Dr. Ernst Wolff and Wolff's wife, Dr. Leona M. Bayer. Kaufman was an internist at Mt. Zion Hospital who had previously taught medicine in Vienna and had met Freud there (Benveniste interview with Dr. Bernard Kaufman, Jr.).

Ernst Wolff, M.D. was a German émigré and pediatrician at Mt. Zion Hospital who had arrived in the United States in 1925. He set up the Child Guidance Clinic at Mt. Zion, created a platform for the arriving analysts to lecture on psychoanalysis and spearheaded the establishment of Mt. Zion's Psychiatric Department. His wife, Dr. Leona M. Bayer, was an internist who specialized in work with adolescents at Stanford University Hospital, located, at that time, in San Francisco, where California Pacific Medical Center is located today.

In the 1930s or '40s Leona M. Bayer, M.D. (1903-1993) invited Franz Alexander to give a talk on the psychosomatics of peptic ulcer to the physicians at Stanford Hospital. A group of doctors assembled and Alexander proceeded to explain that peptic ulcer was the somatic manifestation of crying for mother's milk. Dr. Bayer then added, "Well, it happened that two or three of the heads of departments there had peptic ulcers, so that didn't get over very well. And psychoanalysis really made no progress at Stanford as a result of that introduction!" (Benveniste interview with Dr. Leona M. Bayer)

On September 1, 1937 Siegfried Bernfeld, Ph.D. (1892-1953) arrived in San Francisco. Bernfeld was the only analyst in San Francisco to have studied closely with Sigmund Freud. In 1913, when he was only 21 years old, the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* published Bernfeld's article entitled *Unconscious Determination of the Thinking Process: A Self Observation*. He joined the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society as a "guest" in 1915. From 1916 to 1921 he was a prominent youth leader and organizer in the Jewish Youth Movement and in behalf of Zionism. He even worked for a time as Martin Buber's secretary. He was analyzed by Hanns Sachs and supervised by Sigmund Freud. He became a full member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1919, when he was 27. In the same year, he launched his Kinderheim Baumgarten for Jewish war orphans. It was a school and demonstration center for progressive education based on psychoanalytic principles. He was recognized, from the beginning, as an inspiring and eloquent lecturer and as an advocate of progressive education. He was the first Vice president of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute, at the age of 33, under the presidency of Helene Deutsch. It should be recalled that between 1902 and 1938 the average age of acceptance of women into the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society was 37.2 years and for men it was 33.6 years (Mühlleitner & Reichmayr, 1997, p. 75).

In 1925 he published a pioneering study on the psychoanalytic interpretation of infancy, entitled *Psychology des Säuglings (Psychology of the Infant - English translation -1929)*. Also published in 1925 was his book *Sisyphos oder die Grenzen der Erziehung (Sisyphus or the Limits of Education - English translation -1973)*. In *Sisyphus* Bernfeld melded his socialist political views with his psychoanalytic perspective and described the limits of education as the limits of the political system as well as the psychological limits of the child and the teacher.

In 1926 he moved to Berlin, re-established his practice as an analyst, and began to teach at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. Here too, he was acknowledged as a brilliant and dedicated teacher. In a letter of recommendation, written in 1931, Freud said of Bernfeld: "He is an outstanding expert of psychoanalysis. I consider him perhaps the strongest head among my students and followers. In addition he is of superior knowledge, an overwhelming speaker and an extremely powerful teacher. Thus I can say all in all only the very best about him and we deeply regretted it when he left for Berlin." (Ekstein, 1966, p. 425)

In 1932 Hitler was receiving overwhelmingly popular support, and so Bernfeld left Berlin to return to Vienna to practice and teach. As a member of the second generation, his cohort included Anna Freud, August Aichhorn, and Willi Hoffer. The four of them conducted a weekly study group on Psychoanalytic Pedagogy, which was open not only to candidates in training but to schoolteachers and social workers as well. In conjunction with this study group was their work on the *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Paedagogik*. This journal, originally based in Switzerland, was moved to Vienna under Willi Hoffer's leadership, closed down in 1938, and re-emerged after the Second World War in its Anglo-American form as *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*.

Bernfeld stayed in Vienna only a short while. At the end of 1934 he moved to Menton, France with his third wife, Suzanne Cassirer Paret, his daughters Ruth and Rose Marie and Suzanne's two children, from a previous marriage, Renate and Peter Paret. Suzanne Bernfeld had studied philosophy and medicine, was the daughter of Paul Cassirer, a well-known art dealer in Berlin, and the niece of the Kantian philosopher, Ernst Cassirer. In France, Bernfeld saw only a few patients, pursued his work on the relationship of biology to psychoanalytic theory and collaborated with Rene Spitz.

Bernfeld, a Zionist, had considered immigrating to Palestine after the First World War but then chose not to do so. In the 1930s fascism and anti-Semitism were spreading through Europe at a feverish pace. By 1934 Bernfeld was making plans to go to the United States but this had to be done in stages. In France his family obtained visas to go to the United States via England. They stayed in England from January to the beginning of August 1937. In New York the psychoanalytic establishment urged him to go west. The family visited in Chicago and then moved on to Los Angeles where Frances Deri, Otto Fenichel, and Ernst Simmel, all recent émigrés, had settled. Siegfried Bernfeld arrived in San Francisco in September of 1937 with his wife Suzanne, his two daughters and her two children.

Bernfeld was one of the central figures in the founding of the Vienna, Berlin and San Francisco Psychoanalytic Societies. He was a charter member of the Topeka Society as well, though he never lived there. The Topeka Society was associated with the famed Menninger Clinic and there were no other psychoanalytic societies located west of it until 1942, when the San Francisco Society was established. Consequently in the late 1930s and early '40s all the recognized analysts on the west coast of the United States were members of the Topeka. Later the Topeka Society served as a sponsoring society for the San Francisco group and others as well. Bernfeld was a psychologist by training, a Ph.D. analyst, who made contributions to the study of infant development, adolescence, education, politics, clinical technique, Freud biography, psychoanalytic training and the dubious field of libidometry,

Soon after his arrival in San Francisco, Bernfeld formed the Bay Area's third psychoanalytic study group along with his wife, Suzanne Bernfeld. The other members included Bernhard Berliner, Anna Maenchen, Emanuel Windholz, Erik Erikson, Jean Macfarlane, Donald Macfarlane, Josephine Hilgard, Ernest Hilgard, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Egon Brunswik, Edward Chace Tolman, Harold Jones, Olga Bridgman, Alfred L. Kroeber, Robert Lowie (anthropologist), Ernst Wolff (pediatrician), and J. Robert Oppenheimer (the theoretical physicist and father of the atomic bomb). This study group, composed of psychoanalysts, psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, a pediatrician and a theoretical physicist represents, for me, part of the Golden Age of psychoanalysis in San Francisco, when psychoanalysis was discussed in an ecumenical spirit (Ekstein, 1966; Berliner, 1975; Benveniste, 1992b; Benveniste interview with Dr. Ernest Hilgard).

There are those that described Bernfeld's arrival in San Francisco as "too late to start afresh" but they didn't know him there (Hoffer, 1953; Benveniste, 1998a; Ekstein, Fallend & Reichmayr, 1990; Benveniste interview with Dr. Rudolf Ekstein). Those that



did know him in San Francisco described him as active and involved with his clinical work, supervision of candidates, his writing and his hobby of cat breeding (Benveniste, 1992d).

In 1941, Bernfeld's classic paper, *The Facts of Observation in Psychoanalysis* was published. In this paper he schematized the psychoanalytic process in a way that helps the therapist attend first to the resistance rather than the content. It was republished in 1985 and continues to be valued as an important teaching tool in psychoanalytic seminars throughout the Bay Area and beyond (Benveniste 1992c).

Anna Maenchen, Ph.D. (1902-1991) began her analysis with Anna Freud in 1924 at the age of twenty-two. She was a psychologist by training, participated in Anna Freud's study group on *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, and attended seminars led by Bernfeld and other luminaries of the Vienna and Berlin Institutes in the 1920s and '30s. Maenchen arrived in San Francisco in 1938, became a member of Bernfeld's psychoanalytic study group, participated in the founding of the SFPI&S, and was instrumental in the establishment and development of the Institute's Child Analysis Training program (Maenchen, 1985; Goodman, 1992).

In 1959 Anna Freud made her one and only visit to the Bay Area. On that occasion she stayed at the home of Anna Maenchen, her former analysand, student and lifelong friend. She gave a number of lectures and was a discussant for Edward Weinschel's paper Negation as a Character Trait. Haskell Norman, with his eye on history, recognized the importance of Miss Freud's visit and commissioned a professional photographer, Imogene Cunningham, to take her photograph (Benveniste interview with Dr. Edward Weinschel; Benveniste interview with Dr. Haskell Norman).

Emanuel Windholz, M.D. (1903-1986) was a Czechoslovakian psychoanalyst. He received his initial training at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute in the summer of 1930, at the age of twenty-seven. At the end of the summer, he was told by his analyst, Moshe Wulff, and his teacher, Ernst Simmel, that on his return to Prague he should begin practicing psychoanalysis. He did and became a founding member of the Prague Psychoanalytic Study Group. He was further analyzed by Francis Deri and Otto Fenichel, after they had both fled Berlin and settled in Prague.

As the story goes, when Francis Deri settled in Prague, she lived in a "small pension, where she used her bed as a couch. [Windholz] often recalled how he would have to wait outside her door in the morning while she made up her bed and then when lying on it he would notice that it was still warm. He said this led to some interesting fantasies." (Windholz, M., 1986, p. 4)

In October 1931 Windholz, along with several others, gathered together to place a tablet at the birth house of Sigmund Freud in Freiberg (Pribor). Shortly thereafter, Windholz edited a collection of articles into a book in honor of Freud's 75th birthday. Windholz contributed two articles and an introduction to this book. (Windholz, 1931)

In 1938 Deri and Fenichel left Prague and immigrated to Los Angeles. This left the mantle of leadership of Prague's Psychoanalytic Study Group on Windholz's shoulders. He was 35 years old. But the Nazi plague was spreading and in 1939 Emanuel Windholz immigrated to San Francisco. In San Francisco he participated in Bernfeld's study group and became a founding member of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society. He was a passionate advocate for psychoanalysis, an important Institute administrator, a creative psychoanalytic researcher and a fund-raiser who promoted the low fee clinic and the establishment of the SFPI&S building (Windholz Oral History; Benveniste interview with Dr. Michael Windholz).

Prof. Erik H. Erikson (1902-1994), one of the major contributors to psychoanalysis whose influence extended beyond psychoanalysis to developmental psychology, social work, sociology, history and psychobiography, lived in the Bay Area for 27 years (1939-51; 1964-65; 1973-87) and wrote many of his most important books there, including *Childhood and Society*, *Life History and the Historical Moment*, *Toys and Reasons*, *Gandhi's Truth* and *The Life Cycle Completed*.

Erik (Erikson) was born 'illegitimate' and adopted at the age of three by his stepfather who gave him his last name, Homburger. Shortly after his early adulthood wanderings through Europe and his serious pursuit of art, Erik Homburger took a job as a teacher at the Hietzing School, in Vienna, which was run by Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham and Eva Rosenfeld. He learned of the job from his friend Peter Blos who was already working there. Shortly thereafter, he met and fell in love with Joan Serson at a masquerade party. Joan became a member of the teaching staff at the Hietzing School, as well. Erik and Joan were married and soon thereafter had their first child, Kai.

Sigmund Freud nicknamed Joan "Die Schöne," or "The Beauty", as she was a stunningly beautiful woman. In those early days it was not uncommon for analysts to go on vacation with their analysts so they could continue their analyses. When the Homburgers went on vacation with the Freud's, so that Erik could continue his analysis with Anna, he also had the job of looking after the Burlingham children. In 1996, when I visited with Joan at her home on Cape Cod, she recalled an encounter with Sigmund Freud at their summer vacation spot. Joan, 93 years old when she recounted this story, said that she met the Professor in the garden where she showed him her newborn baby boy. Freud looked at Kai and said "Sehr intelligent, sehr intelligent.", which means "Very intelligent, very intelligent!" Joan found his response to be humorous if not odd, as Kai was just an infant. But in all fairness to Freud, Kai did become a noted sociologist and professor at Yale University. So, maybe the old Professor could see something in the eyes of this infant after all (Benveniste, 1998b). But it is even more likely that Freud was referring to what he called the "“strahlende Intelligenz” (the “radiant intelligence”) displayed by children who for some moments are permitted (by themselves and by circumstances) to function freely.” (Erikson & Erikson, 1980, 1987, p. 13)

In 1933 Adolf Hitler was elected Chancellor of Germany and Joan saw that Europe was turning into a dangerous place. The family packed its bags and moved to Boston and later to New Haven. In 1939 the Homburgers moved to the Bay Area where Erik legally

changed the family name from Homburger to Erikson. He took a job at the Institute for Child Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley (U.C. Berkeley) and became associated with the other San Francisco analysts, participating in study groups and establishing the SFPI&S. He also became associated with Alfred Kroeber who introduced him to the Yurok Native Californians in the northern most portion of the state. Erikson did research on children's play configurations, studied Hitler's personality, explored the relationship between psychology and childrearing practices of two Native American tribes, worked at the Veteran's Rehabilitation Clinic, formulated the notion of identity, and, along with Joan, mapped out the psychosocial stages of human development. This all came to fruition in his landmark book, *Childhood and Society*, published in 1950.

After refusing to sign U.C Berkeley's Loyalty Oath in 1950, which was inspired by Senator Joseph McCarthy's Red Scare, Erikson left the Bay Area to work at Austen Riggs and later moved on to teach at Harvard. But he returned to the Bay Area for a year in 1964 to work on his psychobiography of Mahatma Gandhi. (Benveniste interview with Dr. Robert S. Wallerstein)

In 1973, the Erikson's returned to the Bay Area again and both Joan and Erik Erikson became affiliated with the Department of Psychiatry at Mt. Zion Hospital. During the period to follow, Erik Erikson participated in Robert Wallerstein's Doctorate in Mental Health program. He published a number of books and articles, and investigated *Vital Involvement in Old Age*, which was the title of his last book, co-authored with Joan Erikson and Helen Kivnick. On May 3rd 1987 Erik Erikson made his last public appearance in San Francisco on a panel discussion of *Vital Involvement in Old Age*. He then returned to the east coast where he entered into full retirement and died in 1994 (Benveniste interview with Mrs. Joan Erikson; Benveniste interview with Dr. Robert S. Wallerstein).

In the 1930s and '40s the San Francisco Bay Area was booming. Grand art deco style buildings were going up as did the Bay Bridge, the Golden Gate Bridge, the Naval Shipyards, massive freeways, the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory and much more. The Bay Area had been the home of pioneers since the Gold Rush in 1849 and the cultural life there still had that pioneer quality to it. It is innovative, adventurous, and optimistic. It was, and continues to be, an enchanting place that draws people from all around the world and inspires creativity.

When the psychoanalyst émigrés arrived, they were warmly welcomed by many but some émigrés felt excluded and marginalized particularly by the psychiatric community, which perceived the émigrés as a professional threat. From the other side, the American-born psychiatrists and others often resented the arrogance of the European émigrés and their disparaging attitudes toward the United States. Nonetheless, the American-born and émigré analysts managed to be tolerant enough of one another to work together successfully and establish the foundation of psychoanalysis in San Francisco.

In 1939 Ernst Wolff, M.D. brought Jacob Kasanin, M.D. (1897-1946) in to found Mt. Zion's Psychiatric Department. Kasanin, originally from Russia, received his

psychoanalytic training in Boston and Chicago and was analyzed by Hanns Sachs. The story has it that Hanns Sachs facilitated the termination of Kasanin's analysis by inviting him out to a nice dinner at an expensive restaurant after their last analytic session and then leaving Kasanin to pay the bill! Kasanin became the first Chief of the Psychiatric Department at Mt. Zion Hospital and shortly thereafter established Mt. Zion's famed Veterans' Rehabilitation Clinic. He also edited a classic little book entitled *Language and Thought in Schizophrenia* (1944).

Kasanin's Veterans' Rehabilitation Clinic had a marked psychoanalytic orientation and many of the San Francisco analysts were on the staff. But Kasanin was committed to a strong ecumenical spirit, so in addition to the psychoanalysts, he also staffed his clinic with social workers, psychologists and two Jungian analysts as well (Benveniste interview with Mr. Mark Kasanin; Benveniste interview with Dr. Leona M. Bayer; Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph Wheelwright).

The two Jungians on staff were Joseph L. Henderson, M.D. and Joseph Wheelwright, M.D., both born in the United States. Joseph L. Henderson, M.D. (1903- ), born in the wild west of Elko Nevada, began his Jungian analysis with Dr. Elizabeth Whitney in San Francisco in 1928 and for a while with Jung's assistant, Dr. Godwin "Peter" Baynes, who was on sabbatical in Berkeley at that time. Henderson went to Zurich in 1929 and there entered into an analysis with C.G. Jung and participated in Jung's study groups. After a year in Zurich he went on to medical school in London but during the next ten years continued his analysis with Jung during vacations. In 1938 he left Europe and went to New York where he opened a private practice in Jungian analysis. In 1941 he returned to the Bay Area and started what was destined to be the longest lasting private practice in San Francisco history. Henderson went on to make enormous contributions to the analytical psychology literature. In Jung's final work, the popular book, *Man and His Symbols*, Jung invited several of his closest colleagues to contribute chapters. Joe Henderson was one of them. Erik Erikson, who knew Henderson from the Veteran's Rehabilitation Clinic, wrote that in each meeting with him, Henderson "conveyed the presence of a singular combination of insight and individuality, dignity and quiet humor." (Hill, 1978; Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph L. Henderson)

While Henderson and Erikson were colleagues and friends, Erikson and Joseph Wheelwright, M.D. (1906-1999) could not be described as anything but very, very close personal friends. Wheelwright stood six foot six, had bold features, was a flaming extroverted feeling type, an outrageous raconteur, a quick wit and had far more than the usual allotment of wonder and delight in the world. In 1932, after working as a news reporter following the developments of the communist movements in China and Russia, he went on to Zurich where he and his wife, Jane, began their analyses with C.G. Jung. In 1939, after their analyses and training to become analysts, they returned to the United States and settled in San Francisco where they both practiced well into the 1980s (Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph Wheelwright; Benveniste interview with Mrs. Jane Wheelwright). But they were not alone in the Bay Area.

Dr. Elizabeth Whitney and her husband, Dr. James Whitney, were medical doctors who went to Zurich in 1926-7 for their analyses with Carl Jung. On their return to the Bay Area they began practicing Jungian analysis. Meanwhile from 1927-1928 Jung's assistant Godwin "Peter" Baynes, and his wife Cary, decided to leave Zurich to take a sabbatical year in California. During that year, Peter Baynes spent half his time in Carmel and the other half in Berkeley, where he met people interested in Jung's work and saw a number of patients in analysis. Andrew and Helen Gibb went to Jung for analysis in the 1920s and on their return to the Bay Area, Andrew Gibb wrote a Jungian book entitled *In Search of Sanity*. C.R. Oldisch also went for analysis with Jung and returned to write two Jungian inspired books - *The Primitive Mind* and *Modern Civilization*. Mrs. Henriette Goodrich Durham Lehrman, and Mrs. Margaret Schevill Link were two other local people who went off to Zurich for their analyses with Jung. Margaret Schevill Link (1887-1962) was an ethnologist with a special interest in the myths of the Navaho. She wrote several books including, *Beautiful on the Earth* and *The Pollen Path* (Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph L. Henderson). In Margaret Schevill's copy of *Die Frau In Europa, or The Women of Europe*, by C.G. Jung, we find the following inscription.

"For Margaret Schevill  
as a special memory  
of the author  
To the New Year  
your 42nd birthday  
and the second on the other side  
January 1929" (English translation – Book in personal archive of Daniel Benveniste)

The reader will recall that it was Jung who posited the notion of life span development and 'the second half of life', which was said to begin at age 40. Thus, at age forty-two Schevill was having her second birthday "on the other side".

Dr. Lucille Elliott, a medical doctor, received her Jungian training under Elizabeth Whitney. When Joe and Jane Wheelwright came to San Francisco in 1939, after their analyses with Jung they joined forces with Drs. Elizabeth Whitney and Lucille Elliott to found the Analytical Psychology Club.

In 1941 Joe Henderson joined them and together, in 1943, they established The Medical Society for Analytical Psychology and began training medical candidates. In 1948 they began accepting clinical psychologists as candidates. In 1949 the Association of Analytical Clinical Psychologists was founded. It began with Drs. Clare Thompson, Beverly Cox, Renee Brand and Katherine "Kay" Bradway. The early medical analysts included Drs. James G. Whitney, Bertha Mason, Wanda Weiss, Palmer Gallop and Elizabeth Osterman. Maude Oakes was an anthropologist and an honorary member of the Institute. She wrote on Navaho ceremonial art, the Mam Indians of Guatemala, her personal analysis with Jung and, she co-authored a book with Joseph L. Henderson, on the myths of death, rebirth and resurrection.

In 1950 the Jungian M.D.s and Jungian psychologists joined forces to form the Society of Jungian Analysts of Northern California. That same year, Dr. John Weir Perry settled in San Francisco. He had just completed two years in Zurich where he was analyzed by Toni Wolff and C.A. Meier and supervised by C.G. Jung. Three years later he published his book *The Self in Psychotic Process* (1953), for which Jung wrote a foreword. For many years Perry was the Institute's primary teacher of Jungian theory (Benveniste interview with Dr. John Weir Perry; Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph L. Henderson; Benveniste, 1999). Jane Wheelwright practiced as a "lay analyst." Her contributions to the local Jungian community were formidable and she has several books to her name including, *The Death of a Woman* and *The Long Shore*.

When Joseph Wheelwright initially told Jung about the plans to start a Jungian Institute in San Francisco, Jung was not pleased at all, as he was well aware of what happened to good ideas when they become institutionalized. The reader will recall that it was Jung who was rumored to have said, "Thank God I'll never be a Jungian." When Jung heard of plans to start the San Francisco Jungian Institute, he said to Wheelwright "Why don't you try to have the most disorganized organization you can manage?" To which Wheelwright replied, "Oh, we have, Dr. Jung! We have!" The C.G. Jung Institute of San Francisco was the first Jungian Institute established in the world and it even antedates the Institute in Zurich (Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph Wheelwright).

In addition to studying Jung, Wheelwright read Freud extensively and was significantly influenced by the work of his good friend, Erik Erikson. It also stands to reason that Erikson was significantly influenced by Wheelwright, as Erikson seems to have followed Jung's lead in exploring the notion of the second half of life.

In addition to his research and writing on Jungian typology, Wheelwright also served as President of the International Association of Analytical Psychology, which, in my interview with him, he referred to as the International Jungian Bowling Club! Erikson wrote that Wheelwright "always conveys the experiential power of living and thinking and thus invites a direct and sturdy understanding of clinical and theoretical issues vital to our work and our time." (Wheelwright, 1982)

Despite his size, his impression on a room and his enormous accomplishment, Wheelwright was unpretentious and, without being falsely modest or self disparaging, gave the impression of a very small being in a very big universe, wondering about it all and thoroughly absorbed in the current moment. He was not overly impressed with himself and was not subordinated to his theoretical orientation. He was more himself than he was a Jungian and I have no doubt that that is the best way to be a Jungian or a Freudian.

The Society of Jungian Analysts of Northern California was first housed in what was known as "the red house" on Steiner Street where one would find the library and the offices of the Wheelwrights, Joseph L. Henderson, John Weir Perry, Kay Bradway and many more. When they expanded, the Society moved into a Clay Street building and later into the beautiful Gough Street building where they are today.

When Saxton Pope, Jr. was in charge of the psychology clinic at U.C. Berkeley he brought in psychologists and psychiatrists, Freudians and Jungians to conduct the training seminars and provide the supervision. Jacob Kasanin fostered the same ecumenical spirit at Mt. Zion's Veterans Rehabilitation Clinic. And a similar spirit was maintained for many years at Langley Porter and to some extent at Stanford University (Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph L. Henderson; Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph Wheelwright).

Early analysts of every kind read the works of Freud, Jung and Adler. These days, however, analysts and psychotherapists tend to read only those books written by authors with whom they agree or those written within their preferred theoretical orientation. They learn caricatures of competing schools of thought, without ever actually reading them. They develop prejudices toward them and engage in polemical debate. One also notices that critiques of competing theories in the depth psychologies often begin by reducing the theory in question to a caricature and finish with a polemical dismissal. Thus, we hear, Freudian psychology is reductive, Jungian psychology is reductive, Adlerian psychology is reductive and so on. The other theory, viewed from a distance and caricatured, is always seen as simplistic. I don't mean to suggest that there are no differences between the theories or that we shouldn't have honest critical debates; but an ecumenical spirit and respectful attitudes would go a long way in fostering collegial relations and challenging each of our personal prejudices. And, somewhere along the way, we might even be able to learn from each other – if we're willing to be open to it.

In earlier years there were more cultural exchanges between the Freudian and Jungian Institutes when teachers at one institute would travel to the other to offer seminars. My impression is that these meetings rarely take place anymore and that cultural exchanges these days are seen more as meetings between Self Psychologists and Object Relations Theorists or between Classical Jungians and Archetypalists rather than between Freudians and Jungians. Meanwhile fewer and fewer seem to speak of the Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler. Nonetheless, there is an extremely vital Alfred Adler Institute in San Francisco. Furthermore, Heinz Ansbacher has written an interesting article demonstrating how Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow and Rollo May, the three founders of Humanistic Psychology, had all studied with Alfred Adler in Vienna and/or in New York. Later, Maslow taught for a time in the Bay Area, Carl Rogers taught briefly at U.C. Berkeley and Rollo May, Ph.D. (1909-1994) settled in Tiburon where he saw patients, wrote and taught in affiliation with the California School of Professional Psychology and at Saybrook Institute for many years. In Humanistic Psychology, psychologists, marginalized by the American Psychoanalytic Association, were able to synthesize the best of the Freud, Jung and Adler and avoid, at least for a time, some of the pitfalls of institutionalization (Ansbacher, 1990; Benveniste interview with Dr. Rollo May). It should be noted that Rollo May was also one of the founders of Existential Psychology.

As mentioned earlier, when Erik Erikson was in the Bay Area from 1939-1951, Joseph Wheelwright was probably his closest personal friend. In 1973 Erikson returned to

the Bay Area and the following year, the Freud-Jung correspondence was published. In celebration of this important event, the two old friends were brought together in a conference to discuss the relationship of the leaders of their respective theoretical orientations. They were the perfect pair to discuss Freud and Jung. Erikson had been in the Freud home, was analyzed by Anna Freud in the late 1920s and early '30s and was a leader in the international psychoanalytic community. Wheelwright had been analyzed by Jung in the 1930s, had made original contributions to analytical psychology and was a leader in the international Jungian community. Erikson presented a thoughtful discussion on the themes of adulthood in the Freud-Jung correspondence and Wheelwright's marvelous and enigmatic performance has to be seen on videotape to be believed (Erik Erikson and Joseph Wheelwright video).

Now a bit about two lesser-known émigrés, both of whom were associated with Freud but not with the local Psychoanalytic Society: Max Pollak and Rudolf von Urbantschitsch (von Urban). Max Pollak (1886-1970) created the famous 1913 lithograph of an inspired Freud sitting at his desk surrounded by his antiquities. Pollack left Europe in 1937 and settled in San Francisco in 1939 where he continued his work as an artist in the Bay Area until his death in 1970 (Lehmann, 1978, pp. 17-21).

As the story goes, Rudolf von Urbantschitsch, M.D. (1879-1965) was walking down the street in Vienna in 1895 when he came upon a butcher shop and saw some men trying to push a large pig, headfirst, into the shop to be butchered. But as they pushed him from behind, he dug his feet in and backed up. Observing this, von Urbantschitsch suggested, "Why don't you turn him around and pull him towards the street, then he will naturally back into the shop." They followed his advice and the pig backed into the butcher shop to meet his fate. Two bystanders, impressed by von Urbantschitsch's intervention, approached him and one suggested he become a psychologist. The two men were Freud and Breuer. Up until that time, von Urbantschitsch had intended to become a priest but with that meeting he decided he'd go to medical school and become a psychoanalyst (Von Urban, 1958, p. 53).

Von Urbantschitsch completed his medical training and founded the Cottage Sanatorium in Vienna where both medical and psychiatric patients were treated and where Freud went for diet cures for his severe attacks of colic. In 1908 von Urbantschitsch joined the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1910 the first *Correspondenzblatt* was issued. It was a publication established to link the central executive group with the local psychoanalytic groups. In the list of members seen there, one finds the name of Dr. Rudolf von Urbantschitsch along with those of Drs. Jung, Adler, Freud, Rank, and many others (Freud, E.; Freud, L. Grubrich-Simitis, I., 1976, p. 191).

Von Urbantschitsch was analyzed by Paul Federn and, in 1924, was supervised by Sandor Ferenczi. In 1936 he moved to Los Angeles and shortened his name to von Urban. In 1937 he attended a party at the home of a Hollywood celebrity. There he met a beautiful young woman, 33 years his junior, named Virginia Macdonald. During the course of their conversation he learned she had some errands to run the next day and he offered to drive her, as he had a car and had to run an errand of his own. She declined and



he persisted until she agreed. The next day he picked her up and off they went. He drove to City Hall where, in front of the building the following conversation took place.

“What do you want here?” she asked.

“A marriage license.” he replied.

“Oh! You're going to be married?” she asked, astonished.

“Yes! But according to law we must have a license five days beforehand; so we shall have to wait that long.”

“What do you mean, “We”?”

“There is only one "we" here; you and I. That means I want to marry you.”

“Are you crazy? I don't know you.”

“By Saturday, when we can marry, you will know me better.”

“But I do not love you!”

“Now listen, Virginia. I could not have fallen in love with you if we were not entirely attuned to each other. And that cannot be only one-sided. You are too young to understand this. But trust me; very soon you will love me also. But please come now, before they close.” They were married two weeks later (von Urban, 1958, p. 263-4).

In 1938, they moved to San Francisco where Dr. von Urban became associated with the University of California at San Francisco and developed good relations with Drs. Langley Porter, Herbert Moffitt, Robert Wartenberg and Portia Bell Hume. In 1941 von Urban and his wife Virginia, who had the delightful nickname of ‘Bouffie’, settled in Carmel where he continued to write and practice marital counseling until his death in 1965 (Benveniste interview with Mrs. Bouffie von Urban).

In 1938 the American Psychoanalytic Association passed a "resolution against the future training of laymen for the therapeutic use of psychoanalysis." It was a decision, which was to significantly influence the development of Freudian psychoanalysis in the United States for the next fifty years (American Psychoanalytic Association, 1938, p. 42). In 1942 West Coast analysts from Los Angeles to San Francisco established the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society even though many of the leading members were lay analysts and therefore not permitted full membership in the American. The San Francisco-Los Angeles group was a hot bed of lay analysis proponents, but there were many opposed to lay analysis as well. Two of the star teachers were Bernfeld with a Ph.D. in psychology, and Erikson with no college degree at all. It is interesting to note that while Erikson had only his diploma from the gymnasium (similar to high school) he was subsequently awarded at least six honorary doctoral degrees (Benveniste interview with Mrs. Joan Erikson).

Other prominent lay analysts included Suzanne Bernfeld and R. Nevitt Sanford, Ph.D. Suzanne Cassirer Bernfeld (1896-1963) is a controversial figure in this history. She was analyzed by both Hanns Sachs and Sigmund Freud. She had training in philosophy and medicine but had to cut short her studies due to the changing political situation in Europe under the Nazis. She was in seminars in Berlin and Vienna and was supervised by

Siegfried Bernfeld. She was a lay analyst and, in San Francisco, she collaborated with her husband in researching and writing biographical articles on the life and work of Sigmund Freud. She was widely acknowledged as an intelligent, creative and inspired analyst. But as is common with creative spirits, she also spoke freely and in a way that won the admiration of some and the mistrust of others. Siegfried Bernfeld wanted the Institute to make her a training analyst but, between her spirited personality and her lack of "formal" training, the Institute refused. This became a critical issue, but by no means the only issue, in Siegfried Bernfeld's on-going displeasure with the SFPI&S (Benveniste interview with Dr. Nathan Adler; Benveniste, 1992b; Benveniste, 1992d).

R. Nevitt Sanford, Ph.D. (1909-1995) was an American born psychologist-psychoanalyst who was analyzed by Hanns Sachs in Boston and worked closely with Gordon Allport and Henry Murray at Harvard. He came to teach at the University of California at Berkeley in 1940. Referring to a photograph of himself with a pitchfork and pail, a picture he called "The Psychoanalyst", he explained to me that he had one patient from 9:00-10:00 in the morning, would milk his cow from 10:00 to 11:00, see another patient from 11:00 to 12:00, and then go up to the U.C. Berkeley campus to teach his class. He recalled that, at U.C. Berkeley, he and Erikson, whom he had known in Boston, would often meet for lunch, get involved in a stimulating conversation and then walk back to campus at 5:00 just in time to go home. In the early '40s he worked with Else Frenkel-Brunswik studying the anti-Semitic personality. Their work (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1946) was published in a book entitled *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease* (1946) edited by Ernst Simmel. This volume included chapters by other California analysts including Fenichel, Simmel, and Berliner.

Sanford and Frenkel-Brunswik then joined forces with Theodore Adorno and Daniel Levinson on a massive research project that resulted in the publication of the now classic *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno, et al, 1950). Through their research they learned that there is a spectrum between authoritarianism and egalitarianism. A person with a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitative parent-child relationship tends to have power oriented, exploitative dependent attitudes toward his/her sex partner and toward his/her God and may well embrace a political philosophy and social outlook with little room for anything other than desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and a disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom. Parent-child relations, sex roles and moral values tend to be dichotomous and social relations get sorted out as stereotypes and as in-group/out-group cleavages. There is a tendency toward conventionality, fascist potential, rigidity, repressive denial, emotional coldness, identification with power and general destructiveness, which intermittently gives way to weakness, fear, and dependency in the personal, religious and social spheres.

The other end of the spectrum is characterized primarily by affectionate, basically egalitarian, and permissive interpersonal relationships that extend from parent-child relationships to attitudes toward the opposite sex and cultural differences in general. It is characterized by an internalization of religious and social values. The result is that those at this end of the spectrum have greater flexibility and a higher potential for the genuine satisfactions of basic needs. In a word, it is characterized by eros, which is best defined

not simply as sex but as 'relatedness'. *The Authoritarian Personality* came out in 1950, the same year as the famous Loyalty Oath Controversy in which both Sanford and Erikson left U.C. Berkeley in protest against the requirement that State employees sign an oath of loyalty to the U.S. Government. They refused to sign not because they were not loyal to the U.S. but because they saw it as an infringement on academic freedom designed to rid the universities of professors with communist sympathies.

In 1968 Sanford founded The Wright Institute for the training of psychologists in Berkeley. When I asked him what he'd done *his* dissertation on, he explained that he'd worked on the development of the TAT with Henry Murray at Harvard. The TAT or *Thematic Apperception Test* is a projective test in which an established set of pictures are presented to the subject and the subject is then invited to tell a story about the picture, the assumption being that the story will reveal something about the subject's various "drives." Sanford got together a group of college students as subjects, had them fast for a couple of days and then administered the TAT to them to see if the hunger drive would be made manifest in their narratives - which it was. Sanford then explained to me that whenever someone would ask what he did his dissertation on, his wife would interrupt to say, "Nevitt has proved that when you are hungry, you think of food!" (Benveniste interview with Dr. Nevitt Sanford)

At the time of its founding, in the spring of 1942, the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society included members in the Bay Area, Los Angeles, Seattle, Washington, and Tucson, Arizona. The ten charter-signing members of the San Francisco Society were those with medical degrees – William Barrett, Bernhard Berliner, George Gero, Otto Fenichel, Bernard Kamm, Jacob Kasanin, Donald Macfarlane, Douglas Orr, Ernst Simmel, and Emanuel Windholz.

While these ten were charter-signing members and the distinguished lay analysts represented an undeniable creative force, another important figure in the story was Miss Jennie Chiado (1909-2006). Jennie Chiado was Executive Secretary of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society for twenty-seven years and continued in various secretarial capacities at the SFPI&S for another thirteen years after that. While candidates studied at the Institute and members belonged to the Institute, Jennie's role was so important that when Anna Maenchen introduced her to Anna Freud, she did so by saying that Jennie *IS* the Institute (Benveniste interview with Miss Jennie Chiado; Windholz, 1979).

The following are the seven other charter-signing members of the SFPI&S not previously discussed:

Otto Fenichel, M.D. (1898-1946) who had trained in Vienna with Freud and been a major force at the Berlin Institute throughout the 1930s, immigrated to Prague and then moved on to Los Angeles, arriving there in 1938. He is well known for his books – *Outline of Clinical Psychoanalysis*, *Problems of Psychoanalytic Technique*, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, and his two-volume set of collected papers. He played important roles in the establishment of the SFPI&S as a Los Angeles based member and died suddenly in 1946 at the age of 48 (Greenson, 1966).

Ernst Simmel, M.D. (1882-1947) was also closely associated with Sigmund Freud and the Berlin Institute. He made important contributions to the treatment of the "war neuroses" and was the Director of the famous Schloss Tegel Sanatorium in Berlin from 1927-1931. He immigrated to Los Angeles in 1934, was the first president of the SFPI&S in 1942 and died in 1947 just a year after Fenichel (Peck, 1966).

Donald Macfarlane, Ph.D., M.D. (1897-1964) was a native Californian who earned both his Ph.D. in physiology as well as his medical degree at the University of California at Berkeley. There, he also began his long association with Alfred Kroeber. He had a personal analysis in Baltimore and was re-analyzed by Bernhard Berliner, in San Francisco (Boyer, 1965).

William Barrett, M.D. (1903-1979), a native of San Francisco, was trained in Boston and returned to San Francisco around 1941. In addition to being a charter-signing member of the SFPI&S, he also served as President of the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1956. What is less known, however, is that at some point in the 1930s he had a brief analysis with C.G. Jung in Zurich. It was there, in Zurich, that he first met Joseph Henderson (Benveniste interview with Dr. Joseph L. Henderson; William Barrett Oral History 1974).

Douglass Orr, M.D. (1905-1990) was an American born analyst who trained under Lionel Blitzsten in Chicago. While living in Seattle, he was one of the ten charter-signing members of the SFPI&S and trained analysts in Seattle under the auspices of the SFPI&S. He later went on to be a charter member of the Seattle Institute for Psychoanalysis (known today as the Seattle Psychoanalytic Society and Institute) and later still a charter member of the San Diego Psychoanalytic Institute and Society (Benveniste interview with Dr. George Allison).

Bernard Kamm, M.D. (1899-1991), originally from Czechoslovakia, was trained at the Berlin Institute. He was the only non-Jewish analyst to resign from the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute when the Jewish analysts were expelled under the Nazi regime. He immigrated to Topeka in 1936, and then moved on to San Francisco in 1939. He signed the charter for the SFPI&S but shortly thereafter moved on to Chicago where he continued to practice and teach psychoanalysis (American Psychoanalytic Association Archives 1991; Kamm interview, 1976).

George Gero, M.D. (1901-1993), originally from Hungary, was trained at the Berlin Institute where he was analyzed by Sandor Rado and Wilhelm Reich. He went to Copenhagen in 1934, traveled on to Tucson Arizona, where he became a charter-signing member of the SFPI&S, and eventually settled in New York. When I spoke to him on the phone in 1992 he said, like so many others, that Bernfeld "was an absolutely magnificent lecturer." He then added that when Bernfeld told Freud about his project to measure libido, Freud was unimpressed and said, "Well, my friend Bernfeld, I believe I will die with unmeasured libido." (Benveniste interview with Dr. George Gero)

### **The San Francisco Connection with Los Angeles, California**

The Los Angeles Study Group began under the aegis of the Chicago Institute, was later taken under the wing of the Topeka and then, in 1942, became the Los Angeles branch of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Society. The first four candidates were Ralph Greenson, Robert Newhouse, Norman Reider, and Sam Sperling. Leo Rangell began his training there shortly thereafter. In 1946 a planned friendly split took place when the Los Angeles group had enough members to separate from the SFPI&S and form the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Institute (LAPI).

The deaths of Fenichel and Simmel created a tremendous leadership vacuum and soon a new, less friendly, split began to develop. It was a split between the more classical analysts who had strong allegiances to lay analysis and the "innovators" who were less tied to classical theory and had their allegiances to the medical establishment. In 1950 the two groups split and the second group formed the Institute for Psychoanalytic Medicine of Southern California. This group included Judd Marmor and Norman Levy who were known for their opposition to what they considered psychoanalytic orthodoxy. Finding this atmosphere conducive to his ideas, Franz Alexander joined their ranks in 1956. LAPI continued but additional conflicts and growing pains led to the reorganization of the Institute and a new name, the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Society and Institute (LAPSI). Other splits occurred and new institutes in Los Angeles were formed in later years (Shershow, 1993, pp. 9,24; Brickman, 1993a, p. 10, 12; Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Bulletin, Dec. 1986; Benveniste, 1994a). Additional information on the early history of psychoanalysis in Los Angeles can be found in Albert Kandelin's *The Psychoanalytic Study Group* (1965a), Harry Brickman's *Historical Overview of the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute* (1993b); the entire edition of the *Bulletin of the Southern California Psychoanalytic Institute and Society* (April 1975) and Douglas Kirsner's chapter 4, 'Fear and Loathing in Los Angeles' in his *Unfree Associations: Inside Psychoanalytic Institutes* (2000). The reader will also find an important contextual understanding of the history of psychoanalysis in the United States in Nathan Hale's *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States 1876-1917* (1971) and in *The Rise and Crisis of Psychoanalysis in the United States: Freud and the Americans 1917-1985* (1995).

### **The San Francisco Connection with Seattle, Washington**

The Seattle Psychoanalytic Society and Institute had a long pre-history beginning with psychiatrists Fredrick Hackfield and Edward Hoedemaker in the 1930s. Hackfield, however, was discounted by Hoedemaker and other early analysts and had no further contacts with them. Joining Hoedemaker was Douglass Orr who had been trained in Chicago. In the mid-1940s Orr invited Edith Buxbaum, Ph.D. (1902-1982) to come to Seattle to set up a practice and begin training. Buxbaum received her own training in Vienna in the 1920s and 30s. She studied with Anna Freud, Otto Fenichel, Wilhelm Reich and others, and was analyzed by Herman Nunberg. She immigrated to New York in 1937 and in 1947 went to Seattle where, along with Douglass Orr, she set up the Northwest Clinic. Orr, a charter-signing member of the SFPI&S, and Buxbaum were

appointed training analysts by the SFPI&S in the mid-1940s and authorized to begin training. Important early analysts included Buxbaum, Eugene Goforth, Gert Heilbrunn, Hoedemaker, Orr, and Robert Worthington. The Seattle Group was designated a Training Center in 1951, under the auspices of the SFPI&S. For many years, candidates from Seattle went to San Francisco for seminars and the supervision of their clinical work. In 1964 the Seattle Institute for Psychoanalysis (known today as the Seattle Psychoanalytic Society and Institute) became a fully accredited Affiliate Institute of the American Psychoanalytic Association. (Benveniste interview with Dr. George Allison; Benveniste, 1994a).

### **Back to San Francisco**

In the 1940s psychoanalytic training could only take place within an Institute; but the spirit of psychoanalysis could no more be contained within an Institute than a wind can be contained within a bottle. The spirit of psychoanalysis was in the air and while the analysts were few in number, there was a group of social workers there who served as a base for the psychoanalytic community, promoting analysis and analytic approaches in the prisons, hospitals, day care centers, alcoholism treatment centers and special programs for troubled children. The social workers, along with medical doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists and analysts, formed The Mental Hygiene Society of Northern California. Ernst Wolff was President of the Board of Directors and other board members included Elizabeth and Nathan Adler, Mrs. Joseph Biernoff, Karl Bowman, Ernest Hilgard, Sophie Mervis, and Nathan Sloate. The Mental Hygiene Society was active politically and integrated their clinical and social work with psychoanalytic theory and technique modified to meet the needs of the community.

In 1942 they began publishing *Beacon: The Bulletin of the Mental Hygiene Society of Northern California*. Analysts such as Suzanne Bernfeld, Emanuel Windholz, Anna Maenchen, Sophie Mervis, Albert Ackerman, and others were involved clinically, administratively and/or contributed articles to the publication. Nonetheless, the Society was run primarily by the social workers who were not only integrating psychoanalytic concepts into their work but also seeking out their own personal analyses with the newly arriving analysts (Benveniste interview with Dr. Nathan Adler; Benveniste, 1992d; Benveniste, 1994b).

The three key issues in the early history of the depth psychologies in San Francisco were 1) the "problem" of lay analysis, 2) the vicissitudes of the institutionalization of the depth psychologies and 3) the Second World War.

While the Jungians resolved the problem of lay analysis by admitting psychologists to candidacy as early as 1948, the Freudians were not so quick. The "problem" of lay analysis in the Freudian community is commonly caricatured as a battle between the non-M.D. quacks, on the one hand, and the physicians in favor of a medical monopoly on psychoanalysis on the other. This, however, is an over-simplification. Freudian lay analysts like Bernfeld, Erikson, Maenchen, Deri, Munk, Sanford, and Buxbaum and unlicensed M.D. analysts like Fenichel and Simmel represented the best teachers and

analysts around and were well recognized by many of their licensed medical colleagues. There were, however, other influences operating. As Robert Wallerstein has explained, American psychoanalysts, at that time, were attempting to gain access to the medical schools, hospitals and clinics. Furthermore, medicine, itself, was attempting to establish a firmer footing after the Flexner Report, in the early part of the 20th century, had revealed the poor quality of medical training and practice in the U.S.. Thus, the introduction of lay analysis into the U.S. seemed, to some, to be re-opening the door to quackery and the marginalization of psychoanalysis (Wallerstein, 1998, pp. 23-49). Psychoanalysis was seen, by many, as akin to occult practices, and operating as a medical specialty seemed, to some, to give it more credibility. Finally, it is important to remember that many of these M.D. analysts were émigrés fleeing the Nazis in Europe, learning a new language and settling in a new land. They were professionally at sea, financially unstable and had families to feed. The need to legitimate psychoanalysis was urgent and attempts to do so were often desperate and, regretfully, at the expense of their non-medical colleagues.

In 1950 the San Francisco Chronicle ran an interview with psychoanalyst Norman Reider, M.D. entitled '*Analyst Quacks Are Called Danger*'. In it Dr. Reider said, "People with no training whatever – plumbers, electricians even – are setting themselves up as analysts, marriage consultants, psychologists, vocational guidance consultants." He cited two cases that ended in disaster but said it wasn't as bad in San Francisco as it was in Los Angeles, where he had seen a neon sign advertising "Colonic Irrigations and Psychoanalysis" (San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 15, 1947). The danger was real but it was also the excuse for excluding competent lay analysts from training and practice.

The issue of lay analysis was the central issue in the founding of the SFPI&S. The American Psychoanalytic Association prohibited the training of lay analysts, barred them from being charter-signing members and even from being "accredited members". Barrett is quoted as saying, "We would prefer no society at all to one which would put Bernfeld in a secondary status." (Kandelin, 1965b, p. 7) Ultimately the society was formed with the existing accredited lay analysts being grandfathered in or marginalized on paper while continuing to play important roles in their psychoanalytic societies.

In 1944 Bernfeld, frustrated with the bureaucratization of the SFPI&S under the rules and regulations of the American Psychoanalytic Association, began offering psychoanalytic training privately to a small group of lay analysts including Agnes Ain (Cumming) and Nathan Adler, Ph.D. (1911-1994). This training was completely against the rules of the American Psychoanalytic Association. Nathan Adler recalled that Bernfeld was an inspired teacher and analyst but not much of an organization man. Ultimately the group fell apart but the Bernfelds continued to supervise and refer patients to Adler and Ain. Well known for his wit, Bernfeld is credited with the line "The only problem with self analysis is the countertransference." And when asked how his practice was coming along, shortly after his arrival, Bernfeld said "Great. I work from morning till night - one patient in the morning and one at night." (Benveniste interview with Dr. Nathan Adler; Benveniste, 1994b; Benveniste, 1992d) Incidentally, the logo for the SFPI&S is a stylized version of one of the doodles Freud sketched on a piece of paper during one of the famous Psychological Wednesday Society meetings. Also on the paper, Freud wrote

Bernfeld's name and several others, who were presumably attending the meeting. Bernfeld preserved this paper and the original can be seen on page 181 of the book *Sigmund Freud: His Life in Pictures and Words* (Freud, E. et al, 1976, pp. 181, 331).

At the SFPI&S, throughout the 1940s and early 50s, a struggle ensued between the desire to preserve a creative psychoanalytic spirit and the desire to establish a legitimate psychoanalytic institute. The battle was personified in the struggle between Siegfried Bernfeld, who had been a leader in the more informal Vienna Institute, and Emanuel Windholz, who had been trained at the more formal Berlin Institute and the Berlin-inspired Prague Psychoanalytic Study Group. Ultimately Windholz, and those who agreed with him, were successful in establishing a psychoanalytic institute recognized by the American Psychoanalytic Association. But Bernfeld remained a much-loved teacher and analyst.

While efforts were made to "protect" the SFPI&S from the "Americanization" of psychoanalysis, as represented by the views of analysts like Frieda Fromm-Reichman and Harry Stack Sullivan, others saw the SFPI&S becoming increasingly threatened from within by its clinging to ideas described by some as "psychoanalytic orthodoxies" and by its exclusionary politics.

The issue of lay analysis was hotly debated on many occasions during those early years and often dominated Institute meetings. But the Second World War was on and the analysts devoted much of their time to the war effort. They worked in the induction centers interviewing recruits, and at Mt. Zion Hospital's Veterans Rehabilitation Clinic working with returning veterans. Erikson wrote papers on life in submarines and on the personality of Adolf Hitler. And others wrote on various war-related topics.

After the war came the publication of *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) and Erikson's *Childhood and Society* (1950). These two books had enormous influence nationally and internationally and that influence has continued to this day. Both books emerged out of the Bay Area in the same year and both focused on the threshold between the intrapsychic and the social. But by this time, the golden era of psychoanalysis in San Francisco was coming to an end. The creative and ecumenical spirit was fading and being replaced by institutionalization and divisiveness. Within the Freudian camp, the lay analysts were out, those sympathetic to Sullivan, Horney, and Fromm-Reichman were marginalized, and there were few if any women candidates in the post-war Institute. Remembering yet another golden era, the Bernfelds researched and published their biographical papers on Sigmund Freud. And then in 1952, Siegfried Bernfeld became completely fed up with the SFPI&S, delivered his famous paper *On Psychoanalytic Training* (1962) and resigned in protest against the SFPI&S's training practices. I've never been able to determine if he resigned from the SFPI&S entirely or just from his training functions.

His lecture, published ten years later, is a well thought out challenge to some of the consequences of Institute training that he had encountered. Bernfeld, as a particularly inspired teacher, an eloquent lecturer, and a passionate idealist remained committed to the



primary prerogatives of students and their freedom to grow despite the encroachments of bureaucratic institutions. He was concerned about his students and was caring toward them. He had the passion of a political reformer, the discipline of a mathematician, and the temperament of an artist. He abhorred authoritarian administration-centered institutions that stifled students and their creativity. He had flourished in the Vienna and Berlin Institutes primarily because they were new, unstructured, and he was free to teach as he saw fit. With the establishment of the American Institutes, psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic training became formalized and Bernfeld felt these institutions as a constriction of the psychoanalytic ethos. In his lecture, posthumously published in 1962, he mentions his experiences in the Vienna and Berlin Institutes, raised his concerns with the then current teaching practices, and presented a vision of another kind of a psychoanalytic institute (Benveniste interview with Dr. Nathan Adler; Benveniste, 1992d).

He described an institute that would be student-centered and progressive in its teaching approach. There would be few formal requirements for admission other than a passionate interest and talent for psychoanalysis. Potential students would be followed in an informal way and if they showed further promise would be invited to meetings of the Psychoanalytic Society. Study would take place in small groups and the focus would largely be on the interests of the individual students. At some point a student would be taken into a training analysis, begin work with a control analyst, and, after a time, be confirmed as a member and analyst. The focus would not be on formal admission requirements or the fulfillment of prescribed educational tasks but on the interests and talents of the student, the relationship with a teacher, and the pursuit of creative psychoanalytic work. This vision of a new kind of psychoanalytic institute was actually quite similar to Bernfeld's own psychoanalytic training and his mentorship under Freud. It was also the model he used in recruiting and supervising practitioners outside of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute such as Agnes Ain and Nathan Adler (Bernfeld, 1962; Benveniste, 1992d; Benveniste, 1992b).

Yes, the golden age was coming to an end. Fenichel died in 1946 at the age of 48. Kaganin died the same year at the age of 49. Simmel died in 1947 at the age of 65. Erikson left the Bay Area in 1951 and in 1953 Siegfried Bernfeld died at the age of 61. But the end of this phase also marked the beginning of another, when other creative analysts came on the scene. Norman Reider had arrived in San Francisco in '46, Merton Gill came to town in '53, and Robert Wallerstein in '66 each bringing their own unique blend of talents to the local and the international psychoanalytic communities. In the years to follow, Emanuel Windholz conducted his important research on psychoanalytic supervision. John Weir Perry wrote *The Far Side of Madness* (1974). Joseph Henderson wrote his classic *Thresholds of Initiation* (1967), collaborated with Jung on *Man and His Symbols* (1964) and formulated a 'cultural unconscious' situated between Jung's 'personal unconscious' and the 'collective unconscious'. It should be noted that in February of 2006, after 65 years of analytic practice, Dr. Joseph L. Henderson closed his practice and entered into full retirement ----- at the age of 102.

Other major contributors to the literature coming from the first generation included L. Bryce Boyer, whose work with severely disturbed patients is internationally known and Portia Bell Hume who was known as the Mother of Community Mental Health in California owing to all the work she did in this area. Otto Will Jr. did not receive his analytic training in San Francisco but he settled in the Bay Area later in life. He did not feel well received there as his interests were primarily in psychosis and the work of Harry Stack Sullivan. Will's wife, Beulah Parker, M.D. is another a major analyst from the first generation in San Francisco (Benveniste interview with Dr. Beulah Parker; Benveniste interview with Dr. Otto Will, Jr.).

Eric Berne, M.D. (1910-1970), born Leonard Bernstein, began his psychoanalytic training in 1941 in New York, where he was analyzed by Paul Federn. The war interrupted his training but in 1946 he resumed it at the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and began his analysis with Erik Erikson in 1947. In 1956 his application for membership was turned down and he was told he was not yet ready for membership. It was suggested, however, that with three or four more years of training and analysis (when he would be 49 or 50) he could re-apply. He passed on their offer and went on to develop Transactional Analysis, to found the International Transactional Analysis Association, and to write eight major books including *Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy* (1961) and *Games People Play* (1964) (History of Eric Berne, Founder of Transactional Analysis – Website article accessed 12-1-2006).

Coming from the Menninger Foundation, Robert S. Wallerstein, M.D. (1921- ) was already well known for his books, *Hospital Treatment of Alcoholism: A Comparative, Experimental Study* (1957) and *The Teaching and Learning of Psychotherapy* (1958) (co-author Rudolf Ekstein) and his articles on psychotherapy research when he arrived in San Francisco in 1966 to direct Mt. Zion's Department of Psychiatry. During his time at Mt. Zion and later as Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of California at San Francisco, School of Medicine, he continued his clinical work, teaching, psychotherapy research, training roles at the SFPI&S and served as the President of the American Psychoanalytic Association and the International Psychoanalytical Association as well. He also wrote, and continues to write, voluminously and scholarly on a wide variety of psychoanalytic topics. Wallerstein was closely associated with Karl Menninger and Erik Erikson and has for many years been personally and professionally associated with many of the other leading lights in international psychoanalysis such as Merton Gil, Heinz Kohut, Anna Freud, Otto Kernberg and many more (Benveniste interview with Dr. Robert S. Wallerstein). Throughout his career Wallerstein has acquired, as an active participant, a first-hand encyclopedic knowledge of the history of psychoanalysis in the last half of the twentieth century. In my opinion, his knowledge in this area is second to none.

Merton M. Gill, M.D. (1914 -1994) who worked in the San Francisco Bay Area from 1953-1963, made major contributions to the classical Freudian metapsychology in the first part of his career and later made major contributions to a hermeneutic psychoanalysis. After shifting from a one-person psychology to an integration of a one-person and a two-person psychology, he found the integration of classical and

interpersonal approaches to clinical work most congenial (Gill, 1991, p. 17-21; Holt, 1984, p. 316-7). Well known for attending to the transference in the here and now, he described one of his major contributions as calling attention to “the important role the analyst plays in the analytic situation.” (Benveniste interview with Dr. Merton M. Gill.)

Interestingly enough, in 1959 Merton Gill co-authored *The Dimensions and a Measure of the Process of Psychotherapy*. Gill was listed as the second author and Timothy Leary, Ph.D. (1920-1997) as the first author. Leary also collaborated on other research projects with Frank Barron, Hubert Coffey, Mervin Freedman, (Horowitz et al, 1988, pp. 181-2) Edward Weinshel (Leary, 1957, p. 376) and others in the Bay Area. Before becoming one of the leaders of the Hippie movement, Leary was best known as the author of the *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality: A Functional Theory and Methodology for Personality Evaluation* (1957) and was particularly interested in the work of Harry Stack Sullivan. In addition to his various research projects on personality and psychotherapy, Leary was also a research associate on Frank Barron’s research into *Creativity and Psychological Health* (1963). The other research associates, assisting Barron, included, among others, John Weir Perry and Erik Erikson (Barron, 1963, p. viii). Erikson, who coined the term ‘identity crisis’, attended a lecture by Leary in the winter of 1966-67. In his presentation, Leary encouraged students to “Tune in, turn on, and drop out” with LSD. Erikson, sympathetic to the Hippie movement but highly critical of it as well, listened carefully then stood up before the question period began, announced that he was “tuning out” and left the auditorium (Friedman, 1999, pp. 322, 542).

Nathan Adler, Ph.D. (1911-1994) was a committed leftist and worked as a writer for *The New Masses* and *The Daily Worker*, and was a founding editor of *Partisan Review*. He edited a union newspaper and became active in union organizing and social work. He worked at a clinic, The Home Relief Bureau, in New York, which was under the direction of Dr. Walter Beran Wolfe, one of Alfred Adler’s English translators. Nathan Adler also attended, at this time, the lectures of Paul Schilder. In 1936 he came to San Francisco where he continued union organizing, writing and social work. Adler who earned his Ph.D. in psychology at U.C. Berkeley was integrally involved in the Mental Hygiene Society of Northern California and worked for many years at Agnews State Hospital, the San Francisco county jail and the Alcatraz, Folsom and San Quentin prisons. He was analyzed by Suzanne and Siegfried Bernfeld and trained by them to be a psychoanalyst outside the structure of the SFPI&S. He contradicted Russel Jacoby who argued, in his book *Social Amnesia: A Critique of Contemporary Psychology from Adler to Laing* (1975), that the left wing analysts involved in political and social action in Europe, sold out when they came to America. “He's being naive.” Adler said. “They didn't desert their principles when they came to America. Fenichel, Bernfeld, Fromm, Horney and the rest had all been radicals and left-wingers. When they came to the USA they just fell in love with America and were delighted with FDR. They'd been accustomed to a culture of violent confrontations and encroaching fascism, where arrest meant flight into the underground. They arrive here and Roosevelt makes a speech about "My dog Falla" and the Bernfeld's purred about that story again and again! In the New Deal world they found a responsiveness that made it unnecessary to have to move further left. In the U.S. they found room to move, to criticize, and to adjust. There was enough openness in the

country to change policy, to have influence. What happened to this group was not that they sold out to America but rather that they fell into a great love affair with the America of the New Deal." (Benveniste, 1992d, p.307)

Nathan Adler later went on to be a popular critic of the Beatnic and Hippie movements. While Adler was critical of the Hippies' use of drugs, abdication of political responsibility, social withdrawal, indulgence in magical thinking and self-stimulating efforts to maintain self-organization, he was sympathetic to their plight. He said that he had "come to see the drug culture not only as the abdication from political action, but also, in its positive and active components, as an effort to resanctify and renew experience." (Adler, 1972, p. xxi) The demands of this younger generation, he asserted, are "for a relationship, for unswerving allegiance to human values above those of the marketplace and the military, and for a commitment to their future. ... And in the end, their future is the only one which we have." (Adler, 1972, p. 79) In 1972 he published *The Underground Stream: New Life Styles and the Antinomian Personality*. A much loved teacher, he taught at the California School of Professional Psychology for many years and inspired many to enter the psychoanalytic work (Benveniste, 1994b, p. 7-9).

Fredrick Perls, M.D. (1893-1970), better known as Fritz Perls, had a San Francisco Bay Area connection too. He received his analytic training in Berlin and Vienna and was analyzed by Jenö Harnik, Clara Happel, and Wilhelm Reich and was supervised by Otto Fenichel, Karen Horney, Karl Landauer, Helene Deutsch, and Eduard Hitschmann. In 1934 he moved to South Africa. But Perls's close association with Reich and his paper on *Oral Resistances* at the 1936 IPA Congress served to distance him from organized psychoanalysis. In 1946 he came to the United States and in 1964 moved to Big Sur, just down the coast from San Francisco, where he spearheaded the human potential movement and his Gestalt Therapy, which was derived from his own synthesis of Gestalt Theory and Psychoanalytic Theory (Gaines, 1979, p. xii-xiii, 30). Perls had nothing to do with the SFPI&S but it is interesting to note that he did in fact meet Freud on one occasion. It was in 1936 around the time of the Marienbad Congress. Perls went for his appointment knocked on the door and Freud appeared. Perls announced, "I came from South Africa to give a paper and to see you." Freud replied, "Well, and when are you going back?" Perls recalled, "I don't remember the rest of the (perhaps four-minute long) conversation. I was shocked and disappointed." (Perls, 1969, book not paginated)

After training in Vienna and working in Chicago for many years, Bruno Bettelheim, Ph.D. (1903-1990) moved to the Bay Area where he gave seminars and lectured frequently in the 1970s and 80s. Bettelheim was another outsider, unaffiliated with institutional psychoanalysis but his lectures on children, fairy tales and the problems with the English translation of Freud made him an extremely popular speaker in the Bay Area. And Donald Shaskin, M.D. of the SFPI&S became a pioneer in group therapy. In addition to Kroeber and Erikson's work, major contributions to psychoanalysis and anthropology were made by George Devereux, Paul Radin, L. Bryce Boyer and Alan Dundes. And Nathan G. Hale, Jr. has made tremendous and scholarly contributions through his books and articles on the history of psychoanalysis in the United States.

I apologize for not mentioning all the other local analysts, of equal and sometimes greater stature. (I honestly do hope others will write about them.) But as you can see, this is a rich history and the participants are all too numerous to mention. Nonetheless, my point is that this community has contributed significantly to the local and international analytical and psychoanalytical communities.

In addition to the local talent, San Francisco has also hosted lectures from luminaries like: Rene Spitz, David Rapaport, C.A. Meier, Marie Bonaparte, Richard Sterba, Michael Fordham, Max Schur, Ernst Kris, Donald Winnicott, James Hillman and many more. Outside of psychoanalysis, the San Francisco Bay Area has also been the home base for Edward Tolman's cognitive maps, Gregory Bateson's work on the double-bind, communication theory and cybernetics, Virginia Satir and the Palo Alto Group's family system's theory, Philip Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment, Lewis Terman's Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale, Albert Bandura's social learning theory and numerous transpersonal psychologists such as Stan Grof, Stanley Krippner, and Charles Tart. It is interesting to note that Stan Grof, well known for his LSD psychotherapy and Holotropic Breathwork was, on his arrival to San Francisco, warmly welcomed by his fellow countryman, Emanuel Windholz. (Conversation with Dr. Stan Grof)

In the last forty years, psychology, psychiatry, counseling, and social work have become extraordinarily popular in the San Francisco Bay Area. During the 1960s and '70s the Jungians, the Reichians, the Gestalt therapists, the Humanistic psychologists and the Human Potential Movement became a part of popular culture in the Bay Area. Halfway houses, therapeutic communities and alternative treatment approaches to addictions, delinquency, schizophrenia and autism exploded onto the scene. Clinical psychology training in the universities came under criticism at the national level for a lack of clinical relevance and for the low numbers of psychologists being trained. In response the first two freestanding schools of professional psychology in the country were established in San Francisco (California School of Professional Psychology) and Berkeley (The Wright Institute), and these two launched a revolution in clinical psychology training. During the 1960s and 1970s the Bay Area demonstrated relatively little interest in Freudian psychoanalysis, which was popularly identified with 'the establishment' and a deadening clinical technique. Since the mid-1980s, however, Freudian psychoanalysis has been on the rebound in San Francisco. I lived in San Francisco from 1972-1999 and witnessed from the mid-1980s on, the birth of new psychoanalytic study groups, associations and institutes. The free standing schools of professional psychology found that Freudian theory and therapy were popular courses and while enrollment in study groups, institutes and graduate programs increased and decreased from time to time, they became, by far, much larger than they had been before the mid-1980s. Most significantly, a local chapter of Division 39 (the division of psychoanalysis) of the American Psychological Association was established in the San Francisco Bay Area and named the Northern California Society for Psychoanalytic Psychology. They in turn founded the Psychoanalytic Institute of Northern California and a psychoanalytic journal called *Fort Da*.

The 1938 resolution against the future training of non-medical analysts was reversed following the settlement of the lawsuit of 1987. This lawsuit, filed by a group of psychologists in conjunction with the American Psychological Association, charged the American Psychoanalytic Association and the International Psychoanalytical Association with restraint of trade. Interestingly enough, Robert Wallerstein, from San Francisco, was, at that time, President of the International Psychoanalytical Association. Though he had been promoting lay analysis for many years, especially in the Doctorate of Mental Health program at UCSF, which he had founded, he was president of an organization with members on both sides of the issue and few of them had mild opinions. Ultimately the matter was settled out of court in favor of the psychologists. As the institute doors were opened to psychologists Nathan Adler, with his always ironic wit, whispered in my ear, “We know how the medical analysts ruined psychoanalysis, now we’re going to find out how the psychologists will ruin it!”

In the 1980s and ‘90s Kleinian and Neo-Kleinian Object Relations, Self Psychology, Lacan and Intersubjectivity burst onto the San Francisco scene. And Harry Stack Sullivan made an impressive comeback as well. But at the same time, the economic context changed dramatically with managed care, third party payments, preferred provider panels, niche market practices, specialty certification, an explosion of cognitive behavioral therapies, coaching and a panorama of new psychopharmacological interventions. Pop-culture was infused with new information about child abuse, elder abuse, the inner child, the psychology of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual persons, the dysfunctional family, adult children of alcoholics, women who love too much, posttraumatic stress disorders, multiple personality disorders, the Peter Pan Complex, parapsychology, altered states of consciousness, psychology and spirituality and so forth. With it all came increasing legalization of the field in relation to reporting laws, confidentiality laws, multicultural sensitivity, standard of care practices, and a raft full of new licensing and continuing education requirements. In the midst of all this, the San Francisco Bay Area witnessed the development of study groups, small open-ended psychoanalytic training programs and several new institutes. The newer institutes include the Alfred Adler Institute of San Francisco, the Psychoanalytic Institute of Northern California, the Lacanian School of Psychoanalysis and the Institute for Psychoanalytic Studies. In addition, institutes, universities, hospitals and private efforts sponsored numerous creative psychoanalytic psychotherapy research studies. And if all that wasn’t enough, this reinvigorated San Francisco psychoanalytic community has, for some time now, also been contributing voluminously to the psychoanalytic literature on clinical, theoretical and applied psychoanalytic topics. What will the future bring? Your guess is as good as mine, but, of course, things are sure to change.

The early history of the depth psychologies in San Francisco could easily be described as a history of controversy and animosity but its volatility has been an equally creative ferment that has given rise or been home to some of the most creative thinkers, theorists, writers, analysts, teachers, innovators and administrators in the local, and international analytical and psychoanalytical communities. With this illustrious history behind them, there is no doubt that San Francisco will continue to provide a home for many more creative psychotherapists and analysts yet to come.

Though the subject of my research is the early history of psychoanalysis in San Francisco, the story I tell is not *THE* early history but *AN* early history. I suppose that my story will offend some who have analysts, teachers, friends and relatives to whom I have not given their due and it will grate on the nerves of others who remember the story differently than the way I tell it. But I trust that most of the analytic audience will be able to recognize that historical truth is always rendered in a narrative and that a narrative is always an interpretation.

In my interpretation of the early history of psychoanalysis in San Francisco, I highlight the conflict between the desire to preserve the creative spirit of analytic work and the desire to establish and maintain an institute. I recall a history of divisiveness and resurrect a brief golden age when an ecumenical spirit prevailed. And finally, I recall the social commitment of San Francisco's early analytic community. In doing so, I offer my interpretation of those times as an interpretation to these times.

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All taped interviews are in the personal archive of Daniel Benveniste, Ph.D.

### **Abstract**

The early history of psychoanalysis in San Francisco begins in 1918 and ends in 1953. During those 35 years the San Francisco Bay Area witnessed the awakening of interest in psychoanalysis, the arrival of the European émigré analysts and the emergence of individuals and groups engaging in extraordinarily creative work and doing so in an ecumenical spirit and with a social commitment. This article provides an overview of this illustrious history and the people who participated in it.

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